THE

Parliamentary [illegible]

OR

HISTORY

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES

OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS;

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF

moſt intereſting SPEECHES and MOTIONS, accurate Copies of the moſt remarkable LETTERS and PAPERS, of the moſt material EVIDENCE, PETITIONS, &c. laid before and offered to the HOUSE,

DURING THE

SECOND SESSION of the SIXTEENTH PARLIAMENT

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

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THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES

OF THE

HOUSE of COMMONS,

In the SECOND SESSION of the

Sixteenth Parliament of GREAT BRITAIN,

Appointed to be holden at WESTMINSTER

On TUESDAY the 18th of MAY, 1784.

Thurſday, April 7, 1785.

THE right honourable *William-Wyndham Grenville* roſe, in conformity to the notice which he had formerly given, to move for leave to bring in a bill to explain and amend the act for trying controverted elections. His intention, he ſaid, was not what he had in his contemplation when he laſt year ſignified his deſign to propoſe ſome alterations in the act alluded to; the bill had been thought by many perſons to require ſome alteration, but he did not intend to go into a comprehenſive and extenſive diſcuſſion of ſuch alterations as were of a general and important nature, then, becauſe he ſhould not propoſe any bill of the kind that ſeſſion, but would reſerve it to the next, holding it to be much more likely to be diſcuſſed with that degree of temper, moderation, and coolneſs, that the ſubject required, when conſidered in the abſtract, than when election caſes were exiſting untried, to which it might be in ſome degree or other applied, and thence impreſſions ariſe by no means favourable to a fair agitation of the bill. What he had then in his intention was, merely to propoſe ſome alterations in the mechanical part of

The right hon. W. W. Grenville.

the proceeding to ballot for a Committee, about the neceſſity of amending which, there was little danger of any great difference of opinion. It might, perhaps, be unneceſſary for him to declare, that in what he had to propoſe he had no view whatever to caſt any imputation on the form in which the bill had been originally brought in, or upon the bill itſelf. The Houſe would, he truſted, acquit him of any ſuch deſign. As little was the Houſe to be ſuſpected of readineſs on their part, to liſten to any imputations on the bill. The partiality they had on ſo many occaſions ſhewn to the bill, was the beſt proof of its merit. Indeed when it was conſidered, that to turn buſineſs of great magnitude into a new channel was a matter, at all times, particularly difficult, and more particularly ſo when the buſineſs in queſtion was that, about which gentlemen were moſt peculiarly jealous, viz. the mode of trial of their rights to their ſeats in that Houſe, it was to be wondered that the firſt bill that had been brought in for that purpoſe was, upon experiment, found to be liable to ſo very few objections. Having thus removed every ground of ſuſpicion that he either meant, by implication, to caſt imputation on the bill, or that the bill merited ſuch imputation, Mr. Grenville ſaid, he would ſhortly ſtate to the Houſe the leading points, that were of a general nature, and which might poſſibly be fit to be made the ſubject of a bill the next ſeſſion, when the matter might be more fully diſcuſſed and deliberated upon than it could be at preſent. The firſt point he would call their attention to was, a circumſtance that muſt have ſtruck every gentleman as extremely vexatious, expenſive, and inconvenient. It was the objection againſt the bill that had appeared to his mind to be one of the moſt founded of any that had been ever mentioned, and that was, that ſince the exiſtence of the bill there had been a greater number of frivolous petitions preſented than were ever before known, by which means the ſitting members were frequently harraſſed, kept in ſuſpenſe, and put to much coſt and charge unneceſſarily. It muſt, therefore, be the wiſh of every gentleman that ſome means were reſorted to, in order to put a ſtop to the continuance of the evil, and perhaps this might be done effectually, by obliging the parties petitioning to enter into recognizances to abide by their petition, and to try the merits, and, in caſe of failure, to pay the coſts. To ſecure the latter effectually was a matter of conſiderable difficulty, becauſe it might be extremely inconvenient, when the probable expence, as in the caſes of

county

county elections, was likely to amount to a large ſum, for the parties to lodge that ſum during the whole time the caſe was pending; but perhaps it might be remedied by allowing the coſts to be recovered by action afterwards in the Courts below. Another point that called for remedy was, the want of a power to puniſh the returning officer for abuſe of his office. As the matter ſtood at preſent, it lay with the Ho to proceed to puniſhment, the Committee not being able to do any thing more than report to the Houſe. The conſequence was, for the moſt part, the returning officer, who abuſed his authority, eſcaped with impunity. There having been but very few inſtances of the Committee's reporting, and thoſe only where the returning officer's conduct had been extremely groſs and flagrant. It was his intention to provide powers to puniſh that officer, and to veſt them in the Committee. A third point was of great importance, and that was, to provide ſome mode or other of determining the rights of election. At preſent the only criterion was, when a Committee reported what the rights were, the precedent was entered on the Journals, and that was binding. But as Committees, for particular and obvious reaſons, very rarely reported, the Public might be ſaid to have loſt, under the bill, what they formerly enjoyed under the old proceedings in the trial of controverted elections, viz. a certainty of deciſion upon the rights of elections. How to give them this again was, Mr. Grenville admitted, a matter of peculiar difficulty, and a matter to which he had not yet made up his mind; but it certainly was a matter greatly to be deſired. Whether, by referring the rights of election to the ſame Committee, who were choſen to try the right to the ſeat, or whether it would be beſt to appoint a ſeparate and ſpecial Committee for the purpoſe, were objects of future deliberation. Theſe ſeveral points which he had ſtated were, he declared, the principal conſiderations that weighed with him as fit to be attended to in the next ſeſſion, when the ſubject ſhould be brought fully under diſcuſſion, and when the Houſe ſhould be prepared to go into a general inveſtigation of it. He threw them out, therefore, that gentlemen might turn them in their minds, perfectly conſcious of his own inability, either in future, or at preſent, to ſuggeſt any bill that would not require the aſſiſtance of the Houſe, and of gentlemen of more experience than himſelf. What he had to propoſe in the bill, for leave to bring in which he ſhould that day move, were, as he had before ſaid, alterations merely in

the mechanical part of the proceeding to chuſe a ballot, and by no means affecting the principle of the bill itſelf. They all knew the difficulties that had of late occurred in conſequence of the ballot being obliged to be choſen under all its preſent forms; his intention, therefore, was, to propoſe ſome few alterations, but they ſhould be as cloſe to the meaning of the preſent bill, and as little deviating from the form of it, as poſſible. The firſt he ſhould propoſe would be, to provide a clauſe to admit Committees, who had finiſhed their buſineſs, and who were ready to make their report, to make that report previous to the Houſe's proceeding to lock the door and make a ballot. This, he obſerved, was but a trifling infringement on the bill as it ſtood, and would be attended with this good conſequence—it would, where the ſitting members were declared duly elected, add two members qualified to ſerve to the number of the Houſe, as well as put it in the power of fifteen more to ſerve on the Committee to be the object of the ballot of the day, if they choſe it. To ſhew the advantage of this alteration ſtill farther, Mr. Grenville reminded the Houſe, that there had been two Committees who had finiſhed their buſineſs, and were ready to have made their reports in the courſe of the laſt fortnight's adjournment, but were incapable of making them on account of the act's ordering, that no public buſineſs whatever ſhould be proceeded upon till a ballot had been made. The next alteration he ſhould propoſe, he ſaid, was, in like manner, calculated to facilitate the making of a ballot. He meant not to alter the proviſo that renders it neceſſary that an hundred members ſhould be preſent before they proceeded to ballot, becauſe he not only thought, that in a matter of ſo much importance, ſo many ought to be preſent, but becauſe he believed the difficulty had but very ſeldom ariſen from that circumſtance. The cauſe of adjournment had chiefly happened from the number to be drawn being forty-nine; it might therefore be worthy conſideration, whether reducing it in certain caſes to thirty-nine would not give facility to the ballots: in which caſe either the firſt or laſt drawn might be ſtruck off at the table. Another matter to which he had turned his attention, was, the inconvenience ariſing from that clauſe which ordered Committees to adjourn in caſe more than two of the members of ſuch Committees were neceſſarily abſent by death or illneſs. The Houſe had that day heard of the abſence of one member of the Bedfordſhire Committee through illneſs; and where country elections

were

were to be tried, and the Committee were likely to ſit long, the inconvenience was extremely great. He recollected that the Glouceſterſhire Committee, after having ſat ſix or ſeven weeks, had like to have been loſt through this very circumſtance. He meant, therefore, to propoſe, that in certain caſes, ſuch as thoſe of Committees on county elections, and where Committees had ſat ſix weeks or two months, a Committee ſhould ſtill ſit, although reduced to eleven, or even nine members. Lower he ſhould not think of going, becauſe undoubtedly it would not be wiſe to facilitate members excuſing themſelves from attending. A farther alteration, propoſed by Mr. Grenville, was, when there were a certain number of Committees ſitting, three or more for inſtance, that in ſuch caſe, if a ballot ſhould fail, public buſineſs ſhould nevertheleſs be gone on with; this alteration he founded on the extreme difficulty that generally occurred to get a ſufficient number of qualified members to make up the number forty-nine, while three or more Committees were actually ſitting. Another matter had been a good deal talked of as matter of complaint, and that was, the mode of chuſing nominees, who, it had been ſaid, had been influenced, though by an honourable bias, and in conſequence of it, had rather acted as advocates than judges; upon that account it had been urged, that it would be better if they were not choſen as at preſent, viz. one nominated by the petitioner, and the other by the ſitting member, but that they ſhould be choſen by the Committee. When the bill was originally introduced, Mr. Grenville ſaid, the mode of appointing nominees had been a good deal canvaſſed, and the argument for them had been this:—It might happen that a Committee might be choſen, conſiſting entirely of young and inexperienced members; it was neceſſary, therefore, to take care that there ſhould be two perſons at leaſt added to the number choſen, in whom the parties could confide for their knowledge of parliamentary law, and their experience as men of buſineſs. Now, if the nomination was taken out of the hands of the parties, and put into thoſe of the Committee, the latter might ſelect perſons as inexperienced as themſelves. Another mode indeed had been talked of, and that was, to let the Houſe name them; but if this mode were adopted, the Houſe would naturally point their nomination uniformly to thoſe members who were known to be the fitteſt to inſtruct younger Committeemen, and thus the tribunal would no longer be what it was deſigned to be, a fluctuating tribunal, and a particular

ticular deſcription of members would bear more than an equal ſhare of the onus of ſerving upon Committees. Upon the whole, therefore, it might perhaps be better to let the appointment of nominees remain as it did, if gentlemen in general would but underſtand that the Houſe held that a nominee was to act merely as any other member of the Committee was empowered to act. Another circumſtance, Mr. Grenville ſaid, ſeemed to call for alteration, but it was of ſo perſonal a nature, that it was ſcarcely proper for him, or indeed any member but one, who was at this time actually ſerving on a Committee, to propoſe it. What he alluded to was, the enacting that election Committees ſhould continue ſitting notwithſtanding prorogations of Parliament. When the bill paſſed, no proviſion of this nature had been made, whence it was generally underſtood, that as a prorogation put an end to all other Committees, it did the ſame to election Committees. Mr. Grenville ſhewed, that by this operation of an order to prorogue, a Committee that might perhaps have ſat ſix weeks or two months, and might be within a week or two of coming to a concluſion, was liable to be put an end to, and the parties would have to go through the ſame trouble and expence the next ſeſſion; a matter that certainly called for ſome proviſion, and yet, he repeated it, it was hardly fair for any perſon not actually ſerving on a Committee, to propoſe ſuch a proviſion.

Theſe, Mr. Grenville ſaid, were the principal points which he meant to provide for by the clauſes of the bill he was about to move for leave to bring in. After apologiſing to the Houſe for having taken up ſo much of their time, he concluded with moving,

"That leave be given to bring in a bill for the farther "regulation of the trials of controverted elections on re- "turns of members to ſerve in Parliament."

Mr. Montagu. Mr. *Montagu* ſaid, he roſe to do himſelf the honour of ſeconding the right honourable gentleman's motion, and to expreſs his particular ſatisfaction that the ſubject ſhould have been brought forward by a gentleman, the image of the author of the bill, and who, he was happy to find, was actuated by the ſame zeal for the purity of election, the ſame regard for the honour and dignity of that Houſe, and the ſame love and reverence for equal and impartial juſtice. Mr. Montagu declared he agreed perfectly in opinion with the right honourable gentleman, that it was much wiſer to defer the conſideration of the more general and important points

to

to the next ſeſſion than to bring them under diſcuſſion in the preſent. But what the right honourable gentleman had ſuggeſted as the ſubject of a future bill, were certainly extremely intereſting. If means could be found of putting a ſtop to frivolous and vexatious petitions, it would be a great advantage. If a power alſo for the puniſhing of returning officers could be veſted in the Committees, it would undoubtedly be attended with beneficial conſequences; but it was moſt deſirable of all, to have the rights of election determined. With regard to the matters ſtated by the right honourable gentleman as the grounds of the bill, that was immediately to come under conſideration, he agreed with him in the propriety of moſt of them. The only point about which he entertained much doubt was, that of ſuffering buſineſs to proceed in caſe a ballot ſhould fail when there were three Committees ſitting. That, however, was a matter more proper to diſcuſs when they ſhould come into the Committee on the bill, and therefore he would reſerve what he had to ſay upon the ſubject till that occaſion ſhould arrive.

Lord *Mahon* ſaid, it always gave him extreme pain to differ in opinion from his right honourable friend; but, as a ſincere friend to Mr. Grenville's bill, he muſt declare, that one of the propoſitions of the right honourable gentleman, viz. that of ſuffering the public buſineſs to proceed in caſe a ballot ſhould fail when three Committees were ſitting, was cutting up the principle of Mr. Grenville's bill root and branch. That it went to that extent, and would be productive of all the ill conſequence that bill was meant to prevent, he would ſhew to the Houſe in the cleareſt manner, by conſidering it in two or three points of view. In the firſt place, nothing could be more plain than that the compulſion of the bill, by putting a ſtop to all public buſineſs till ballots were made, was one of the moſt eſſential principles of Mr. Grenville's bill: it was, he ſaid, that principle upon which the author of the bill reſted as the beſt ſecurity for its operation and effect. To ſuffer the public buſineſs to proceed, on any pretence, when a ballot could not be made, was to weaken that principle, and to lead to infinite miſchief. It was, his Lordſhip ſaid, an eſſential, and indeed a firſt principle in the inſtitution of every tribunal, to take care that a cauſe brought before it would have a certainty of being tried. There would be no certainty of trial of any election cauſe before a Committee of that Houſe, if the propoſition in queſtion were admitted and made a law; becauſe, if the propoſition were adopted,

Lord Mahon.

election cauſes would run through a whole Parliament, and at the end of it many of them ſtill remain untried. As the bill ſtood at preſent, ſeveral would remain to be tried in the third ſeſſion; but if the alteration he alluded to were made, they would not be all heard by the fourth, nor fifth, nor laſt ſeſſion. To prove this he would ſtate a caſe — ſuppoſing three Committees were ſitting, and there remained many more controverted elections to be tried; at the head of the liſt a very long one, and after it many ſhort ones: poſſibly the three ſitting Committees might continue to ſit for ſix weeks or two months longer. Suppoſing the caſe to happen at that moment, the 7th of April, why then all the other controverted elections would not be tried at all in the preſent ſeſſion. Nor was that all the miſchief. Suppoſing at the head of the liſt of elections to be tried, that one, thus deferred, was a petition from the county of York, from the county of Lancaſter, the county of Devon, or any diſtant county: the parties expecting their ballot to take place every day, had all their witneſſes in town at the expence of a hundred pounds a day. Under ſuch circumſtances, they were obliged to keep them in town till one or other of the three Committees that were ſitting had come to a concluſion, which might be two months ere it happened; and thus were the parties loaded with the enormous expence of a hundred pounds a day for two months. His Lordſhip expreſſed a wiſh that, inſtead of adopting the propoſition he had reprobated, the number of members to conſtitute a Committee was reduced to eleven. In that caſe, five Committees might be ſitting at the ſame time, and only fifty-five members, a tenth part of the Houſe, be engaged in the diſcharge of that public duty; that would, in his opinion, be a great improvement; but the alteration before referred to by him, for the reaſons he had ſtated, he certainly ſhould oppoſe when that part of the intended bill came into the Committee.

Mr Popham. Mr. *Popham* ſaid, the ſubject was exceedingly important, and that the inconveniences the Houſe and the Public had recently ſuffered, ſufficiently pointed out the neceſſity for ſome farther regulations. He thought, however, the difficulty of procuring forty-nine to make up the ballot might be obviated without reducing them to thirty-nine. For inſtance — as it frequently happened that a ballot could not be completed for want of two or three, ſuppoſing the names of thoſe members who had ſerved, and were entitled to excuſe themſelves, were put into a ſeparate glaſs, and, upon a deficiency

ciency of the number of perſons who had not ſerved, ſo many of their names who had ſerved, were drawn out of that ſeparate glaſs as would make up the number forty-nine. By this means the burden would be light, even if they did ſerve, or they might be the firſt ſtruck out by the parties and their Counſel. Mr. Popham declared himſelf a zealous friend to the bill, of which he was at that time giving a proof, and indeed, he ſaid, he ever had conſidered public duty as a conſideration ſuperior to that of private convenience. The tenth of the King, he obſerved, had only one exception in it, viz. the ſwearing in of a member; but he thought it ought to have another, the exception of a call, becauſe if a call were to precede a ballot, it would be a good means of ſecuring an attendance. With regard to the Committees continuing to ſit notwithſtanding a prorogation, the right honourable gentleman had ſaid, no member but one who was actually ſerving upon a Committee ought to give an opinion upon that point. He came within that deſcription, and he made no ſcruple to ſay, he thought an election Committee, like every other legal tribunal, ought to continue ſitting till they had made an end of their cauſe; there was, beſides, ſomething upon the face of it extremely abſurd, that a Committee ſhould ſit ſix weeks, be then put an end to by a prorogation, and the parties have all their expence and trouble to begin *de novo* next ſeſſion. To a reduction of the numbers he could by no means whatever agree. He was of opinion, that in proportion as ſuch powers were extended, the purpoſe aimed at by the inſtitution would be ſecured. And if once the principle was admitted, that the Committee might conſiſt of fewer than at preſent, it was impoſſible to ſay where ſuch an idea might ſtop. Nor was he willing to ſubſcribe to what he had heard on the ſubject of nominees. He was inclined to think that it would not be eaſy to ſubſtitute any thing better in the room of that regulation. He hoped gentlemen choſen in that manner, and acting by oath, might have the ſame credit and confidence as the other members of the Committee. But he chiefly begged the attention of the Houſe to the principle of the bill it was to expedite the buſineſs of the Public. How then could this be done more effectually than by the original proceſs on which the law in queſtion had been made? The firſt object was to ſecure the members of the Houſe. This was ſo contrived, and, in his mind, with admirable wiſdom, that the fairneſs and juſtice of gentlemen elected ſhould appear, before any thing concern-

ing the intereſts of the Public were committed to their deciſion. He ſaw, on the whole, much good and ſome few exceptionable things in the ſyſtem held forth. He would not encroach on the time of the Houſe to ſpecify theſe; but he could not help attending to that which went to the recovering coſts of ſuit, which he had often thought indiſpenſably neceſſary, as enormous expences were often accrued by individuals for very frivolous excuſes. An end put to ſuch abuſes as theſe was earneſtly deſired by every gentleman who had ſeen, as he had done, in very many inſtances, the infinite miſchief and inconvenience to which it led.

The Lord Advocate of Scotland

The *Lord Advocate of Scotland* (Mr. J. Campbell) thought the Houſe and the Public at large under great obligations to the right honourable gentleman who, with ſo much propriety, in every reſpect, had brought forward this buſineſs. He would, however, ſubmit it to the conſideration of gentlemen, how far it would be expedient to interfere with the original preſcription in the bill, concerning the number of which thoſe Committees were compoſed. In many, very many caſes, indeed, the ſubjects of inveſtigation were exceedingly intricate and involved. This, during the time in which he had ſat in one of theſe Committees, ſo literally happened, that notwithſtanding the habits of the profeſſion in which he had been bred and lived, but for the Counſel that were preſent, he ſhould often not have known what he was about. The laws in the two countries, however ſimilar in their radical principles and practical aims, the ſtudy and profeſſion in the uſage of the Courts, and a variety of other circumſtances, were undoubtedly extremely different. However, ſo far as he could judge, there hardly could be any ſuppoſed caſe in which a competent knowledge of the laws of the land, and eſpecially thoſe of election, was ſo abſolutely neceſſary as in thoſe Committees; and as it might always be preſumed that a great many men of the profeſſion would have a ſeat in the Houſe, the larger the number was, any difficulty of this kind was the more likely to meet with a ready ſolution. He wiſhed, he ſaid, to ſuggeſt an idea on this ſubject, on which, however, he was not earneſt. In caſes of difficulty about a legal point, might not the Committee beneficially have the power to refer to the Judges for their opinion? His Lordſhip coincided with thoſe who wiſhed that clauſe which authoriſed nominees to undergo a very thorough examination. There was not, in his mind, another in the bill which was liable to ſo much abuſe, or which rendered

dered the duty of individuals more delicate. For his own part, it was of all others a ſituation he ſhould like the leaſt, as it was calculated to excite embarraſſment, and excite ſentiments which, on ſuch an occaſion, ought by all means whatever to be ſuppreſſed. The very inſtitution, as it ſtruck him, ſuppoſed a jealouſy in thoſe with whom the choice of the nominees lay, of the gentlemen who had engag oath to decide impartially on the evidence which ſhould be ſubmitted to their attention. It was a breach of the original ſyſtem, which tended, in his opinion, to inſpire the parties, who were at iſſue, with a prejudice againſt the Jury, who were to give verdict on the cauſe; and he truſted ſome mode would be deviſed in the bill propoſed for the redreſs of ſuch a grievance.

Mr. *W. Stanhope* regretted, that among all the regulations which he had heard propoſed, there was none which, in any degree, affected the attendance of lawyers on theſe Committees, for he had the misfortune to differ eſſentially from the honourable gentleman (the Lord Advocate of Scotland) on that particular. He had long thought, and it was, he believed, a pretty general opinion, that the caſes of elections were not made more clear, but more intricate and tedious, the more lawyers there were in the Committee, whether as counſellors or as members; a variety of votes, which every plain, honeſt man could decide, without heſitation or difficulty, by the ſophiſtry of the bar were often wrought up into ſuch a cloud of learned obſcurity, that lawyers only could underſtand. On this account eſpecially, and alſo on account of the expence occaſioned by Counſel, he was ſorry that ſome propoſition to that effect had not been ſtated; perhaps one Counſellor might, in ſome Committees, be, on ſome particular knotty points, neceſſary; but he was ſeriouſly of opinion, that in all Committees, and on all occaſions, one alone was neceſſary; and he hoped, in the new regulations which were moved this evening, a clauſe to this import would have a place. For his own part, he had always been of opinion, that no other act in the Legiſlature had brought ſo much employment to gentlemen of the long robe as this had done. He could aſſure the Houſe, and he thought it was a fact which merited their attention, that the Grenville act had already put above an hundred thouſand pounds in the lawyers' pockets; and he was ſtill at a loſs to learn what the general intereſt of election was the better for taking ſo much money from the members of Parliament,

Mr. W. Stanhope.

and giving it to the gentlemen of the long robe; nor did he believe the Houſe was one jot the more independent for having that hundred thouſand pounds taken out of their pockets. He ſaid he approved of the noble Lord's idea of reducing Committees in number of members to eleven, inaſmuch as there would then be fewer to aſk queſtions; for, he obſerved, it was generally a rule for the whole fifteen to go regularly through with a witneſs, each of them examining him one after another, ſo that, by that means, one witneſs was not done with in a day.

The Secretary at War.

The *Secretary at War* (Sir George Yonge) owned himſelf to have been always an admirer of the Grenville act, and it would not be difficult to point out an infinite variety of advantages which it had already produced. The right honourable gentleman who brought forward the preſent queſtion, had offered his regulations to the conſideration of the Houſe with a candour and diffidence which did him honour; and he was ſure every thing but diſreſpect would be conſidered as the motive on which he would preſume to hint a difference on any of the great points which he had ſtated with ſo much propriety. But he could not help thinking that the principle of the bill ought to have been preſerved inviolate. He knew not but the ſame, or ſimilar inconveniences, might reſult from the regulations which were to put an end to thoſe which had already been experienced from the operation of this ſalutary bill. He was exceedingly deſirous that ſome other mode might be adopted for removing the difficulty thus generally acknowledged, than any interference with a principle which he conceived not only highly conſtitutional, but a peculiar guard of the Conſtitution.

Mr. M. Taylor.

Mr. *Michael-Angelo Taylor* roſe chiefly to oppoſe the doctrine which had been held out concerning lawyers. He begged gentlemen would conſider how various and complicated the caſes often were which occurred on theſe occaſions, and how much it depended on the legality of a ſound deciſion. He was ſatisfied, for his part, that no Counſellor whatever was adequate to the buſineſs, and that no man who underſtood its magnitude would ſingly undertake it. He, for one, knew well how very inadequate he was, and he believed many of the profeſſion were in the ſame ſituation, and of the ſame opinion. There were many of the material objects to which the motion went, on which he would hazard no opinion whatever. Some had his ſincere approbation. Others might admit of heſitation and diſcuſſion. This much, however,

he

he would ſay, that whatever affected the general principle of the bill, ought not to be either raſhly or prematurely adopted. That public buſineſs ſhould ſuperſede a ballot for a Committee, he truſted would never be the caſe; it was a doctrine at leaſt to which he was determined never to ſubſcribe; he deemed it dangerous to the intereſts of election in a very eminent degree; and wiſhed the Houſe might eagerly watch againſt any ſuch innovation. So far as his opinion went, it ſhould always be for retaining this great ſtimulus entire, and to prevent any ſubſequent regulation from interfering with it in any meaſure whatever.

Mr. *Dempſter* entered into this diſcuſſion, he ſaid, with very great ſeriouſneſs, as he conceived it to be a ſubject of the greateſt moment. He had been witneſs to the ſtate of elections before the preſent meaſure, and the caſe of a petitioner then was deplorable. He was obliged to knuckle in a manner unworthy of a gentleman, whether his place was right or wrong, in order that he might get the Houſe into good humour, or that he might obtain ſuch a majority as to ſecure him a favourable deciſion. Therefore it was, that the bill had been originally brought forward, and though it had many difficulties to combat in its progreſs, it ſoon proved ſatisfactory in its operations to every one: and he owned himſelf not a little ſorry indeed, to hear the ſmalleſt intention of intermeddling, in any reſpect whatever, with what, in his mind, conſtituted the great operative principle of the bill. He could name ſome of the moſt reſpectable aſſemblies, in which all buſineſs ſtood ſuſpended, till the powers of the court, and the authority of every individual member was inquired into. This he preſumed to be a leading principle in the conſtitution of every court; and he ſhould be ſorry to ſee thoſe courts which were ſo intimately connected with the intereſts of election, diveſted of it. It was, in his opinion, the preſſure or urgency of public buſineſs, which gave the law moſt of its energy; and why ſhould not the repreſentation of the people be as complete as the nature of the caſe would admit, before the public buſineſs could proceed, or at leaſt, before any thing could be admitted which ſhould tend to defeat the intention of the act in queſtion. He aſked where the fault lay? It did not lie in the bill, which, in his opinion, provided for the diſpatch of public buſineſs. He was ſorry to obſerve, that the impediment was in the lazineſs and want of attention in members to their duty; a defect which he was afraid would not be the ſooner remedied by the

Mr Dempſter.

obvious

obvious deſire which prevailed to accommodate the requiſitions of their ſituation to their diſpoſitions, rather than to accommodate their diſpoſitions to their duty. He touched on ſeveral of the points propoſed, and paid the Lord Advocate of Scotland many high compliments; but truſted the honourable gentleman who brought forward the buſineſs, would not mean by what he had ſaid, that he wiſhed to oppoſe him: the truth was, he had the ſincereſt reſpect for the bill, and ſhould be ſorry to ſee any other interfering with the ſubject, which he thought ſo well became him. He had ſtated his ſentiments merely from the many advantages which he thought the original meaſure had produced, and might ſtill produce.

Mr. Stanhope roſe to explain, and ſtated one or two ludicrous caſes in which lawyers had abuſed the confidence placed in them on ſuch occaſions.

Mr. Powys. Mr. *Powys* roſe merely to recal the attention of the Houſe to the queſtion before them. Gentlemen, he ſaid, by attaching their remarks to the points which the honourable gentleman had ſtated in a ſummary manner, ſeemed to have loſt ſight of the point now to be determined; which was, whether leave was now to be given to bring in the bill propoſed or not. The merits of the bill, its principle, and proviſions would all come to be diſcuſſed in its progreſs through the Houſe. There was not a doubt but very ſtrong objections would lie againſt many parts of the ſyſtem: that eſpecially, which it ſeemed to be principally aimed at, ought in his mind to be well weighed. He meant, the object of facilitating public buſineſs, which he hoped might be done otherwiſe than at the expence of a law which had done ſo much good, and for which, on a very competent trial, proved itſelf an adequate remedy. He was on that account, rather ſorry, that a noble Lord ſhould have diſcovered ſo much harſhneſs in the oppoſition which he gave many valuable regulations had been ſuggeſted, and he was not without hopes, that by the attention and wiſdom of the Houſe, the plan might be rendered every way worthy of adoption.

Ld. Mahon Lord *Mahon* hoped he had ſaid nothing that diſcovered any degree of harſhneſs, but thought it the moſt honourable and candid mode of acting, fairly to ſtate his opinion, and to ſpecify the point to which his objection would be directed.

Mr Wm Grenville The right honourable *W. W. Grenville* owned himſelf much obliged to the gentlemen who had obſerved on the points ſubmitted by him to the conſideration of the Houſe, and he hoped,

hoped, if the Houſe gave him leave to bring in his bill, that he might be allowed to avail himſelf of every thing that had been offered to him from all ſides of the Houſe. He would only obſerve, for the preſent, that it was by no means his intention to impede, by any regulation whatever, the operation of the bill, but, if poſſible, at once to preſerve that operation and the progeſs of public buſineſs equally inviolate.

Mr. *Strachey* ſaid, that he ſaw no objection to any of the amendments intended by the right honourable gentleman, except that which related to the final deciſion of the rights of election. That he ſat in the Houſe when his great friend Mr George Grenville, brought in the bill now under conſideration; that he perfectly recollected the arguments he had urged upon the particular ſubject of the determination of the rights of election; that he had ſaid, the power of determining thoſe rights ought not to be delegated to a Committee, but ſhould be reſerved in the breaſt of the Houſe alone; that the idea ſuggeſted by the right honourable gentleman now, was not a regulation, made neceſſary by any inconvenience (as the caſe of the Houſe itſelf being called upon to decide, had never occurred ſince the eſtabliſhment of thoſe Committees) but an abſolute deviation from one of the main principles of the original bill and its mover; that however, as the point in queſtion did not relate to the objects of the bill now propoſed to be brought in, but referred merely to the bill intended for next ſeſſion; he did not mean to make it a topic of debate at preſent, but to ſuggeſt his objection, in order that the right honourable gentleman might take it into conſideration before he ſhould bring in his bill of general amendment. Mr. Strachey.

The queſtion being put for leave to bring in a bill, it was agreed to.

The order of the day having been read, for the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe, Mr. Gilbert took the chair, and Mr. Erſkine being called in, and having informed the Committee, that he appeared in behalf of the petitioners from Mancheſter,

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* deſired that the petition from Lancaſter, on which counſel had already been heard, and witneſſes examined, might be read. His reaſon for this he ſaid was, that the counſel at the bar might be able to anſwer a queſtion, which in order to ſave the Committee a vaſt deal of uſeleſs trouble, he wiſhed to put to him, namely, how far Mr Chancellor Pitt.

ſar the objects of the petition to which he was going to ſpeak, and the ſcope of the evidence which he intended to produce, were of a different tendency from that which the Houſe was already in poſſeſſion of from the arguments and evidence on the former petition.

The petition being read,

Lord North. Lord *North* ſaid, that the queſtion was uſeleſs, inaſmuch as the Committee were not at liberty to uſe a diſcretion relative to the hearing of the Counſel for the petitioners, their petition having been referred to them for the expreſs purpoſe of their hearing counſel and evidence to it; and whether the objects of the two petitions were of an analogous tendency or not, they muſt ſtrictly abide by the order of the Houſe.

Mr Chancellor Pitt. Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* ſaid, that beſides his unwillingneſs to preclude any body of men whatſoever from any means by which they might think themſelves intitled to offer their ſentiments to the Houſe, or to deprive the Houſe of information or inſtruction through any channel in which it could be expected; he alſo felt a diffidence [illegible] point in queſtion, from his inexperience in parliamentary forms, and therefore requeſted, that gentlemen on either ſide of the Houſe, would give their opinion to the point of order—there certainly was no member whoſe judgement he would more willingly be governed by on ſuch queſtions in general, than the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt; but ſtill in this inſtance, he muſt venture to differ from him. The noble Lord, he obſerved, did not take upon him to ſay, that there was any material difference in the objects of the two petitions; but merely, that whether there was or was not, ſuch difference was immaterial to the Committee, for at all events, they were bound to hear the Counſel. This appeared to him ſo diametrically oppoſite to common ſenſe, and ſo derogatory to the conſiſtency and dignity of Parliament, that he could not imagine the idea of the noble Lord on the ſubject to be well founded. He wiſhed to know whether it was intended that the Houſe ſhould underſtand, that when once a petition, praying to be heard by counſel, was referred to a Committee, with liberty to hear Counſel on it, that the Committee were thereby bound to hear Counſel, whether it appeared to them neceſſary or not. If this principle were admitted, it would frequently involve the Committee in a very diſagreeable predicament, by ſubjecting it to a repetition of ſimilar arguments, on ſimilar topics, and thereby create a very dangerous and fatal delay in proceedings on ſubjects where any oppoſition was made.

Perſons

Perſons deſirous of impeding any public meaſure would, under this principle, have nothing more to do than to come ſeparately to the Houſe with ſeparate petitions, all of the ſame tendency, and calculated to promote the ſame intereſts, and by that means, day after day, the Committee muſt ſit to hear arguments and evidence ſolely calculated for the purpoſes of procraſtination, without affording any new light upon the matter before them. It was not his wiſh to adhere very ſtrictly to his own ſentiments on the ſubject, with reſpect to the preſent occaſion, provided that it could be got over without a manifeſt outrage on the rules of the Houſe and the decorum of its proceedings. There were two things neceſſary to be conſidered, firſt, the principle, whether the Committee were ſo effectually tied up by the order of the Houſe, as that they could not, on any the ſtrongeſt grounds, avoid hearing the counſel; if this were anſwered in the negative, then certainly they ought to put the queſtion to counſel, not, whether the intereſts that he came to ſupport were of a different nature from thoſe which had been the grounds of the former petitions, but in what they differed; and if there appeared to the Committee, to be ſuch an identity between both, as to afford no proſpect of new matter coming forward, to refuſe hearing him. If, on the contrary, the principle were admitted, that the Committee were ſtrictly bound by the order, and precluded from the exerciſe of a diſcretion, whether they ſhould hear the counſel or not, then they had another method of avoiding the uſeleſs and humiliating delay of hearing reiterated arguments, if they found that ſuch were likely to be impoſed on them, which was by poſtponing the hearing until the meeting of the Houſe; when, on repreſenting the caſe, the order might be reſcinded on motion: on this ſubject he ſhould be glad to hear the opinion of the noble Lord. The ſecond conſideration, after determining the principle, related to the fact, whether the intereſts were or were not different; and this could only be known from the counſel, he being ſuppoſed to be beſt acquainted with the concerns of his clients. For his own part, he confeſſed that he did not ſee any great grounds of diverſity in the caſes of the two claſſes of the petitioners; the preſent principally conſiſting of the fuſtian manufacturers, and the former of thoſe of callicoes and cottons; which branches he conceived to be ſo nearly allied to each other, as to require great caſuiſtry to point out ſo ſtrong a diſſimilarity of intereſts as to warrant a ſeparate hearing. He ſaid he had taken

up this idea not ſo much with a view to the caſe immediately before the Committee, as to put gentlemen on their guard againſt bringing themſelves into the ſame predicament, in the progreſs of a buſineſs, which from its own nature, would neceſſarily be attended with a great deal of prolixity.

Lord North. Lord *North* ſaid, that though he certainly had not aſſerted that the intereſts of the two claſſes of petitioners were ſeparate, yet he was ſtill farther from ſaying, that they were not ſo, for he believed the contrary. Nor had he argued, that all petitioners whatſoever were entitled to be heard by their counſel, for no other reaſon, but merely becauſe they required it; ſo far from it, he was clearly of opinion, not only that the Houſe had a full power to reject that part of the prayer of every petition, which related to the hearing of counſel, if it thought proper, but that the Houſe ought to do ſo on every occaſion where it had reaſon to believe, that the hearing would only lead to a repetition of former arguments on the ſame ſubject.

Mr Jenkinſon. Mr. *Jenkinſon* thought the Committee ought to conſider what precedents were to be found on the ſubject, and inſtanced the practice of that reſpectable Committee conſtituted by Mr. Grenville's bill. There were frequently two or more petitions to be determined by that Committee, but the parties were not allowed to bring ſeparate counſel to the ſame facts or caſes. Where an evident diverſity of intereſts was pointed out, then they were permitted to ſeparate their caſe from that of the other petitioners; and this principle he thought ought certainly to be adopted by all other Committees whatſoever, as the only means of preventing that uſeleſs repetition of argument, which was ſo naturally to be apprehended in the preſent inſtance.

Mr. Steele. Mr. *Steele* obſerved, that the noble Lord (North) oppoſite had not yet anſwered the queſtion of his right honourable friend (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) whether, in caſe it appeared by the confeſſion of the counſel at the bar that the object of his argument was exactly parallel to what had already been offered to the Committee, there was no method, agreeable to parliamentary form, by which the Committee might extricate themſelves from a ſituation ſo abſurd and ſo diſgraceful?

Lord North. Lord *North* ſaid, that he knew no way of doing it, as the Houſe had already committed the petition to be conſidered with the aſſiſtance of counſel. He ſaid, the method to have avoided the difficulty would have been, to have made the inquiry

quiry when the petition was firſt brought into the Houſe, and by the reſult of that inquiry to be determined with regard to the propriety of referring it to a Committee, with an order to hear counſel on it.

Mr. *Eden* ſpoke to the queſtion of the identity or diverſity of intereſts between the two claſſes of petitioners; he ſaid, that there were no grounds for ſuppoſing the intereſts ſo ſimilar as to render the arguments on the latter in any degree a repetition of thoſe on the former, for the cotton and callico manufacturers were chiefly employed in providing for the home conſumption, whereas thoſe concerned in the fuſtian trade dealt principally in exportation. He coincided in what ſeemed to be the general opinion of the former ſpeakers, that it was by no means incumbent on the Houſe to hear more than one bar of counſel to the ſame argument; but that not being the caſe at preſent, certainly the petition before them was intitled to ſupport from counſel, agreeable to its prayer and to the order of the Houſe. Mr Eden.

Mr. *Roſe* ſaid a few words in anſwer to Mr. Eden and Lord North, in which he pointed out the near alliance between the two branches of manufacture. Mr Roſe.

Mr. *Fox* contended, that the Committee were bound down by the order of the Houſe to hear the counſel, for that the time was paſt when the objection ought to have been taken. He agreed, that if the objects and grounds of each petition were of a ſimilar nature, that it would by no means be proper to inſiſt on its being referred to a Committee, with an order to hear counſel on it. He ſaid, that even were the Committee at liberty to decline hearing counſel on the ſubject, in conſequence of his admitting a parity of intereſts with other petitioners, yet ſtill they had no means of calling for ſuch confeſſion, provided it was deſired to be withheld, for his learned friend at the bar might very probably anſwer, if called upon by the queſtion propoſed, "that he was unacquainted with any former petitions, or with the objects and ſcope of them, or the evidence and arguments by which they had been ſupported; nor could he conſequently pretend to anſwer whether that on which he appeared before them was of a ſimilar or different tendency." Mr Fox.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* anſwered the arguments of Mr. Eden relative to the difference between the export and the home trade, by obſerving, that the Iriſh Propoſitions could only affect the home conſumption, having no reſpect whatſoever to exportation, and that therefore any difference ariſing on that Mr Chancellor Pitt.

head was not of a nature to intitle the preſent petitioners to a ſeparate hearing, on the principle of a diverſity of intereſt; that in order to intitle them to ſuch ſeparate hearing, it would be neceſſary to point out ſuch a ſubſtantial and decided diverſity of intereſts with regard to the home conſumption, the only branch of the trade which was at all affected, as ſhould offer a new field of diſcuſſion and argument. To Mr. Fox's argument relative to the difference ariſing in the printing branch of the callico buſineſs, he obſerved that this could by no means affect the queſtion in debate, becauſe the callico manufacturers had acknowledged, that as to that department of their trade, they were under no apprehenſions about it, relying on the ſuperior taſte and experience of this country, to ſecure it a conſtant pre-eminence in that branch. He declared, that he would at all times be extremely delicate with regard to the introduction of any new precedent into the forms and proceedings of the Houſe, and particularly one of a nature that could by any means interrupt or impede the acceſs of their conſtituents to Parliament, either with petition, remonſtrance, or advice, when they thought their own intereſt or that of the Public likely to ſuffer, for want of due information or knowledge. That he ſhould feel an irreſiſtible temptation to ſacrifice not only the forms, but even the poſitive orders of the Houſe, rather than ſuffer them to be an obſtacle to any complaints which the apprehenſions of perſons without doors might give riſe to, in finding their way to the bar; and ſo far was he from wiſhing to encourage any obſtacle of that kind, that although the Houſe ſeemed almoſt unanimouſly to coincide with him in opinion, that joint intereſts were not entitled to ſeparate diſcuſſions of counſel; and although, for his own part, he would by no means be ſatisfied with the evaſion which the right honourable gentleman oppoſite to him had ſuggeſted to the learned counſel; yet he was ſatisfied that he ſhould be called in, and directed to proceed in his argument.

Mr. Erſkine was then called in, and ſpoke to the caſe of his clients.

Monday, April 11.

A debate of conſiderable length took place on the report from the election Committee on the caſe of Cricklade, in which the returning officer was declared to have acted partially and illegally.

Mr

Mr. *Baſtard* roſe, he ſaid, to execute the unwelcome duty of drawing down the vengeance of the Houſe on the head of an individual. He concluding with moving, that the charge to be drawn from the minutes be heard at the bar. Mr. Baſtard.

Some converſation occurred on the part of order with reſpect to the proceedings, and the Speaker begged the matter might be poſtponed for a day or two.

The right honourable *W. Grenville* ſaid, he thought the proper mode of proceeding was extremely clear and obvious. The petition charged a fact; the Committee are ſelected and ſworn to try that fact truly; they had examined witneſſes to it upon oath; the party charged had appeared before them, and been heard by himſelf and counſel *viva voce* in his defence; and the Committee had made their report, ſtating their conviction that the charge was truly made. With the leave of the Houſe, therefore, Mr. Grenville ſaid he would make three motions, which appeared to him to be ſuch as muſt be agreed to without objection of any ſort. The firſt motion ſhould be, "that theſe reſolutions (thoſe contained in the report) be read a ſecond time." The ſecond, "that this Houſe do agree with their Committee in the ſaid reſolutions;" and the third, "that the returning officer attend at the bar to be heard in his defence on ſome certain day." Mr. W. Grenville.

This ſpeech gave riſe to a debate which laſted four hours, but which we ſhall not attempt to follow regularly in detail, becauſe it was extremely looſe and deſultory.

Mr. Alderman *Watſon* ſtated ſome of the merits of the caſe, by entering into a detail of the conduct of the returning officer, whom he declared to have ſet his face againſt the voters of the five hundreds, enabled by a recent act of Parliament to vote, by way of checking the general propenſity to corruption, that had diſtinguiſhed the borough of Cricklade, and to have admitted the votes of a large number of paupers. Mr. Watſon ſaid, the returning officer muſt have known, that thoſe whom he admitted to poll, and whoſe numbers gave his friends the majority, to have been paupers, becauſe he was overſeer of the poor at the time as well as returning officer, and had perſonally relieved ſeveral of them, particularly one Daſh, whom the Alderman termed a *deſperate* pauper. Mr. Alder. Watſon.

Mr. *Jenkinſon* ſtrongly urged the propriety of adopting what Mr. W. Grenville had propoſed. Mr. Jenkinſon ſaid, it had ever been cuſtomary, previous to the paſſing of Mr. Grenville's bill, for the Houſe to repoſe a confidence in their Committees, Mr. Jenkinſon.

Committees, and to act upon their reports. That ſince Mr. Grenville's bill, he was aware there had been a material change introduced. The learned perſon who filled the chair as the predeceſſor of the preſent Speaker had introduced notions into the proceedings of that Houſe that prevailed in other places, and upon the idea, that, conſiſtent with a due adminiſtration of juſtice, no judge could act upon facts, ſtated to be ſuch by other perſons, and not known to be ſuch by himſelf, had ſuggeſted the propriety of the Houſe placing no other confidence in the ſpecial reports of their Committees, than to make them the grounds of inquiries, and of examinations at their bar. Hence much long proceeding had originated, which to him appeared to be wholly unneceſſary and ſuperfluous. The Committee choſen by ballot acted upon oath, and examined upon oath; he was willing, therefore, to rely on their report; and ſuch was his attachment to antient uſage, that he wiſhed the Houſe to return to it, and to proceed in the manner his right honourable friend had adviſed.

Mr. Burke. Mr. *Burke* ſaid, he agreed perfectly with the right honourable gentleman, that it was right to conform to ancient uſage, but that the right honourable gentleman had uſed a word of a ſingular nature; he had adviſed the Houſe to *return* to their ancient uſage. Now the uſage was the practice that had laſt obtained. The returning to ancient uſage, therefore, implied, that there had been an innovation, and the only interpretation he could give it was, the comparing it to the old proverb—"*the dog returns to his vomit.*" It ſeemed therefore that the Houſe had vomitted up ſome mode of proceeding that ſat ill upon its ſtomach; and now it was adviſed to ſwallow and digeſt that mode of proceeding again. The propriety of this advice he did not admit. The honourable gentleman had complained of the introduction of notions from *other places*; a pretty mode of expreſſing the introduction of legal forms, the beſt ſecurities for a due adminiſtration of juſtice! Mr. Burke ridiculed Mr. Jenkinſon's argument, and contended, that the uſage of the Houſe was the practice laſt adopted, which was not to paſs ſentence without having heard the evidence, not to condemn and puniſh in a criminal way upon the report of others, however reſpectable they might be, and however much entitled to confidence.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt. Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* moved, that the proceedings of the Houſe, when the bill was introduced relative to the diſfranchiſement

chiſement of certain electors of the borough of Cricklade, might be read from the journals. It was read accordingly, and it proved that the Houſe had in that caſe founded proceedings full as important as thoſe now recommended by Mr. Grenville, on the credit they gave a report of their Select Committee. Mr. Pitt adviſed the Houſe to place ſo much confidence in a report of a Committee of their own, who had tried a petition ſpecially referred to them, and which had been ſpecially heard, as to make it the ground of their proceeding, the length of ordering the returning officer to the bar to be heard in his defence.

Lord *North* ſupported Mr. Burke, and thought the Houſe could not conſcientiouſly proceed to puniſh without being themſelves appriz'd of the facts which called for puniſhment. His Lordſhip ſtated, that before Mr. Grenville's bill, the Houſe truſted to the reports of their Committees, becauſe they were reports of Committees of the whole Houſe, made to the Houſe at large; conſequently they were nothing more than reports from the Houſe in one form, to the Houſe in another. Ld. North.

Mr. *Burke* inſiſted upon it, that the determining the right to the ſeat was the civil part of the juriſdiction, the puniſhment of returning officers the criminal part, and therefore left with the Houſe by the act. To aſſume the right to both was to confound the legiſlative and judicial functions contrary to the expreſs words of the exiſting act of Parliament. Mr. Burke ended his ſpeech with empathically declaring he had ſpoken eternal reaſon, and not the mere ſentiments of a private individual. What he had ſaid therefore could not be contradicted. Mr. Burke.

Mr. *Jenkinſon* ſaid he would not preſume to declare himſelf the oracle of eternal reaſon, but he ſpoke upon the experience of twenty-five years, which he had ſat in that Houſe, and upon the authority of ſome of the greateſt characters that had ever been entitled to a ſeat within thoſe walls, when he contended that the Reports of Committees were grounds for the Houſe to proceed upon without farther inveſtigation.—Mr. Jenkinſon denied that before Mr. Grenville's bill elections were tried by Committees of the whole Houſe; on the contrary, he ſaid, they were tried by Special Committees, and thoſe Committees were open, ſo that any member who choſe to attend might be preſent, but it was an act of volition with them. Mr. Jenkinſon compared the report of the Committees to a bill found by a grand jury. It only ſerved to put the returning officer on his defence. Mr. Jenkinſon.

Lord

Ld. North. Lord *North* ſaid, if that were all, there was no great harm in it, becauſe the Houſe being the petty jury, they would have to try the cauſe; but though he did not wiſh to be ludicrous on the ſubject, the argument of his right honourable friend reminded him of what was ſaid by the conſtable in the play, "You are proved already to be a falſe knave, and it "will go near to be thought ſo ſhortly." [Much Ado about Nothing, Act IV.] His Lordſhip declared, he was glad to hear that it was intended to veſt the Committees with a power to puniſh returning officers, by the new bill, to explain and amend the act of Mr. Grenville. He thought the Committee infinitely a better tribunal than the Houſe, to go through the whole buſineſs of trying elections, and proceeding upon them finally.

Mr. Marſham. Mr. *Marſham* expreſſed his ſatisfaction at hearing this, declaring himſelf a zealous advocate for the bill. Mr. Marſham was of opinion with Lord North and Mr. Burke, that the Houſe could not conſiſtently proceed to puniſh, without themſelves going into an examination of the charge.

Mr. *Pulteney* ſtated that the report of the Committee was a ſufficient ground to proceed upon in this as well as in other caſes. Mr. Pulteney reminded the Houſe that reports of Committees were deemed final and concluſive in all private bills, and that in a variety of caſes, the Houſe proceeded ſolely upon the facts ſtated in the reports of their Committees above ſtairs.

Mr Peter Johnſtone. Mr. *Peter Johnſtone* ſtated, that there had been a difference of opinion in the Committee, and that the returning officer's counſel had not attended all through the ſitting of the Committee, but had abandoned them, before any part of the criminal charge againſt the returning officer was gone into.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt. Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* ſaid, he ſhould lay that out of the caſe entirely; becauſe, if it proved any thing, it told againſt the officer; ſince abandoning his defence, was, in his opinion, an admiſſion of criminality. Mr. Chancellor Pitt ſaid, there was nothing more in the preſent propoſition, than in a motion to ſhew cauſe why judgement ſhould not proceed. The report of the Committee was a verdict of Guilty, and the propoſed order for the returning officer to attend, was an order for him to ſhew cauſe why judgement ſhould not paſs. If by new matter he could refute the charge, or extenuate his criminality; in the one caſe, it would go to the extent of arreſting judgement; in the other, of mitigating puniſhment.

Mr. Middleton, Mr. Gilbert, Mr. W. Grenville, Mr. Fox, Mr. Martin, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Baſtard, Mr. Eden, Mr. Dundas, Sir William Dolben, Mr. Orde, Lord Beauchamp, and others, ſpoke. At length, it was agreed to adjourn the buſineſs.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* roſe and ſaid he could not avoid interrupting the order of the day to call the attention of the Houſe to a ſubject of the higheſt importance; for the preſent he ſhould only move, "That an account of the net produce "of the taxes for the quarters ending on the 5th of January "1784 and 1785, and alſo of thoſe ending on the 5th of April "1784 and 1785, ſhould be laid before the Houſe." His intention in this motion, he ſaid, was, that gentlemen might receive ſuch information as would be neceſſary towards their forming an adequate idea on a ſubject, which was neareſt to his heart, and which he hoped would make an equal impreſſion on every other gentleman. He flattered himſelf, the Public would ſee, from thoſe papers, that the opinions thrown out, and ſo induſtriouſly inculcated by ſome ſpeculatiſts on the ſubject of our finances, were the offspring of gloomy deſpondency, or perhaps ſome worſe motives. That ſo far from affording any ſentiments of apprehenſion or deſpair, the ſtate of the national revenues and reſources furniſhed a very flattering proſpect, not only of anſwering every demand for the peace eſtabliſhment, but of creating an effective and ſubſtantial overplus for the purpoſe of a ſinking fund: this overplus, he had hopes, might, if the preſent ſtate of the revenue, be made to amount to at leaſt one million; by means of which it might reaſonably be expected that the national debt would be gradually paid off, in ſuch proportions as the Public would ſoon and ſenſibly feel the benefit of. He ſaid, that his motive for ſingling out thoſe quarters was, that the Houſe might thereby ſee that the proſperity of the nation had been in a progreſſive ſtate ever ſince the new meaſures for the more effectual collection of the revenue had been adopted; for, firſt it would appear, that not only the quarter ending January 5 of this year, was more productive than the correſponding quarter of the laſt year, but that the laſt quarter ending the 5th of this month, was infinitely more ſo than the preceding quarter; in the former inſtance by a ſum of 350,000l. in the latter by a ſum of between 6 and 700,000l. He ſtated that the intereſt of the public debt (when the whole of it ſhall have been funded and provided for) together with the probable expence of the peace eſtabliſhment, would amount to about 14,400,000l.

Mr Chancellor Pitt.

The net produce of the taxes for the quarter ending 5th of January 1785, was	2,738,000
Ditto for the quarter ending 5th April	3,066,000
	£. 5,804,000
The produce of the two corresponding quarters in the preceding year was to the 5th of January 1784 — — —	2,585,000
To 5th April 1784 — —	2,198 000
	£. 4,783,000

The produce therefore of the taxes in the last six months was above a million more than their produce in the corresponding six months of the preceding year; and the produce of the single quarter, ending the 5th of April last, was nearly 870,000l. more than that of the corresponding quarter 1784 In this sum, says he, are included about 190,000l. the produce of the taxes laid on the last year, the remaining sum of 680,000l. is the increased produce of the taxes which subsisted previous to the last session. It is likewise to be observed, that the produce of the customs in the last quarter was considerably more than double their produce in the corresponding quarter of the last year. This great increase of the revenue must in a great measure be owing to the many regulations which had been established within some months past, and principally to those bills which he introduced into Parliament last year, for the prevention of smuggling. The effect of these regulations, exclusive of the assistance which the revenue might receive from others of a similar nature, encouraged us to entertain a well-grounded hope, not only that the income of the country might become equal to the payment of the interest of our national debt, and the expences of the peace establishment, but that it might afford a considerable surplus for the discharge of the national debt. For let it be supposed that the two next quarters produced each the same sum, which the last quarters did, the income of the year, ending Michaelmas 1785, would then stand thus

Quarter ending January 5, 1785 —	2,738,000
Ditto April 5, —	3,066,000
The two remaining quarters —	6,132,000
	£. 11,936,000
To this sum must be added the produce of the land tax, and annual malt tax —	2,450,000
	£. 14,386,000

This

This produce of all the taxes was ſufficient for the intereſt of the public debt, both funded and unfunded, and for the expences of the peace eſtabliſhment

But if we looked beyond the preſent year, and eſtimated our annual income by the laſt quarter, it would ſtand thus

Annual produce of taxes — —	12,264,000
Add produce of land and malt tax	2,450,000
	£. 14,714,000

which leaves a ſurplus of 300,000l. a year towards the diſcharge of the national debt.

But if we ſhall, ſays he, that the produce of the two remaining quarters of the preſent year bears the ſame proportion to the produce of the quarters already paſſed, which the correſponding quarters of the year did to each other, the amount of the taxes of this year will be 12,600,000l. To this, as before, muſt be added for land tax and annual malt tax 2,450,000 l. and our whole income will be 15,050,000l. which leaves 650,000l. ſurplus for the Sinking Fund.

If the two remaining quarters bear the ſame proportion to the laſt quarters, which thoſe quarters did to each other in the preceding year, the produce of all the taxes will be 16,240,000l. which leaves a ſurplus of 1,840,000l. for a Sinking Fund.

The produce of all the taxes, excluſive of the land and malt tax, for the year ending Michaelmas 1784, was 10,400,000l the increaſe of the revenue this year upon the moſt unfavourable calculation will be a million and a half, there is great reaſon to believe that it will be conſiderably more

From the above ſtatements it appears that there is the ſtrongeſt reaſon to hope, that next year a real Sinking Fund for the actual diſcharge of the national debt will be eſtabliſhed, and that this ſalutary meaſure may be adopted with the addition only of thoſe few taxes, which may be neceſſary for the ſmall loan of the preſent year, and for the funding the remaining part of the unfunded debt.

In the above account, the produce of the new Houſe Duty is not included, as none of it has yet been received this duty cannot amount to leſs than 500,000l. a year, which muſt more than counterbalance any accidental diminution which there may be in any of the taxes in a ſubſequent quarter.

He here took an opportunity of obſerving that the new taxes which had been laid on in the laſt ſeſſion afforded ſuch a promiſe of being productive as he was ſure would make the Houſe feel perfectly ſatisfied in the choice that had been made of them; and he requeſted gentlemen to proceed with a degree of vigour, which the proſpect of ſucceſs might always give riſe to, in their efforts towards eſtabliſhing the finances of the country on ſuch a footing, as, by providing ſome well-regulated plan of diminiſhing the public debt, would reſtore her to a degree of credit which could alone procure her the rank to which ſhe was entitled among the nations of the world.

Mr Sheridan.

Mr. *Sheridan* took notice of the very great facility of general and looſe calculations in matters of finance, and ſeemed to think the right honourable gentleman had relied too much on grounds, that would, when examined minutely, be found to fail him. To multiply by four, Mr. Sheridan ſaid, was certainly no very difficult mode of calculation, but he could not conceive that the laſt quarter's amount of the produce of the taxes could fairly be ſtated to be a criterion, by which it could be decided with any tolerable degree of certainty, what the produce of the taxes would be upon the Midſummer and the Michaelmas quarters of the preſent year. He declared, he believed, that upon inquiry it would be found that the whole year's produce of ſeveral of the right honourable gentleman's taxes of the laſt ſeſſion had been paid in the courſe of the laſt quarter, which would naturally cauſe the amount of that quarter's produce to ſwell in its ſize, and exceed in a pretty conſiderable degree the produce of the preceding quarters. The taxes he alluded to, were, he ſaid, the hat licence tax, the houſe tax, the game licenſes and deputations, and ſeveral other of laſt year's taxes, that were to be paid in a round ſum once every year. From the manner in which the right honourable gentleman had ſtated his computation of the probable amount of the whole produce of the four quarters of the preſent year's taxes, the Houſe might poſſibly be deceived into a belief that there was not any deficiency in the produce of the right honourable gentleman's taxes of the laſt year, and that they would really bring the ſum for which they had been given, viz. 900,000l. This, however, he had good reaſon to believe, was by no means likely to turn out to be the fact; on the contrary, he was induced to imagine that the produce would fall ſhort of 900,000l. in the groſs

groſs ſum of 400,000l. The right honourable gentleman, he obſerved, had ſtated, that 190,000l. was to be deducted from the three millions and ſixty-ſix thouſand pounds, the amount of the produce of the taxes for the quarter, ending April 5, 1785, the produce of the taxes of the laſt ſeſſion for that quarter. Admitting, therefore, for the ſake of argument, 190,000l. would be the produce of the other quarters on the ſame account, ſtill the aggregate would fall conſiderably ſhort of 900,000l. But he muſt go farther, and contend, that ſo large a ſum as 190,000l. was not likely to be produced by the taxes of 1785, upon each of the two quarters to come, and that for the reaſon he had already ſtated, viz. becauſe the whole year's amount of ſeveral of the taxes of the laſt year had been paid in the of the paſt quarter. As the right honourable gentleman declared, the Houſe could not have too much information on the ſubject before them, Mr. Sheridan ſaid, he ſhould move for an account of the produce of all the taxes of the laſt year, by which alone the Houſe could determine, how far their amount fell ſhort of the ſum for which they had been given, and how far the inſinuation, that the right honourable gentleman's taxes were more unexceptional and efficient than thoſe of other financiers was founded.

Mr Chancellor *Pitt* diſclaimed any intention of making invidious compariſons or alluſions affecting former Miniſters; he had only ſpoken *generally* of the merit of the taxes of the laſt year, and that was the way he ſhould always conſider any tax whatſoever; not with a view to the Miniſter who introduced it, but ſolely regarding and examining its ſalutary effects with reſpect to the Public. He ſaid, that he was by no means ſore on the ſubject which the honourable gentleman had hinted at, relative to a too violent thirſt for popularity leading him aſide in the proſecution of his duty, he was willing to abide by the general complection of his miniſterial conduct for a refutation of ſuch a charge, from which he flattered himſelf it would appear, that although he had, perhaps, ſhewn a wiſh to earn popularity, by the beſt endeavours in his power, for the public benefit, he had never attempted to purchaſe it at the expence of his official duty. The honourable gentleman had miſtaken him, in ſuppoſing, that he had included the amount of the new taxes, in his calculation of the ſuperiority of the laſt quarter's income, above the former quarters, thoſe had already brought in a ſum of 190,000l. which, together with other ſums, one of 60,000l. the other of 40,000l. which had been received from the deficiencies of former accounts, he had

Mr Chancellor Pitt.

had omitted. The honourable gentleman, he ſaid, was alſo miſtaken in imagining that the whole of the new taxes for the preſent year were already received, in one groſs ſum. This was by no means the caſe with reſpect to the hat duty, which afforded a perpetually accruing income, and he alſo believed, that in the duty reſpecting game qualifications, he had every reaſon to expect that it would be found, when ſuch regulations as every new arrangement muſt from time to time be found to want, ſhould be applied, it would become conſiderably more productive than it had yet been

Mr Fox Mr *Fox* ſaid, a great deal of what had fallen from the right honourable gentleman had given him pleaſure, but the right honourable gentleman muſt allow him to ſay, that ſeveral parts of his ſpeech had not ſo well pleaſed him Mr. Fox then went into an examination of the different mediums of computation taken by Mr. Pitt, in order to get at the probable produce of the taxes upon the four quarters of the year. The moſt ſanguine of all he reprobated, as beyond all expectation, and the medium the right honourable gentleman had ſaid he himſelf relied on moſt, viz. the amount of the quarter ending April 5, 1785, he declared he thought ſufficiently ſanguine, but even taking it by that medium, the utmoſt produce to be expected being only equal to the expenditure of the peace eſtabliſhment, there would then remain one million for the Sinking Fund, to be raiſed by impoſing new taxes, and new taxes upon the public——

Mr. Chancellor Pitt Mr Chancellor *Pitt* interrupted Mr. Fox, for the ſake of ſetting him right The million for the Sinking Fund, Mr. Pitt ſaid, he included in the fifteen millions and a half, ſtating the peace eſtabliſhment at no more than 14,500,000*l*.

Mr. Fox Mr. *Fox* ſaid, he was exceedingly happy to be ſet right, for he certainly had miſtaken the right honourable gentleman. He was glad to find, that the million for the Sinking Fund was included within the fifteen millions and a half, he wiſhed, however, to caution the Houſe againſt relying too much on ſanguine calculations, founded on mere ſpeculation. Either extreme, in matters of ſuch moment, was to be avoided equally Thoſe who were inclined to deſpond, were not to be relied on, becauſe a deſponding financier would do nothing, and thoſe who were too ſanguine ſhould be watched carefully, becauſe they were likely to act injudiciouſly. He wiſhed therefore that the Houſe would avoid both, and he flattered himſelf the right honourable gentleman would not truſt for his million for the Sinking Fund to any ſanguine hopes of the future quarter's produce being equal to the laſt, or likely to exceed

ceed it, but that he would truſt to experience, to what was ſolid and certain, the former produce of the taxes. Let him ſecure his million for the Sinking Fund beyond the poſſibility of failure, and let his expectations of increaſe upon the future produce of the taxes go in aid of that million. Mr. Fox ſaid, he thanked God that whatever difference of opinion there was on other ſubjects, all parties were agreed in the opinion of the neceſſity of ſupporting the credit of the nation, and when he ſaid this, he did not uſe the word credit merely in its particular ſenſe, but in its great and general import, as that which made Great Britain reſpectable among the other powers of Europe. There was not, he ſaid, a reaſonable and thinking Prince in Europe, nor a wiſe miniſter in any cabinet in Europe, that had not his eyes upon the ſtate of our national debt, and the ſtate of our Sinking Fund. It was therefore of the highest national importance that ſome means, that could be depended upon, ſhould be reſorted to, to create and cheriſh a ſinking fund for the purpoſe of diminiſhing the debt of the nation. Nor ought any time to be loſt in a buſineſs of ſo much importance. peace was the time the beſt adapted to it, but already near three years had elapſed, not indeed ſince we had been at peace, but ſince it had been known that the war was drawing to its concluſion; and when it was conſidered how ſlow and how ſmall the progreſs always was in paying off and diminiſhing the debt, and, on the other hand, how rapidly we went down the hill again, and increaſed its amount when a war began, or even in the year immediately preparatory to a war, every man muſt feel the neceſſity for uſing all poſſible diſpatch, and of making the capital of the fund as large as poſſible; a million a year appeared to him to be too little to expect much good from, the few years of peace this country enjoyed taken into the conſideration. With regard to the taxes of the laſt year, Mr Fox ſaid, he thought there was no ground for blame on that occaſion; indeed he was glad, that in all the various adminiſtrations the ſame thing had uniformly happened, and that each of them had experienced it, becauſe it muſt ſerve as a general proof of the fallacy of looſe computation, and of the extreme neceſſity of joining their exertions in ſupport of the national credit; a ſubject upon which, he verily believed, every late adminiſtration, and every late financier, had been in earneſt, and the one not more ſincere and zealous than the other, whether the party alluded to were the noble Lord in the blue ribband, the noble Lord who acted as Chancellor of the Exchequer, while he had the honour to be in Adminiſtration, or the right honourable

honourable gentleman on the other ſide of the Houſe. With regard to the right honourable gentleman's not being as forward or as ready as he ought to be in propoſing new taxes or new burdens, if ſuch were neceſſary for the ſupport of the national credit, he had never heard it inſinuated, that any fear of incurring unpopularity, or giving riſe to the clamour of a moment, or to a clamour of a ſtill longer duration, had deterred him from ſo neceſſary a part of his duty. If it could produce ſuch an effect, he ſhould make no ſcruple to have charged him with having been the worſt and the moſt corrupt Miniſter that had ever exiſted in the worſt and moſt corrupt times. But Mr Fox ſaid, violent as party had ran in that Houſe, at no time had any great impediment been thrown by Oppoſition in the way of raiſing money upon the Public by taxes, where the neceſſity for impoſing ſuch burdens had been apparent, and the right honourable gentleman might be aſſured of his ſupport, and of that of all parties and of all ſorts of connections in that Houſe, whenever he ſhould come forward with any propoſitions for the better and more effectually ſecuring a Sinking Fund for the purpoſe of diminiſhing the National Debt. With regard to how far one ſort of tax was preferable to another, there might be a difference of opinion, but there would be none as to the neceſſity of impoſing taxes, for the ſupport of the credit of the nation. Mr. Fox took occaſion to glance at the Commutation tax, of which he expreſſed his uſual diſapprobation, declaring it was the ſubſtitution of a ſevere, an oppreſſive, and an odious burden; the efficiency of which would continue to be doubtful and precarious, in the room of one that was certain in its produce, and right in its operation.

Mr Eden. Mr. *Eden* roſe to give his cordial thanks to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, not only for calling upon Parliament to enter into a conſideration of the firſt poſſible importance, but for having prepared informations eſſentially neceſſary towards arriving at the juſt point of judgement, and to enable the Houſe to form concluſions reſpecting the Public Funds and Public Credit, not too ſanguine on the one hand, nor too deſpondent on the other. The papers now moved for were quarterly continuations of papers, for which he himſelf had for ſome years called at the opening of each ſeſſion, and he well knew, that a ſtatement of ſo complicated an account, ſo late as to the fifth of the preſent month, could only be in readineſs, though prepared by a very intelligent and induſtrious officer, in conſequence of preparatory orders from the Treaſury. As to the contents of that account, he would not riſque

riſque comments on particulars which he had not ſeen: but he would enter into the examination of it with a moſt anxious wiſh to find that it would realize to the country, and to the creditors of the country, the comfortable proſpect of an efficient ſinking fund. In the mean time, he muſt obſerve upon the totals ſtated by the right honourable gentleman, that though they afforded much cauſe of congratulation *primâ facie* to the Public, it would be unwiſe and unmanly not to look more cloſely to the fair reſult of even the moſt proſperous of ſtatements. The quarter ending at Lady-day was re[illegible] to give a net produce of above three millions; he w[illegible] the preſent wave all doubts reſpecting the riſque of ta[illegible]arter, which happened to be peculiarly high, in or[illegible]ate the regular proportion of the revenue: he would not allo[illegible] the preſent inquire what branch of the cuſtoms or exciſe [illegible] particularly increaſed, or whether there was any ſufficient ground to expect that the ſubſequent quarters would be equally high: he would, for the ſake of argument, admit the whole in the moſt flattering extent, and conſequently that the net produce of all the taxes, including thoſe of 1784, would for the future be 3,025,000l. per quarter, or 12,100,000l. a year. To this he would add 2,400,000l. for the annual land and mal[illegible], making in the whole a national revenue of 14,500,000l. According to this ſtatement, the revenue would then only equalize the expenditure; for it had been admitted on all hands, that the annual peace expenditure might be eſtimated at fourteen millions and a half: indeed it could not reaſonably be taken at leſs; for the intereſt and charges of the national debt were, at leaſt, nine millions, and when added to the ſum appropriated for the Civil Liſt, might be called ten millions. The army, navy, and ordnance, together with the half pay, Chelſea, and long liſt of ſundries annually voted, would make a farther ſum of four millions and a half, and conſequently, unleſs his laſt liſt could be diminiſhed, there remained, under the admiſſion of a very diſputable calculation, no favourable balance whatever. If on the other hand that calculation ſhould prove fallacious, the proſpect was gloomy, and ſuch as would require much wiſdom, much firmneſs, and much temper, in Parliament, in Miniſters, and in the People at large. He concluded, however, as he began, with thinking it highly meritorious to bring the matter forward, and to furniſh ſufficient materials for its due inveſtigation.

Mr. *Dempſter* roſe to put two queſtions to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The one was, whether it was the right honourable Mr. Dempſter,

honourable gentleman's intention to begin upon his ſcheme, and appropriate a million this year, or not to begin it till the next year. The other point was, whether the right honourable gentleman meant to ſecure his Sinking Fund from being diverted to a wrong purpoſe, by inſtituting ſome ſort of commiſſion for the ſpecial ſuperintendance of it, and, in order to put it out of poſſibility, that it ſhould be appropriated to any other object than the actual diminution of the national debt.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* ſaid, that his idea exactly correſponded with that of the honourable gentleman with reſpect to the eſtabliſhment and uſe of a Sinking Fund he ſhould never be ſatisfied with ſuch a fund, unleſs it were ſo locked up, and ſo ſtrongly confined to the purpoſes of its inſtitution, the diminution of the national debt, as that nothing elſe could poſſibly touch it, but that it ſhould be looked upon as perfectly ſacred, and not convertible to any other end, and that for this purpoſe, it ſhould be put under the moſt effectual reſtraints that could poſſibly be deviſed. In anſwer to the other queſtion of the honourable gentleman, he ſaid, that it was not his intention that this fund ſhould commence until next year, becauſe as there was ſuch a flattering proſpect of increaſing proſperity, he thought it better to defer it for one year longer, as any ideas that might now be formed on the ſubject, would probably be materially affected by the favourable turn which, by that time, it was to be expected, affairs would have taken, and that he thought the whole of the buſineſs might more eaſily be reduced to a ſyſtem after it ſhould be ſeen how far the revenue, as it now ſtood, would, by means of its expected improvement and increaſe, anſwer the purpoſe.

Mr. Dempſter.

Mr *Dempſter* roſe again, and ſaid, what had fallen from the right honourable gentleman had given him very great concern. He had entertained hopes that the right honourable gentleman had deſigned to begin his ſcheme immediately. The reaſon why he hoped ſo was, his conviction that there was no time to be loſt, as our enemies had got the ſtart of us, France having already provided a Sinking Fund, which, with the ſums that would very ſhortly fall into it, would enable her in a few years to get rid of the greateſt part of her national debt. On this account, and that we might not have our enemies beforehand with us on ſo important a point, he declared, he was extremely anxious that no time ſhould be loſt, nay, he would even wiſh the right honourable gentleman ſhould borrow the million, rather than not begin to create the Sinking Fund this year. The money to be raiſed

would

would be no more than fifty thouſand pounds to pay the intereſt, and one million a year dedicated to the ſole ſervice of paying off the national debt, would, in fifty-four years, pay off near two hundred millions.

Mr Chancellor Pitt

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* ſaid, that although there certainly might at times, and under certain circumſtances, be an advantage in borrowing at five per cent. for the purpoſe of paying off debts, yet it was not a part of his plan.

The queſtion was put and agreed to

A ſhort converſation took place reſpecting the tranſportation of convicts, but no motion was made.

The bill for raiſing a million by Exchequer bills was read a firſt time, and ordered to be read a ſecond time. The order of the day was then read for going into the farther conſideration of that part of His Majeſty's ſpeech that relates to the arrangement of an intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland, upon which the Speaker left the chair, and Mr. Gilbert took his ſeat at the table. Mr. Erſkine was then called to the bar.

The ſpeech of the honourable James Luttrell, on the report of the Ordnance eſtimates, containing a detail of facts highly important to the diſcuſſion of the queſtion of the fortifications, we lay before our readers an accurate account of what he ſaid. Vide Vol XVII. page 407.

The hon. J. Luttrell,

The honourable *James Luttrell* (Surveyor General of the Ordnance) obſerved that the Ordnance eſtimates were reduced as low as the neceſſary ſervices for the year would admit of, and they had paſſed without objection to any article contained in them but ſome diſſatisfaction had ariſen on the propoſed application of 50,000l. granted for the purpoſe of ſecuring, by fortifications, the principal dock yards of the kingdom.

The importance of that queſtion merited the moſt ſerious diſcuſſion and conſideration of Parliament. The national treaſure had been greatly exhauſted by the late unfortunate war — Œconomy in all the public departments became highly expedient, but, to neglect the moſt eſſential preparations for the future ſafety of the kingdom, would be to adopt a ruinous, deſponding, and impolitic parſimony, not juſtified by any public diſaſter or fatal neceſſity. He was adverſe to a general ſyſtem of defending the kingdom by fortifications. It would be only furniſhing an advantage to an invading enemy. The deſtruction of a country town or city could never decide the fate of the war; but the demolition of the

principal docks and naval ſtores of the kingdom would ſtrike at the very root of our naval power; and it muſt be of the higheſt importance to guard againſt ſuch a blow. To defend our dock yards effectually, it became neceſſary that a moderate force ſhould be able to repel an enemy till the ſtrength of the country could be collected; and this could only be accompliſhed by fortifications. Many advantages, and no poſſible miſchief, could ariſe from ſuch a meaſure. Veteran troops only could be oppoſed to veterans in the open fields, and ſuperior numbers of the enemy muſt probably ſucceed, but within forts, militia, ſeamen, almoſt any ſtout brave fellow might be as uſeful in the article of defence as the moſt experienced ſoldier. There is only a certain limited time that any fortification can hold out againſt the regular approaches of an army, if nature affords no peculiar extraordinary advantage, ſuch as the rock of Gibraltar. There could, therefore, be no riſk that an enemy, even in poſſeſſion of the propoſed fortifications, could be capable of holding them for any conſiderable length of time againſt the collected force of this country, but as a poſſeſſion for twenty-four hours of any ſituation, from whence the docks, ſtores, and ſhipping might be deſtroyed with red-hot ſhot and ſhells, would ſtrike a fatal blow at the navy, ſurely ſuch ſtrong works as ſhould be capable of reſiſting any ſuperiority of number, for a certain time, ought to be raiſed for the purpoſe of guarding theſe moſt important poſts, that reinforcements might arrive to repel the enemy before any eſſential miſchief was done.

The advantages to the navy ariſing from the propoſed fortifications would be extremely great and important. They would remove alarms and apprehenſions, ſuch as had cramped and confined the employment of our navy at the commencement of the laſt war, — apprehenſions then, perhaps, juſtifiable from the defenceleſs ſtate of our dock yards. French troops would always be ſtationed on the oppoſite coaſt of the Channel, if our *wooden walls* muſt anſwer every purpoſe, and ſhips were to be detained to remove the fears of invaſion. Such a mode of carrying on war muſt be fatal to Great Britain; inferior in number of ſhips to her enemies, and ſtill more inferior, if French troops, in any ſituation, were ſuffered to block our ſhips up in their ports, and thereby virtually act as an increaſe of the naval force we may have to contend with. He wiſhed to give Miniſters no excuſe in future for adopting a ſyſtem of defence ſo ruinous and diſgraceful. He obſerved, that it is eaſy to make uſe of pompous declamation, and to repreſent the navy of Britain as invincible

ble and ſuperior to all the world in arms; — but that experience had taught us we have no advantages to ſpare, and therefore the navy ſhould be eaſed of every unneceſſary incumbrance and check upon any of its operations. We ſhould hope for the beſt, but it is wiſe to provide againſt the worſt that could happen. He reminded the Houſe that, in the laſt war, we employed more line-of-battle ſhips and ſeamen than in the former glorious one, when Great Britain blocked her enemies up in their ports, and carried a victorious and triumphant flag in every quarter of the globe. But the increaſe of our enemies' naval ſtrength in the laſt war (excluſive of America) had been ſuch as to occaſion our having inferior fleets abroad, (by which we loſt ſome Weſt-India iſlands,) inferior fleets at home, when the defence of Plymouth and the Channel was abandoned: and when our fleet relieved Gibraltar, the whole of the Dutch navy was left at liberty, for near three months, either to annoy the coaſt and trade, or cover a landing of French troops, if the enemy had meditated any ſuch expedition. It is, therefore, indiſputably true, that the navy had not, at all times, been able to afford its protection to the docks; and every reaſonable man muſt agree, they ought not to be expoſed to the hazard of deſtruction, as it would be impoſſible to carry on the war without the means to repair and refit our ſhips. He denied that any new acquiſition of force was likely to afford us greater ſuperiority in a future war. The loſs of America and other foreign poſſeſſions had circumſcribed the extent of our commerce, and fewer ſeamen muſt be the neceſſary conſequence. America, he feared, would deprive us of great numbers whenever a future war ſhould break out. — Ships were building, but they would ſcarcely replace thoſe worn out, ſold, or broke up. — France and Spain had an increaſing commerce; a navy ſuperior in number to ours, improved finances, a population that can ſupply as many men for their army and navy as they can want, and, by means of their regiſter for ſeamen, they can always man their ſhips with greater expedition than we can. The Dutch navy is likely to be far more numerous than in the laſt war, and continental connections making a combination of naval ſtrength againſt us a much more probable event than any acquiſition of alliance on our part. Thus circumſtanced, he wiſhed the navy to be an active force. Early reinforcements muſt be ſent abroad. Our foreign poſſeſſions cannot be protected, unleſs we have in thoſe ſeas equal fleets with the enemy. When we neglected this policy, we loſt our iſlands. We cannot afford to do this, and count

ſhips

ſhips with thoſe at Breſt Our home fleet muſt, at times, be very inferior in number to the enemy, but it would give them no material and important advantage. The trade might go north about, put into Ireland, and deviſe various ways of eſcaping: and ſhould our fleet be defeated, it would be attended with no loſs of territory, and the ſpur of alarms would increaſe exertions both in the building and manning of ſhips, ſo that our home force would be daily increaſing. But the docks and naval ſtores ſhould be perfectly ſecured, that our ſhips may find ſafe ports to retreat to, and the certain means to repair and refit He then ſhewed the practicability of the enemy forming an expedition for the deſtruction of the docks, ſtores, and ſhipping at Plymouth and Portſmouth, if left in their preſent defenceleſs ſtate, convenient landing places being very extenſive, and unprotected by any work capable of reſiſting the operations of twenty thouſand men; for the inferiority of our troops, in point of number, would oblige them to retire from field works to the preſent fortifications, and they might remain there unmoleſted, as the enemy, out of reach of our guns, might take poſt on the oppoſite ſhore to the docks both of Portſmouth and Plymouth, from whence they might effectually deſtroy with ſhells and red-hot ſhot the docks, ſtores, and ſhipping The preſent works are therefore uſeleſs, unleſs we complete the ſyſtem of circumvallation, for if one door of a houſe be left wide open, the locking and barring all the other doors and windows can never give ſecurity

He then explained the facility of bringing troops acroſs the Channel (for the object of a coup de main) compared with the vaſt preparations and time it would employ to attempt the invaſion of a kingdom, or to fit out a foreign diſtant expedition. He ſhewed, that two or three months abſence of the fleet (as in the inſtance of relieving Gibraltar) or a navy that would ſuffer the French fleet to anchor unmoleſted in our ports (as in the inſtance of Sir Charles Hardy) would give full time ſufficient for the neceſſary preparation and progreſs of an attack upon the docks. It being an object of enterprize, which muſt be abandoned if it did not ſucceed in a ſhort ſpace of time, the enemy would land near the object of their attack, a retreat to their ſhipping being eaſily ſecured. The alarms at Portſmouth and Plymouth, and throughout the kingdom laſt war, ſhewed ſuch an attempt was not thought romantic or impracticable. Let us then no longer run the hazard of ſo fatal a blow, nor

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be obliged to cramp the uſe of the navy, whenever an enemy chooſes to keep up appearances, to create alarms for our ſafety at home, while they are making eaſy conqueſts in diſtant parts of the empire.

He then obſerved, that the conſtruction of the forts, the poſts they are to occupy, and the number of troops neceſſary to defend them, had reſted on the judgement of the Maſter General; who had taken great pains, and being confirmed in his opinions, by finding that his idea coincided with that of many of our ableſt generals, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed engineers in the ſervice, the Houſe might either be ſatisfied upon the ground of confidence in the noble Duke, or adopt ſome farther wiſe mode of farther inveſtigation. He only hoped they would not condemn from *prejudice*. He then obſerved, on the article of expence, that great pains had been taken by the engineers to make eſtimates which could not be greatly exceeded; though it is impoſſible for any calculation to be perfectly accurate. He alſo ſtated many new regulations of the Board, which effectually guard the public money from being laviſhed away by the perſons intruſted to carry the plans into execution. He hoped never to ſee the navy again employed merely for the object of a defenſive war. Offenſive war he conſidered as beſt ſuited to the genius of this nation, and the only deſcription of war that could terminate with advantage, honour and glory to Great Britain. Every meaſure that led to this object he thought worthy the attention of Parliament. Releaſe the navy from unneceſſary incumbrances; employ it as an active force; and, by a wiſe application of it, and the vigour and exertions of our officers and ſeamen, the Britiſh flag may again keep our enemies in awe, and give ſecurity to the moſt diſtant parts of the empire. He therefore hoped and truſted, Parliament would not, from ill-grounded prejudices, or a ſuperficial view of the ſubject, refuſe to allow the application of the money granted for the propoſed fortifications at Portſmouth and Plymouth.

Tueſday, April 12.

No debate.

Thurſday April 14.

The Houſe went into a Committee on the bill for the farther regulation of the trial of controverted elections.

The Speaker.

Mr. *Cornwall* (the Speaker) then roſe, and ſaid he had been in Parliament at the time when the bill, commonly called Mr. Grenville's Bill, was originally introduced. He thought it an honour, as he was conſulted by the author of the bill, and had lived to ſee its important and ſalutary effects in a variety of inſtances. When he recollected the infinite and flagrant miſchiefs which it had prevented, and with what uniformity it always had kept the main end of the inſtitution in view, he looked up to it with a mixture of veneration and reſpect, which made him ſpeak of it with the greateſt tenderneſs and delicacy. If he had rightly collected the meaning of the right honourable gentleman who had introduced the preſent bill, his intention was merely to correct certain mechanical parts of the operation of the original bill, but by no means to go into a conſideration of its principle, or to propoſe any thing for the preſent, that might affect it in any way whatever, avowedly reſerving the conſideration of the ſubject at large for another ſeſſion. Perhaps it might have been as well to have reſerved every part of the bill till that period; but, however, the preſent bill having been brought in, there were two or three points in the operation of the original bill, excluſive of thoſe that the clauſes of the bill upon the table went to, that appeared to him to be material, and to be ſuch as ought to be corrected. At firſt, as the bill ſtood, the Houſe had no power to compel a party to abide by his petition. By the act, the party were directed to come with their Counſel on the day of the ballot to receive the liſt of the forty-nine members choſen, and then retire to ſtrike off till the number be reduced to thirteen, but the act had no clauſe in it obliging the petitioners ſo to attend. Another point was in caſe of the death of either party, the petitioners or the ſitting member, ſome means were wanting to ſecure that the election ſhould be tried. A third matter was dictated by what had recently happened, viz. the want of ſome power of adjourning, in caſe the Houſe could not make a ballot at ſuch periods as were well known to be periods when no parliamentary buſineſs was uſually tranſacted. He ſaid, he had no delicacy in plainly declaring that he alluded to a ſubject of great inconvenience to himſelf perſonally, and which could anſwer no uſeful purpoſe whatever. Inſtead of the Houſe being obliged to continue to meet out of mere form, on ſuch occaſions, he ſhould think it might always have power to adjourn on the day immediately preceding Chriſtmas eve, Good Friday, and Whit Sunday, for a week or ten days.

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There was another point that [illegible] at by the right honourable gentleman who had opened the ſubject of his preſent bill, and that was, the providing ſome remedy for the poſſibility of a Committee's being put an end to by prorogation, after having perhaps ſat a very conſiderable time, in conſequence of which, the parties would have to begin *de novo*, the next ſeſſion, after having been put to a conſiderable deal of expence and trouble. As there was a poſſibility, that ſome of the election Committees might, this year be in this danger, he was of opinion, that ſomething ought be done to provide againſt it. There were, he ſaid, two ways of meeting it; either to let the Committees continue ſitting, notwithſtanding a prorogation, in which caſe it would be neceſſary to grant them the proper powers by the preſent bill, with which they were not now furniſhed, or to provide by ſome clauſe or clauſes, that the ſame Committee, who were diſſolved by a prorogation, ſhould be revived in the next ſeſſion, and all their proceedings preſerved, ſo that that they might reſume the trial of ſuch election, as they might have been choſen to try, juſt where they left off.—Both theſe methods, he was aware, were liable to objection; but of the two, he thought the laſt was preferable. What he had ſtated, he ſaid, was the whole of what had ſuggeſted itſelf to him as neceſſary to be done in addition to what the right honourable gentleman had himſelf propoſed. He had thought it his duty to take that opportunity of ſuggeſting them to the conſideration of the Committee as points worthy to be attended to; and if it had occurred to him, that more was neceſſary to be done, he would have mentioned it.

The right honourable *W. W. Grenville* declared himſelf extremely obliged to the right honourable gentleman for what he had ſaid. The right honourable gentleman, he obſerved, had made a previous communication to him of moſt of the points to which he had ſpoken, and he had in conſequence prepared clauſes adapted to the correction of two of them, which he meant to bring up in the Committee. With regard to the propoſition reſpecting a prorogation of Parliament, he could not ſay it by any means appeared to him fit to be adopted. It was undoubtedly liable to very conſiderable objection. The right hon. W. W. Grenville.

The Committee then proceeded [illegible] up the blanks, and much converſation enſued about each of them.

Lord *Mahon* objected to the clauſe, by which it was intended to alter the number of names from forty-nine to Lord Mahon.

thirty-nine. He contended that thirty-five was a better number than thirty-nine.

The right honourable W. W. Grenville was for thirty-ſeven.

At length the Committe divided on the words thirty-five.

Ayes,	- - - - - -	38
Noes,	- - - - - -	41

The queſtion for filling it up with the words thirty-ſeven was then carried, after which, Mr. Sheridan adviſed the poſtponing the clauſe altogether, till the principle of the bill, and the larger conſideration of it were brought into conſideration next ſeſſion; as altering the number of members drawn to form a liſt, appeared to be a very material alteration of the bill, and ſuch as ſhould be extremely well conſidered before it was adopted. To this propoſition Mr. Grenville acceded; and Mr. Jolliffe, Mr. Montagu, and others, teſtified their approbation of omitting the clauſe entirely. The Committee afterwards filled up the blanks of the other clauſes, and ſeveral new clauſes were introduced and made parts of the bill.

Friday, April 15.

Heard evidence on the Iriſh reſolutions.

Monday, April

Mr. Chancellor Pitt. Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* roſe to call the attention of the Houſe to the important ſubject of a reform in the repreſentation of the people. It was unneceſſary for him to ſay how much this ſubject ought to engage the attention of gentlemen, and how nearly it was connected with every other intereſt which could be important to Engliſhmen.

In entering upon this ſubject, he ſaid, he was aware of the diviſion of ſentiment, and of the pertinacity with which ſome men adhered to opinions inimical to every ſpecies of reform. But he roſe with hopes infinitely more ſanguine than he ever felt before, and with hopes which he conceived to be rationally and ſolidly founded. There never was a moment when the minds of men were more enlightened on this intereſting topic than now; there never was a moment when they were more prepared for its diſcuſſion. A great many objections which from time to time had been adduced againſt reform, would not lie againſt the propoſitions which he intended to ſubmit

ſubmit to the Houſe; and the queſtion was in truth new in all its ſhapes to the preſent Parliament.

He was ſenſible of the difficulty which there was now, and ever muſt be in propoſing a plan of reform. The number of gentlemen who were hoſtile to reform, were a phalanx which ought to give alarm to any individual upon riſing to ſuggeſt ſuch a meaſure. Thoſe who, with a ſort of ſuperſtitious awe, reverence the conſtitution ſo much as to be fearful of touching even its defects, had always reprobated every attempt to purify the repreſentation. They acknowledged its inequality and corruption, but in their enthuſiaſm for the grand fabric, they would not ſuffer a reformer with unhallowed hands to repair the injuries which it ſuffered from time. Others, who perceiving the deficiencies that had ariſen from circumſtances, were ſolicitous of their amendment, yet reſiſted the attempt, under the argument, that when once we had preſumed to touch the Conſtitution in one point, the awe which had heretofore kept us back from the daring enterprize of innovation, might abate, and there was no foreſeeing to what alarming lengths we might progreſſively go under the maſk of reformation. Others there were, but for theſe he confeſſed he had not the ſame reſpect, who conſidered the preſent ſtate of repreſentation as pure and adequate to all its purpoſes, and perfectly conſiſtent with the firſt principles of repreſentation. The fabric of the Houſe of Commons was an ancient pile, on which they had been all taught to look with reverence and awe from their cradles; they had been accuſtomed to view it as a pattern of perfection, their anceſtors had enjoyed freedom and proſperity under it; and therefore an attempt to make any alterations in it, would be deemed by ſome enthuſiaſtic admirers of antiquity, as impious and ſacrilegious. No one reverenced the venerable fabric more than he did, but all mankind knew, that the beſt inſtitutions, like human bodies, carried in themſelves the ſeeds of decay and corruption; and therefore he thought himſelf juſtifiable in propoſing remedies againſt this corruption, which the frame of the conſtitution muſt neceſſarily experience in the laps of years, if not prevented by wiſe and judicious regulations.

To men who argued in this manner, he did not preſume to addreſs his propoſitions, for ſuch men he deſpaired of convincing: but he had well-grounded hopes, that in what he ſhould offer to the Houſe, he ſhould be able to convince gentlemen of the former deſcriptions, that though they had

argued ſo ſtrongly againſt general and unexplained notions of reform, their arguments would not weigh againſt the preciſe and explicit propoſition which it was his purpoſe to ſubmit to them. The objection to reform, under the idea of innovation, would not hold good againſt his ſuggeſtion, for it was not an innovation on any known and clear principle of the conſtitution. Their objection to reform, becauſe it might introduce habits of change and alteration, of which no man might foreſee the extent or termination, would be equally inapplicable to his plan, for in his mind it would be complete and final. In his mind it would comprehend all that a rational reformer would think it neceſſary now or at any time to do, and would therefore give no licenſe to future or more extenſive ſchemes. The argument, that no alteration of the number of members compoſing the Houſe ought at any time to be ſuffered—and that no reform of the repreſentation in what was emphatically called the corrupt parts ought to be accompliſhed by an act of power, would be equally inapplicable — for, by his propoſition, he meant to lay it down as a firſt principle, that the number of the Houſe ought to remain the ſame, and that the reform of decayed boroughs ought not to proceed on diſfranchiſement. This, he ſaid, was the third effort made by him, ſince he had the honour of a ſeat in Parliament, to prevail upon the Legiſlature to adopt a reform in the repreſentation of the people. He had twice failed in his endeavours to effect this ſalutary purpoſe, and yet he was not diſcouraged from renewing them this day: he was encouraged by two circumſtances which he had not in his favour on the former occaſions. The reform which he now meant to propoſe, was more conſiſtent with the views of the beſt and moſt moderate men; and this was a new Houſe of Commons, that had never been conſulted on the ſubject of reform, and conſequently had not, like the two laſt, negatived a propoſition made for introducing it. Therefore, though the ſubject might be thought ſtale by the Public, as it had been ſo frequently debated, it was perfectly new to the Houſe of Commons which he had then the honour to addreſs, in which it had never yet been debated.

That gentlemen ſhould have ſet themſelves againſt general and unqualified notions of reform he did not much wonder; and that they ſhould be ſtill more inimical to the vague, impracticable, and inconcluſive chimeras, which had been thrown out at different times by different reformers, he was not aſtoniſhed. Reverencing the conſtitution, and feeling

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all the pride of an Englishman on the experience of its beauty, even with all its blemishes it was no wonder that gentlemen should be alarmed at suggestions which were founded on no principle, and which admitted of no limit. But there were certain propositions, in which he had reason to think that all men must coincide.

If there were any specific means of purifying the state of representation on its first principle, without danger of altering the fabric, and without leaving it either in uncertainty or disorder, such means ought, with becoming caution, to be used.

On this clear and indisputable proposition it was that he wished to go. It was because he imagined that a plan might be formed, congenial with the first principles of representation, which would reform the present inadequate state, and provide in all future times for as adequate and perfect a state of representation as they could expect to arrive at in the present circumstances of the country. He was aware, when he spoke in this manner, that the idea of general and complete representation, so as to comprehend every individual, and give him his personal share in the legislature of the country, was a thing incompatible with the population and state of the kingdom. The practicable definition of what the popular branch of our legislature was at this day, he took to be precisely this—"An assembly freely elected, between whom and the mass of the people there was the closest union and most perfect sympathy." Such an House of Commons it was the purpose of the Constitution originally to erect, and such an House of Commons it was the wish of every reformer now to establish. Those who went farther—those who went to ideas of individual representation, deluded themselves with impossibilities; and took the attention of the Public from that sober and practicable path in which they might travel safely and with ease, to launch them into an unbounded sea, where they had no pilot to direct, and no star to guide them.

Solicitous as he was of reform, he never could countenance vague and unlimited notions. It was his wish to see the House adopt a sober and practicable scheme, which should have for its basis the original principle of representation, and should produce the object which every lover of our Constitution must have in view, a House of Commons between whom and the People there should exist the same interest and the

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moſt perfect ſympathy and [illegible] It was his purpoſe to ſee an arrangement made, which, while it corrected the preſent inadequate ſtate of repreſentation, ſhould keep it adequate when made ſo, and ſhould give to the Conſtitution purity, conſiſtency, and, if poſſible, immortality. Such was the ſanguine idea which he entertained from his project, and ſuch he truſted would be the ſentiment of the Houſe upon its expoſition. Whatever argument might be adduced againſt its practicability, and what againſt its expediency, he truſted that the old argument of innovation would not be alledged. As he had ſaid it was not an innovation, and he was ſure that gentlemen would agree with him in this ſentiment, when they turned their eyes with him back to the earlieſt periods of our hiſtory, and traced the practice of our anceſtors in the pureſt days.

He conſidered it on ſuch a review, as one of the moſt indiſputable doctrines of antiquity, that the ſtate of repreſentation was to be changed with the change of circumſtances. As far back as the period of the reign of Edward I. which was the firſt time when they could trace diſtinct deſcriptions of men in the repreſentation, the doctrine of change was clearly underſtood. The counties were not uniform; the number of member was frequently varied; and from that period to the reign of Charles II. there were few reigns in which repreſentation was not varied, and in which it did not undergo diminutions or fluctuations of ſome kind or other. Thoſe changes were owing to the diſcretion which was left in the executive branches of the legiſlature, to ſummon or not to ſummon whom they pleaſed to Parliament. The executive branch of the legiſlature was veſted with this diſcretion on no other principle, than that the places which might for the time being, have ſuch a ſhare in the general ſcale of the people, as ſhould entitle them, or rather ſubject them to the duty of ſending members to the repreſentative body, might be appointed to do ſo. In this very diſcretionary power the principle of alteration was viſible, and it manifeſted the original notion which our forefathers had of repreſentation to be this: — That whereas it was impoſſible that every individual of a populous country could make choice of a repreſentative, the taſk ſhould be committed to ſuch bodies of men as might be collected together in communities in the ſeveral diſtricts of the kingdom: — and as ſuch communities muſt from their nature be fluctuating and moveable,

that the Crown should have the discretion of pointing out which of them were proper from their size and scale to execute this duty for the rest. Every man must acknowledge that to have exercised this discretion otherwise than soundly, must have been a high grievance; and he needed not to say that if it were now vested in the Crown, and that ministers might fix on such places as they pleased for the choice of members, there was not a man in England who would not consider the liberties of his country as extinguished. Such discretion, however, did exist, and he mentioned it to shew, that principles in representation had been departed from, and had their existence no longer. The argument against change was an argument against the experience of every period of our history. There had not been of late any addition to the county share in the representation, except indeed of the palatines, of the principality of Wales, and of another addition which had been made since the period at which it was common to say that our Constitution was fixed, the Revolution, namely, the addition of all that part of the united kingdom called Scotland.

But in the borough representation the changes had been infinitely more common. Gentlemen had undoubtedly read, that of the boroughs which used formerly to send members to Parliament, seventy-two had been disfranchised, that was to say, that the Crown had ceased to summon them at general elections to return burgesses to the House of Commons. After the Restoration, thirty-six of these boroughs petitioned Parliament to be restored to the exercise of their ancient franchise, their prayer was granted, and to this day they continued to enjoy it But the other thirty-six not having presented any petition on the subject, had not recovered their lost franchise. Upon this he would be bold to say, that considering the restoration of the former, and the continued deprivation of the latter, the spirit of the Constitution had been grossly violated, if it was true, (but which he denied) that the extension to one set of boroughs of the franchise of returning members to Parliament, and the resumption of it from others, was a violation of the Constitution. for if the numbers could not originally have been constitutionally increased, so they could not constitutionally have been diminished but having been once diminished, to restore them might by some be said to make an innovation. and if the Parliament had any authority to restore the franchise, the principle of restoration ought to have been extended to the seventy-two boroughs, and not confined to one half of them.

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Here then it appeared manifeſt, that the whole was governed by a principle, which militated directly againſt the modern doctrine, that do what had been conſtantly done for ages, by the wiſeſt of our anceſtors, was to innovate upon the Conſtitution. The ſeventy-two boroughs in queſtion had diſcontinued to return members, becauſe they had fallen into decay. Thirty-ſix of them afterwards recovered their franchiſe, when they recovered their former wealth and population; but the other thirty-ſix not having renovated their former vigour and conſequence in the State, remained to this day deprived of the franchiſe which had been taken from them, when they loſt the wealth and population, on account of which they had originally obtained it.

Why then was there a greater objection to any change in the repreſentation of certain boroughs now than there had been in former periods? Why were they more ſacred now than the thirty-ſix boroughs which had been disfranchiſed, and which now had no ſhare in the repreſentation of the country? The arguments that influenced gentlemen againſt any change now, would have equally operated againſt the thirty-ſix boroughs which had from time to time been extinguiſhed, as well as againſt the ſame number, which having been aboliſhed, were, from a change of their circumſtances, reinſtated in their privilege. In thoſe earlier periods, ſuch was the notion of repreſentation, that as one borough decayed, and another aroſe, the one was aboliſhed, and the other inveſted with the right, and alterations took place from accident or caprice, which, however, ſo far as they were, ſtood good and valid. The alterations were not made by principle; they did not ariſe from any fixed rule laid down and invariably purſued, but they were founded in that notion which gave the diſcretionary power to the Crown, viz. that the principal places, and not the decayed boroughs, ſhould be called upon to exerciſe the right of election.

He contended, therefore, that the ſame notion ſhould now prevail, but that it ſhould be reſcued from that accident and caprice in which it had before been involved—that the alteration ſhould be made on principle—and that they ſhould eſtabliſh this as a clear and eternal axiom in repreſentation, that it ſhould always be the ſame—that it ſhould not depend upon locality or name, but upon number and condition, and that a ſtandard ſhould be fixed for its ſize. He would ſubmit to the world which of the two were moſt anxious for the preſervation of the original principle of the Conſtitution, he who was for maintaining the exterior and name of repreſentation,

tation, when the ſubſtance was gone. or he who, preferring the ſubſtance and reality of repreſentation to the name and exterior, was ſolicitous of changing its ſeat from one part of the country to another, as one place might flouriſh and another decay It was his idea, that if they could deduce any good principles from theory, and apply them to practice, it was their duty to do ſo. It was then the theory, and it had been the practice in all times to adapt the repreſentation to the ſtate of the country, and this was exactly what it was his intention to recommend to the Houſe Now and in all future time to adapt the repreſentation to the ſtate of the country, was the idea of reform which he entertained.

Perhaps gentlemen would be apt to exclaim that this contradicted the declaration with which he ſet out, viz. that the plan which he meant to propoſe would be final and complete. When they came, however, to hear the whole of his idea, he truſted they would find that his propoſition had in view not only an immediate reform, but that it comprehended an arrangement which muſt operate in all future time, and provide for the changes which in the nature of things muſt inceſſantly ariſe in a country like Britain He wiſhed to eſtabliſh a permanent rule to operate like the diſcretion out of which our preſent Conſtitution had ſprung. That diſcretion would be very improper to exiſt now, though in rude times it was ſet to dangerous when repreſentation was rather a burden than a privilege, rather a duty than an object of ambition. For that diſcretion he was no advocate, but he wiſhed to remind gentlemen, that that diſcretionary power had never been wreſted from the hands of the executive branch of the Legiſlature, and that to this day there exiſted but the act of Union to prevent the Crown from adding to or diminiſhing the number of that Houſe. By the act of Union the proportionate numbers for the two parts of the kingdom were fixed, and from the date of that act, but not till that act, the diſcretion of the Crown was at an end.

The argument of withſtanding all reformation, from the fear of the ill conſequences that might enſue, made gentlemen come to a ſort of compromiſe with themſelves "We are ſenſible of certain defects; we feel certain inconveniencies in the preſent ſtate of repreſentation, but fearing that we may make it worſe by alteration, we will be content with it as it is." This was a ſort of argument to which he could not give his countenance. If gentlemen had at all times been content with this ſort of average, the nation would have loſt much of that excellence of which our Conſtitution now had to boaſt.

Who would ſay but that the excellence of the Conſtitution was the fruit of conſtant improvement? To prove this fact required but little illuſtration. It was, for inſtance, a firſt principle in our Conſtitution, that Parliament ſhould meet as frequently as the exigencies of the State ſhould require. This was a clear principle, but the periods were not fixed Practice, however, had improved on this principle, and now it was eſtabliſhed that Parliament ſhould annually meet

Something like that which he meant now to recommend, did take place in very early periods of our hiſtory It was remarkable that James I with all his high notions of diſcretionary power, ſtated, in his firſt proclamation for calling a Parliament, that the ſheriffs of the counties ſhould not direct ſuch boroughs to ſend members as were ſo utterly ruined as to be incapable or unintitled to contribute their ſhare to the repreſentation of the country Another period of our hiſtory, which, whatever objection he might have to the general principles, had given riſe to many ſalutary laws, he meant in the days of Cromwell, it was declared by the Protector that there ſhould be a greater proportion of knights than of burgeſſes in the Houſe of Commons He mentioned this authority, for which, as he had ſaid, he had, in the general, no great reverence, (whoſe oppoſition to Charles I began in licentiouſneſs, and proceeded, as licentiouſneſs always did, to tyranny) becauſe it would ſhew, that whatever was his general reſpect for the conſtitution of the country, he clearly ſhewed that he thought repreſentation ſhould be proportioned to the people repreſented. Lord Clarendon, in ſpeaking of the plan of Cromwell, had ſaid, and it was to be found in his writings, "That it was worthy of a more warrantable authority, and "of better times" From theſe circumſtances, he thought that a doubt could not be left on the mind, but that it always had been the principle of repreſentation that it ſhould change with the changes which the country might endure, and that it ſhould not be merely confined, as he had ſaid, to exterior and locality

Feeling, therefore, that this was the clear principle of repreſentation, he begged the Houſe to remember, that he had told them in the outſet that his plan was free from the objection of altering the number of the Houſe, and alſo from the objection of making any change in the boroughs by diſfranchiſement his plan conſiſted of two parts, the firſt was more immediate than the other, but they were both gradual The firſt was calculated to procure an early, if not an immediate change of the repreſentation of the boroughs; and the ſecond

cond was intended to eſtabliſh a rule, by which the repreſentation ſhould change with the changes of the country It was the clear and determined opinion of every ſpeculatiſt, that there ſhould be an alteration of the preſent proportion between the counties and boroughs, and that in the change, a larger proportion of members ſhould be given for the populous places, than for places that neither had property nor people.

It was therefore his intention to ſubmit to the Houſe, to provide, That the members of a certain number of boroughs of the laſt deſcription, that is, of boroughs decayed, ſhould be diſtributed among the counties He would take the criterion, by which he ſhould judge what boroughs were decayed, from the number of houſes, and this was a mode of judgement which was not liable to error, and which he conceived to be perfectly conſiſtent with the original principle of repreſentation. He ſhould propoſe, that theſe members ſhould be transferred to the counties, beginning with thoſe that ſtood in the greateſt need of addition. The nature of ſuch a reform as this was in its nature limited; for, if once the ſtandard for the loweſt county was fixed, the proportion for all muſt be the ſame, and it would be impoſſible to add more for any one county than for the reſt. In this view of the buſineſs, he imagined that the Houſe would agree with him in thinking that there were about thirty-ſix boroughs ſo decayed, as to come within the ſcheme of ſuch an operation. Seventy-two would therefore be the number of members to be added to the counties in ſuch proportion as the wiſdom of Parliament might direct, and this number it was his intention to propoſe ſhould be fixed and unalterable The operation muſt be gradual, as he intended that the boroughs ſhould be diſfranchiſed on their own voluntary application to Parliament. Gentlemen muſt be aware that a voluntary application to Parliament was not to be expected without an adequate conſideration being given to the boroughs; and he truſted that gentlemen would not ſtart at the idea of ſuch a conſideration being provided for. A reform could only be brought about by two means—by an act of power, or by an adequate conſideration which might induce bodies or individuals to part with rights which they conſidered as a ſpecies of valuable inheritance, or of perſonal property. To a reform by violence he, and he was ſenſible many others, had an inſurmountable objection; but he conſidered a reform in the repreſentation of the people an object of ſuch value and importance, that he did not heſitate in his own mind to propoſe and to recommend to the Houſe the

eſtabliſhment of a fund for the purpoſe of purchaſing the franchiſe of ſuch boroughs as might be induced to accept of it under the circumſtances which he had mentioned.

It might be aſked what the conſideration could be for ſuch a franchiſe. He knew there was a ſort of ſqueamiſh and maiden coyneſs about the Houſe in talking on this ſubject; they were not very ready to talk in that Houſe on what, at the ſame time it was pretty well underſtood, out of doors they had no great objection to negociate, the purchaſe and the ſale of ſeats. But he would fairly aſk gentlemen, if theſe ſorts of franchiſes were not capable of being appreciated? and whether, notwithſtanding all the proud boaſt of its being an inſult to an Engliſhman to aſk him to ſell his inheritable franchiſe, there were not abundance of places, at which without imputing immorality to any individual, ſuch franchiſes might not be purchaſed? Could it not be proved that in this country eſtates ſo ſituated as to command an influence in a decayed or depopulated borough, and to have the power of returning two members to Parliament, ſold for more money than they would have done if ſituated in any other place, however luxuriant the ſoil might be, however productive its harveſts, unleſs its harveſts could occaſionally produce a couple of members, its intrinſic value was leſs. There were many reaſons why men might be induced to ſurrender this franchiſe; in ſome inſtances, where the right of returning members was attached to the poſſeſſion of an eſtate, and where it might be conſidered as an inheritance, giving to the poſſeſſor the power of doing ſo much good to his country, he might warrantably and honourably accept of a valuable conſideration, more by the uſe of the equivalent he might be equally ſerviceable to the community. In ſome inſtances, perſons enjoyed the franchiſe in conſequence of a life right, and enjoying it only for their lives, intereſt would naturally induce them to accept of a conſideration, others enjoyed it by a ſtill more temporary tenure, merely by the circumſtance of local reſidence, and to them therefore it muſt be an opportunity which they will covet to embrace. Viewing the matter, therefore, in theſe points of view, he had no doubt, in his own mind, but that the boroughs to which he alluded would voluntarily ſurrender their franchiſe to Parliament on ſuch conſideration being given. He ſhould propoſe that the fund to be eſtabliſhed ſhould be divided into two parts, and that it ſhould be ſtipulated that a larger ſum ſhould be given for perpetuities than for temporary rights. He had ſtated before, he ſaid, that

this

this operation would not be immediate, at leaſt to the full extent, but he had reaſon to believe that it would neither be ſlow nor diſtant.

The ſecond part of his plan was to provide, that after the full and final operation of the firſt propoſition, that is, after the extinction of thirty-ſix boroughs, and the transference of their members to the county repreſentation, if there ſtill ſhould remain any borough ſo ſmall and ſo decayed as to fall within the ſize to be fixed on by Parliament, that ſuch borough ſhould ſtill have it in its power to ſurrender its franchiſe on an adequate conſideration, and that the right of ſending the members to Parliament ſhould be transferred to ſuch populous and flouriſhing towns as might deſire to enjoy the right, and that this rule ſhould remain good, and operate in all future time, and be applied to ſuch boroughs as in the fluctuating ſtate of a manufacturing and commercial kingdom might fall into decay in one part of the country, and riſe into condition in another. Theſe propoſitions, taken together, comprehended what he conceived to be a final and complete ſyſtem, and which would eaſe the minds of gentlemen with reſpect to any future ſcheme of reform being attempted, or being neceſſary. That was not a plan of reform either fluctuating or changeable. It was not ſubject to the argument, that the ſtirring this queſtion would lead to endleſs innovations, and that when once involved in change, there was no foreſeeing where we might ſtop, nor was it ſubject to the objection that it was an innovation; for he had very much failed in making his own ideas intelligible to the Houſe, if he had not ſhewn them that it was a plan in every reſpect congenial, not only with the firſt principle, but with the uniform practice of the Conſtitution. Theſe arguments, therefore, he truſted, would not be brought againſt his plan. The argument, whether his propoſitions were practicable, whether they were ſuſceptible of a ſpeedy and early execution, he ſhould be happy to hear and to diſcuſs. But all the arguments that had from time to time been brought againſt general and unexplained notions, as they were not applicable, he truſted they would not be adduced.

He anticipated ſeveral objections, which, when the propoſitions came to be diſcuſſed in the detail, he ſhould be happy to meet and to combat. The firſt, he ſuppoſed, would be the argument of the expence, certainly it would always be wiſe and proper for that Houſe to guard againſt wild and chimerical ſchemes and ſpeculations, which might involve their conſtituents in additional burdens, but he did not believe that in a mat-

a matter ſo dear and important to Engliſhmen, they would be intimidated from embracing it by the circumſtance of the coſt. He conceived it to be above price; it was a thing which the people of England could not purchaſe too highly. Let gentlemen ſet the queſtion in its proper point of view; let them oppoſe to the expence, however great, the probable, and indeed the almoſt certain, advantages to accrue from it, and then they would ſee how little the argument of œconomy ought to weigh againſt the purification of the popular branch of the Legiſlature. If there always had been a Houſe of Commons who were the faithful ſtewards of the intereſts of their country, the diligent checks on the adminiſtration of the finances, the conſtitutional adviſers of the executive branch of the Legiſlature, the ſteady and uninfluenced friends of the People, he aſked, if the burdens which the conſtituents of that Houſe were now doomed to endure, would have been incurred? Would the People of England have ſuffered the calamities to which they had lately been made ſubject? And feeling this great and melancholy truth, would they conſider the diveſtment of any ſum as an object, when, by doing ſo, ſuch a Houſe of Commons might be aſcertained? He did not, therefore, think that the argument of the expence would be much inſiſted on, nor indeed would the expence be ſo great as, on the firſt bluſh of the matter, gentlemen might be apt to imagine*.

Another

* The Rev Mr. Wyvill, Chairman of the Yorkſhire Committee, with whom Mr Pitt conferred on the formation of his plan, gave the following "Summary Explanation of its Principles" at a public meeting

"The number of additional repreſentatives to the great diſtricts is "propoſed to be ſeventy-two, for which the diſfranchiſement of thir- "ty-ſix ſmall boroughs would be wanted The means by which ſo "conſiderable a ſurrender of the right to return members to Parlia- "ment is expected to be obtained, is certainly adequate to the end "propoſed, and yet in the view, either of equity or of expedience, "perfectly unexceptionable

"It is propoſed that a million of pounds ſterling be ſet apart, as a fund for compenſation to the boroughs which may be diſfranchiſed, that this whole ſum be divided into thirty-ſix ſhares, of which, that each borough agreeing to ſurrender its elective right, and applying, by petition from two thirds of its electors, to Parliament for that purpoſe, be entitled to one ſhare, to be diſtributed in due proportion among the ſeveral perſons intereſted therein, according to their reſpective equitable claims, by a ſpecial Committee of the Houſe of "Commons,

Another objection that he foreſaw was, that the operation would be but gradual, and its full and final accompliſhment at

" Commons, to be appointed in the ſame manner as Committees are " appointed to try the merits of conteſted elections, by which, if any " queſtion ſhould ariſe, touching the right of voting, or whether the petitioners are actually two thirds of the voters, ſuch queſtion ſhall be decided the intereſt of theſe thirty-ſix ſhares, or ſeveral principal ſums of money, be ſuffered to accumulate and be added to each principal ſum, until, by the deciſion of ſuch Committee, each ſum, principal and intereſt included, ſhall be awarded to ſome ſmall borough on its voluntary application to be diſfranchiſed By this proviſion, the ſum appropriated, if not large " enough at firſt to induce the decayed boroughs to ſurrender their obnoxious rights, would continually increaſe, and the temptation to " reſign them would become ultimately irreſiſtible.

" By the other part of Mr Pitt's ſyſtem of reformation, a ſubſequent improvement of the borough repreſentation would be aſcertained, and carried into execution on ſimilar terms and, moreover, a principle of future and perpetual improvement in the repreſentation of towns to an indefinite extent would be eſtabliſhed.

" When the repreſentation of the counties and the metropolis ſhall " have been rectified in the mode and to the extent already deſcribed, " it is propoſed that a ſecond ſum be ſet apart to induce ſuch decayed " or inconſiderable boroughs aforeſaid, as may ſtill remain, to make " a further ſurrender of the right of electing members of Parliament, " in order that ſuch right may be transferred to the towns of Birmingham, Mancheſter, and other large unrepreſented places, whenever ſuch unrepreſented places ſhall reſpectively petition Parliament for the ſame — Alſo; that the elective franchiſe, excluſively enjoyed " by a few inhabitants, members of the corporate body in certain towns, may be imparted to the inhabitants, houſeholders of ſuch towns, occupying houſes aſſeſſed to a certain ſmall amount, on the voluntary application of ſuch corporate bodies to Parliament to ſurrender their excluſive privileges

" The extenſion of the right of ſuffrage to many ſubſtantial houſeholders in the metropolis, the unrepreſented towns, and thoſe towns " where the right of repreſentation is at preſent excluſively enjoyed " by a few inhabitants, would be the neceſſary conſequence of the ſeveral transfers, and communications of the elective right propoſed " in the two parts of this ſyſtem The admiſſion of copyholders to " the right of voting at county elections, would form a ſtill greater, " and a perfectly unexceptionable, addition to the conſtituent body; " for which, it is underſtood, that a ſeparate bill would be provided " accordingly. Regulations alſo for multiplying the places of poll " in the counties, for the better aſcertainment of the right of voting, " for reducing expence, and preventing bribery at elections, would be " included as ſubſidiary parts of the ſame ſyſtem."

" I. Eſtimate

at leaſt be diſtant. This, however, was not an objection that could have much weight. He did not believe that the

" I Eſtimate of the number of borough that would probably be " diſfranchiſed, and the conſequent addition of members that would be " made to the larger diſtricts and to unrepreſented towns, and alſo the " number of large towns in which the excluſive right of the corpora- " tions to elect members would be impaired to the ſubſtantial inhabi- " tants, houſeholders of the ſame reſpectively, provided Mr. Pitt's " whole plan ſhould be adopted by Parliament

	Boroughs.
" By the firſt part of his plan would be diſfranchiſed, on vo- " luntary ſurrender, in order to reinforce the repreſentation of " the counties and the metropolis - - - - - -	36
" By the ſecond part, to give repreſentatives to certain large " unrepreſented towns, at leaſt - - - - - -	4
" It is impoſſible to eſtimate the whole future diſfranchiſement " under this head but there are at leaſt four large unrepreſented " towns in immediate view, as fit to receive the right of repre- " ſentation, for which number, conſequently, the diſfran- " chiſement of at leaſt four boroughs would be wanted	
" Total of diſfranchiſed boroughs - - - -	40
" Corporations of large towns that probably would ſurrender " their excluſive right of repreſentation - - -	10

	Members
" Addition to the metropolis and the counties -	72
" To unrepreſented towns - - - -	8
" Repreſentation thrown open in ten large towns -	20
" Total addition of repreſentatives to the Public	

II. " Eſtimate of the augmentation of the conſtituent body, that " would be effected by the ſeveral extentions of the right of ſuffrage " propoſed by Mr Pitt

" Houſeholders added in Marybone, Pancras, and other " unrepreſented parts of the metropolis, about -	10,000
" Unrepreſented freeholders in the city of London -	1,000
" Copyholders in Middleſex, including the metropolis	7,000
" Copyholders in other parts of the kingdom -	65,000
" Houſeholders in Birmingham, Mancheſter, Sheffield, " and Leeds, independent of other unrepreſented towns, " to whom the right of returning members to Parliament " may be imparted - - - - - - -	9,000
" Houſeholders in Scarborough, Bury, Bath, &c -	6,000
" Unrepreſented freeholders of Hullſhire, probably about	500
" Total addition	99,000

operation

operation would either be ſlow or very diſtant: he had ſtated to the Houſe ſeveral reaſons, to ſhew that the different deſcriptions of men would have an intereſt in accepting the conditions to be offered by Parliament; and in the fluctuating ſtate of property, and in the almoſt conſtant neceſſities of men, he argued like a man of the world in ſaying, that the offer of the consideration would from time to time be irreſiſtible. He was ſanguine perhaps in ſaying, that, before next Parliament, the benefit of this plan might be felt, and in the mean time this objection of the plan being gradual, would be leſs regarded, from the confidence which the People of England had in their preſent repreſentatives. They would wait with patience for the operation of this arrangement, from the confidence which they had in the truth and character of the preſent Parliament. It was elected under circumſtances which made it dear to Engliſhmen; it had not yet forfeited the confidence of the country, and he was warranted in ſaying, that, with ſuch a Houſe of Commons, the conſtituent body would not be eager for the immediate accompliſhment of this reform.

He ſaid, that in the propoſed change of repreſentation, and in adding ſeventy-two members to the counties, he forgot in the proper place to mention, that it was his wiſh to add to the number of the electors in thoſe counties. There was no good reaſon why copyholders ſhould not be admitted to the exercise of the franchiſe as well as freeholders. Their property was as ſecure, and, indeed, in ſome inſtances, more ſo than that of the freeholders; and ſuch an acceſſion to the body of electors would give an additional energy to repreſentation. He conceived that the addition of ſeventy-two members would be as much as it would be proper to give to the proportion between county and borough. Theſe ſeventy-two members would be divided between the counties and the metropolis, as nothing could be more evident than that the cities of London and Weſtminſter, as well as the counties, had a very inadequate ſhare in the repreſentation of the kingdom. To give to the counties and the metropolis a greater addition than ſeventy-two members, or thereabouts, would be the means of introducing diſorders into the election more injurious than even its preſent inadequacy.

He needed not, he believed, to enumerate the arguments that preſented themſelves to his mind in favour of a reform. Every gentleman who had taken pains to inveſtigate the ſubject, muſt ſee that it was moſt materially wanted. To con-

quer the corruption that exiſted in thoſe decayed boroughs, he believed that gentlemen would acknowledge to be impoſſible. The temptation were too great for poverty to reſiſt, and the conſequence of this corruption was ſo viſible, that ſome plan of reforming the boroughs had clearly become abſolutely neceſſary. In times of calamity and diſtreſs, how truly important was it to the people of this country that the Houſe of Commons ſhould ſympathiſe with themſelves, and that their intereſts ſhould be indiſſoluble! It was moſt material that the People ſhould have confidence in their own branch of the Legiſlature; the force of the Conſtitution, as well as its beauty, depended on that confidence, and on the union and ſympathy which exiſted between the conſtituent and repreſentative. The ſource of our glory and the muſcles of our ſtrength were the pure character of freedom, which our Conſtitution bore. To leſſen that character, to taint it, was to take from our vitals a part of their vigour, and to leſſen not only our importance but our energy with our neighbours.

If we looked back to our hiſtory, we ſhould find that the brighteſt periods of its glory and triumph were thoſe in which the Houſe of Commons had the moſt complete confidence in their Miniſters, and the People of England the moſt complete confidence in the Houſe of Commons. The purity of repreſentation was the only true and permanent ſource of ſuch confidence; for though occaſionally bright characters had ariſen, who, in ſpite of the general corruption and depravity of the day in which they lived, had manifeſted the ſuperior influence of integrity and virtue, and had forced both Parliament and People to countenance their Adminiſtration, yet it would be unwiſe for the People of England to leave their fate to the chance of ſuch characters often ariſing, when prudence muſt dictate that the certain way of ſecuring their properties and freedom was to purify the ſources of repreſentation, and to eſtabliſh that firm relation between themſelves and the Houſe of Commons which it was the original idea of the Conſtitution to create. He hoped that the plan which he had mentioned was likely to re-eſtabliſh ſuch a relation; and he recommended to gentlemen not to ſuffer their minds to be alarmed by unneceſſary fears. Nothing was ſo hurtful to improvement as the fear of being carried farther than the principle on which a perſon ſet out.

It was common for gentlemen to reaſon with themſelves, and to ſay that they would have no objection to go ſo far, and

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no farther, if they were ſure, that in countenancing the firſt ſtep, they might not either be led themſelves, or lead others farther than they intended to go. So much they were apt to ſay was right—ſo far they would go—of ſuch a ſcheme they approved—but fearing that it might be carried too far, they deſiſted from doing even what they conceived to be proper. He deprecated this conduct, and hoped that gentlemen would come to the conſideration of this buſineſs, without fearing that it would lead to conſequences that would either ruin or alarm us. He begged pardon for having troubled the Houſe ſo long—he wiſhed to put them in poſſeſſion of all his ideas on the important ſubject, though he was aware, that until the matter came to be argued in the detail, it was impoſſible for him to foreſee all the objections that might be ſtarted. He ſhould therefore conclude for the preſent with moving,

"That leave be given to bring in a bill to amend the re-
"preſentation of the People of England in Parliament."

Mr. *Duncombe* roſe to ſecond the motion. He ſaid, that if after the ſenſe of the People on the ſubject of reform had been ſo clearly aſcertained, the Miniſter had not come forward and propoſed ſome meaſure upon the ſubject, he muſt have expected but a ſmall ſhare in future of that grace and confidence at the hands of the conſtituent body, which was in fact a Miniſter's beſt ſupport. It was a new and intereſting object, he ſaid, to ſee the Miniſter of the Crown ſtanding forth in this zealous and patriotic manner, the advocate of the People. The meaſure which had been propoſed fully and compleatly met his ideas and thoſe of his conſtituents; and it anſwered the ſolicitude of the People ſo perfectly, that he ſhould conſider himſelf as highly unworthy of his ſituation, as one of their repreſentatives, if he ſatisfied himſelf with a ſilent vote on the occaſion. He paid many compliments to the author of the propoſitions, and ſaid, they were what had been long and ardently deſired by all the true lovers of the Conſtitution, it was on theſe grounds he roſe to ſecond the motion. Mr Duncombe.

Mr. *Powys* thought the queſtion of the higheſt poſſible importance, but not on the principles of the right honourable gentleman, for it was no longer a meaſure propoſed by any of the individuals in the Houſe, but by the government of the country Miniſters had owned it and the Houſe were now to determine, whether they were to acquieſce in this miniſterial effort to alter the Conſtitution, or from reſpect to their own dignity, to reject that which was only conjecture for what Mr Powy

they felt to be fact He ſaid, the right honourable gentleman had, with his uſual elegance and force of expreſſion, pronounced a funeral oration on the Conſtitution of his country, which, however, he celebrated as the moſt excellent in the world, as the envy and perfection of human wiſdom, but which at the ſame time he conſigned to a mere immortality of fame by putting an end to its preſent exiſtence. Thus that form of repreſentation which had now ſtood and operated to general and palpible advantage, and but the conſtant boaſt of Engliſhmen, was, notwithſtanding, the object of the honourable gentleman's jealouſy and miſtruſt. Confidence in this very object, a ſound and operative love of the conſtitution, had, in the beſt and greateſt men, in the moſt proſperous and the pureſt times, produced effects which we could never forget. Zeal was, perhaps, an eſſential characteriſtic in re-reformers He was willing for one to give the right honourable gentleman full credit for the earneſtneſs and ſolemnity with which he had brought forward the plan of reform, about which there had been ſo much gueſs and conjecture in the dark. He knew not how to ſpeak of the caution with which the ſyſtem had been concealed. He for one would not cenſure that part of the honourable gentleman's ſcheme. He was ſure of a majority, perhaps, who were ready to adopt whatever he thought moſt proper to bring forward. He would be glad, however, to hear how certain gentlemen were prepared to coincide with principles which, in his opinion, they could not adopt, without, in the firſt place, virtually renouncing what they had already avowed He owned himſelf very much at a loſs to conceive how one, or any, could comply with a ſyſtem calculated to operate only by ſlow and imperceptible degrees, who were in ſo much haſte in the matter, as to declare repeatedly, that there was not a moment to loſe: others, as it ſtruck him, could with ſtill leſs propriety adopt this plan, who were the advocates of a general reform But now the propoſal, which in its object aimed at circumſcribing the influence of the Crown, originated with his Majeſty's Miniſters, and courted the ſanction of the Houſe under a royal patent. He was not, however, for one, fond of trials which might make us worſe, but could hardly make us better. He did apprehend danger from a plan thus plauſible, and urged with all that eloquence and maſterly addreſs in which the right honourable gentleman had deſervedly ſo much credit with the Houſe. No man admired thoſe talents which he poſſeſſed more than he did. He thought no man better qualified to do his country the moſt eſſential ſervices than he was.

But

But he was not prepared to ſay the ſame approbation was in all reſpects due to the application of his eminent abilities. He ridiculed the rage of reforming, which affected as a malady the preſent day. It reminded him of the antient reformer Procruſtes, who, in order to equalize the human race, had a bed of iron of a ſtandard ſize, and on his reforming principle he ſix'd perſons who were too long, and ſtretched thoſe who were too ſhort to the ſize of the bed. But at the time he pronounced them abſurd, and wiſhed to know from the right honourable gentleman which of theſe he imitated, or by what other motive or principle he could be guided in hazarding the very extraordinary ideas he had preſſed on the Houſe. Had the people of England called for a reform? There were but eight petitions on the table. He did not wiſh to encroach on the time of the Houſe, but he could not help begging a little of their attention to the petitions which had been preſented to the Houſe in favour of this reform. The firſt one to which he referred was that from Nottingham. This, with a conſiſtency which he deemed characteriſtic of the buſineſs, ſet out with aſſerting their entire confidence in the Houſe of Commons.

Yet a reform in this Houſe conſtituted the prayer of their petition. Their exceptions he thought ſingular. The expreſſion was to him perfectly unintelligible. What did they mean by *inadequacy?* This was the only defect they pointed out in the preſent ſyſtem of repreſentation. But they did not ſay in what that ſyſtem was inadequate, or ſpecify any of thoſe purpoſes in which it had failed. This very urgent petition was only clear and expreſſive in one general deſire, and that was no leſs than to *model the character and genius of the nation.* The next to which he called the attention of the Houſe was that from the city of York. But the requiſition of this was not in any degree affected by what had been ſuggeſted by the honourable gentleman. It went, in his opinion, to very different matters, though he underſtood it to be the work of the great and venerable leader and commander in this political cruſade. He mentioned Norwich, which prayed for the general reform of the whole repreſentative body; and by that means aſſumed to themſelves the honour of repreſenting the community at large. The concluſions which he wiſhed to eſtabliſh by thoſe references, were, that either there were no petitions before the Houſe which had reform for their aim, or where any ſuch petitions of that kind exiſted, the reform which had been mentioned was not conformable to the ſpirit and tendency of the allegations which they contained.

tained. He aſked how any man, who had but a tolerable good opinion of the preſent Houſe of Commons, could come forward with a plan which ſuppoſed their inſignificancy. He aſked if the preſent Houſe were expected, or ready to adopt ſuch an act of humility and ſelf-abaſement. The right honourable gentleman's favourable opinion of the preſent Parliament was well known The panegyric which he had pronounced on them now, was an echo to that which they had received from the Sovereign at the commencement of the ſeſſion; for all the Houſe would recollect the paſſage. He did think it ſomething extraordinary that the rage for a reform ſhould be chiefly directed to that very body which had been thus repeatedly, officially, and, he truſted, deſervedly praiſed. They were allowed to poſſeſs the confidence both of King and Country, and to be guided equally by their loyalty to the Crown, and their attachment to the intereſts of the People. He was anxious to know by what other principles than theſe they could be guided Could a Parliament be better than diſpoſed, on all occaſions, to do their duty with honour to themſelves, and fidelity to their conſtituents? He was alſo diſpoſed to aſk, whether the borough members were more or leſs inclined to do their duty than others. He remembered that a noble Lord, nearly related to the right honourable gentleman, (Mr. T Pitt, now Lord Camelford) had once made a motion in that houſe which did him infinite honour, which would have done honour to the repreſentative of the firſt county in the kingdom. It was, "That this Houſe is *bound* to liſten to the petitions of the people." This ſurely did not make him appear to be a man who had ſeparate intereſts from them, and yet he was not, at the time he made that motion, the repreſentative of a county, or great town, he was member for Old Sarum, one of thoſe boroughs doomed, by the right honourable gentleman's plan, to be diſfranchiſed. He then read over extracts from a pamphlet, publiſhed by Lord Camelford, in which he ſtated, that if any other influence in the kingdom was to be conſtantly ſhifting and changing, the influence of the Crown, which alone was permanent, would ſoon drive all the reſt before it. He obſerved, that if the franchiſe of decayed boroughs was to be given up, the right honourable gentleman ought to ſet the example to the reſt of the nation, by the ſacrificing at the ſhrine of reform the Ordnance, Treaſury, and Admiralty boroughs. He acknowledged there had been many untoward circumſtances, within our recollection, which had attended the operations of Government But he aſked whether theſe unfortunate events might

might not have taken place, had the boroughs been without representatives. The fluctuation of a ſtate ſo circumſtanced as that of Great Britain was, did not, in his opinion, always depend on the conſtitution. The proſperity or advantage of it would undoubtedly vary under the beſt, as well as the worſt. He regretted the melancholy conſequences of the American war as much as any one could do, but would it be ſaid, that war depended on the repreſentatives of the boroughs? He preſumed few, even of thoſe moſt forward in the ſcheme of a reform, would venture to go all the lengths to which their reaſoning however went. He did not chooſe to go into the detail of the ſcheme thus ſubjected to the conſideration of Parliament. He would not be raſh in deciding on the rights of thoſe who regarded their intereſt in boroughs with any degree of tenacity. But this much he would ſay, that no pecuniary conſideration whatever ſhould diſpoſe him to forego the privilege, and the glory of having it in his power to introduce to the ſervice and attention of his country the right honourable gentleman. Much ſtreſs had been laid on the corruption of the times. That, he truſted, was not the language of experience. With what degree then of decency could the right honourable gentleman ſay, in the face of ſo popular a Parliament, that the Houſe of Commons cannot, unleſs reformed, convey the ſenſe of the nation? A late Adminiſtration, it might, perhaps, be ſaid, had been an adminiſtration of corruption; and upon its ruin was raiſed an adminiſtration of *opinion*, and a good opinion unqueſtionably muſt be entertained of it, when it was known that it did not entertain or cheriſh any one who had been formerly an agent of corruption.—[At this ironical expreſſion there was a loud roar of Hear! Hear!] This compact and well-informed body was calculated to do juſtice to all the principles of the Conſtitution. He was aware how the principle which was thus dignified with the name of a new one, would affect the very privileges which it was intended to guard. The firſt object of it was to compliment the majority with the ſale of the minority. On the whole, he owned great apprehenſions from the firſt conceſſion. It was dangerous in all caſes, but particularly ſo in this. He implored the right honourable gentleman to think what he was about, to beware how he acted, and regard the experiment which he was now to try, with delicacy and circumſpection. No man could foreſee preciſely its effects, they ſtruck him as alarming in no common degree. Nothing could perſuade him even for a moment to wiſh the propoſitions he had laid down the ſmalleſt attention, except

except he could indulge his curiosity at such a vast and important hazard as to wish to see the scheme put to the proof. He thought in his own mind, and judging of mankind as they had always appeared to him, that this boasted principle might do infinite mischief; but there was little probability of its producing any good whatever. Innovation was to be dreaded, and avoided as much as possible in all establishments. The right honourable gentleman had laboured to satisfy the House that his system was final, and that it set bounds to the speculative reformations of all future theorists. This he said, but he did not prove it. It was, on the contrary, an example, a precedent, perhaps an excitement, to the wildness and most paradoxical nostrums they could either devise or apply. It placed them, in fact, on advantageous ground. They got by it what Archimedes wanted, a foundation to their inventions, a fulcrum from which they could throw the Parliament into the air. It was impossible, in his opinion, to view the subject with any degree of patience. He thought himself as much master of it, from having only heard it stated, as if he had revolved it in his mind for years. He would not, therefore, vote for the order of the day, or treat it with any reserve or respect. Its purposes were, he foresaw, so hostile to the Constitution, so menacing even at a distance, and so unqualified, that he was clearly for meeting the question in the teeth, and giving it a direct and unequivocal negative.

Lord North. Lord *North* said, the honourable gentleman had given him comfort by what he had said in the conclusion of his speech, viz. that he would not agree to any concession, but would give the motion his direct negative. Undoubtedly that was the treatment the motion ought to receive, and it was the line of treatment he should himself adopt respecting it. Curiosity, he said, had, in more instances than one, greatly misled mankind, and he should have thought the hononroble gentleman had given way to a most fatal curiosity, if he had rashly and unadvisedly countenanced for a moment a direct attack upon the British constitution, a constitution the work of infinite wisdom, the source of many blessings, much happiness, much glory, a constitution richly deserving of that warm praise which the right honourable gentleman had bestowed on it, in far better words than he was master of, and with a brilliancy and glow of eloquence that would have adorned the meanest subject of panegyric, but which was well employed when employed in decorating and describing the most beautiful fabric that, perhaps, had ever existed from

from the beginning of time. He never would give his conſent to any attempt to tamper with ſuch a fabric, unleſs a very ſtrong caſe ſhould be made out to prove it ſtood in need of ſome repair; that caſe had not yet been made out, neither had any the ſmalleſt ſhadow of proof been yet given that it required any aſſiſtance whatever. Of an exiſting evil he knew nothing; the bleſſings that had been derived under the conſtitution he knew well; they all knew them, they ſtood recorded in the hiſtoric annals of the country, they had been felt for ages, they were felt at that moment. The right honourable gentleman had talked of pride, of lazineſs, of timidity; perhaps, out of the abundance of his civility, he meant to apply thoſe words to him. Was it fair, that becauſe he happened to differ from the right honourable gentleman upon a great and an important ſubject, a ſubject in which they were all deeply and perſonally intereſted, in which the country itſelf, and the conſtitution that they were all ſo ready to extol, were deeply intereſted, becauſe he happened to differ from the right honourable gentleman under a queſtion of that magnitude, he was to be attacked and treated with a degree of harſhneſs which was not, which could not be merited by any member of that aſſembly; was it pride, when he was called upon to vote in ſupport of a requiſition, to be permitted to tamper with the conſtitution, to ſay, ſhew me firſt the neceſſity? Was it lazineſs to ſay, when it was ſtated that a remedy was wanting, to inſiſt on having the evil ſtated, to which that remedy is to be applied? Was it timidity, when called upon to unſettle the foundation of that glorious fabric, the work of his anceſtors, to deſire to pauſe before he conſented, and to inquire why he ſhould conſent to undo it? His Lordſhip took notice of the manner in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had glanced at the American war. As that was not the ſubject of the day, and bore no ſort of relation to the queſtion then under conſideration, his Lordſhip ſaid, he would not at that time go into a diſcuſſion of it; he would only repeat what he had often ſaid before, viz. that whenever that queſtion was properly brought forward, he was ready to meet it, conſcious, that though we had been unfortunate in the war, though the war had been calamitous to the country, no blame was aſcribable to him on that account; the war was the war of the People, began at their inſtance, and at the inſtance of that Houſe. Thoſe were facts ſo undeniably true, that he wondered how any man was bold enough, in the face of thoſe who were then ſitting in the Houſe, and knew the

facts that he had ſtated, ſo well, to ſtart a doubt of them. Having ſaid this, his Lordſhip returned to the immediate ſubject of the day, which he treated with great ſeverity; he ſaid, on a former occaſion, when the honourable gentleman behind him had riſen to reprobate the idea of tampering with the conſtitution, (for that was the fourth, if not the fifth time, that it had been under diſcuſſion!) but when the worthy member for Northamptonſhire had deſired to have the Birmingham petition read, thoſe who were friends of what they called reform, but what he ſhould call ruin, had ſent a paragraph to the newſpapers, ſtating, that the noble Lord in the blue ribband would not have long to boaſt of there being no petitions, for there would ſoon be petitions enow on the table. How happened it that there was no petition from Birmingham now, nor in the whole no more than eight petitions in all? The right honourable gentleman, it was true, had ſaid in his ſpeech, that a reform had been called for by the People, ſometimes more, and ſometimes leſs. He underſtood there were none. What then was he to conclude? That they thought it a hardſhip to be deprived of the privilege of ſending repreſentatives to the Houſe of Commons? No; but on the contrary, that they were indifferent about the matter; or rather, that they did not wiſh for any ſuch franchiſe. If it was otherwiſe, ſurely this would have been the time for them to make their exertions, when they were informed that the right honourable gentleman would ſupport their claims, both as a man and a miniſter; and when they were taught to believe that all England, with one voice, would ſecond their application. But lo! they were totally ſilent on this head; and what was not a little remarkable, their ſilence did not proceed from any indifference about their own intereſt; for when they thought that affected, they ſoon applied to that Houſe by petition, as in the caſe of the Iriſh Propoſitions. It was fair to conclude, that they made themſelves perfectly eaſy about a parliamentary reform, and were fully ſatisfied with the preſent ſtate of repreſentation in that Houſe. Againſt the Iriſh Propoſitions, petitions had flowed in from all querters. So aware was the right honourable gentleman that the ſmall number of petitions that had been preſented, neceſſarily created an argument againſt the motion, that he had thought it prudent to endeavour to weaken the force of that argument which he foreſaw would be urged, by ſaying, with an indifferent air, that the reform had been called for by the People, ſometimes more, and ſometimes leſs. What was

he

he to underſtand from that obſervation? Was he to take it as a proof that the People did really call for a reform at that time? Was he ſo far to accommodate what they ſaw, and what they did not ſee, and to take both as a proof that the People of England wiſhed for a reform? The petitioners who had ſubſcribed the petitions that were on the table, certainly did wiſh for a reform; and if he were to admit that thoſe who had not petitioned equally wiſhed for a reform, it was going a good way to meet their wiſhes, becauſe in admitting ſo much, they ſpoke by their preſence, and by their abſence; by their prayers, and by their ſilence. Well might he ſay with the man in the Rehearſal,

What horrid ſound of *ſilence* doth aſſail mine ear?

His Lordſhip ſaid, the people of Birmingham were wiſer than to call for any innovation in the Conſtitution. As little did he believe the majority of the people, in any part of the kingdom, wiſhed for a reform. A member of a conſiderable county (Suffolk) had in all newſpapers addreſſed his conſtituents for inſtructions how he ſhould vote on the queſtion of parliamentary reform; but though he addreſſed them very early in the preſent ſeſſion, his conſtituents had been ſo very indifferent about the matter, that they had not to this moment ſent him any inſtructions on the ſubject. He knew there had been a meeting ſummoned in the firſt city in the empire, by ſpecial notice, for the expreſs purpoſe of inſtructing their repreſentatives; and there he was informed, though the meeting, and the buſineſs of it, had been publicly announced, and was of general notoriety, only 300 attended. When they were about to inſtruct one of their repreſentatives, he declared his readineſs to obey his conſtituents, but had expreſſed a wiſh that he had ſeen more of them preſent at the meeting, becauſe he felt ſome difficulty in proceeding to act, as 300 inſtructed him, when, by the abſence of 8000 of his conſtituents, he was induced to imagine that they did not very highly approve of the buſineſs they were convened upon. His Lord ſaid, he was aware that one gentleman preſent at the meeting had ſaid, in anſwer to what he had juſt ſtated, that the 8000 who were abſent, meant by that very circumſtance to ſignify their concurrence in any reſolution the 300 ſhould come to. This was, his Lordſhip ſaid, rather a curious ſort of logic, as he believed the Houſe would readily agree; but it was not a whit more extraordinary than the idea, that the People of England were to be ſuppoſed to

wiſh really for an alteration in the ſtate of parliamentary repreſentation, when they did not aſk for it. He reminded the Houſe of the circular letters of Mr. Wyvill, and of the great pains that had been taken to ſtir the queſtion in all parts of the kingdom. If therefore the people in general really deſired any alteration, they would have petitioned in great numbers from moſt of the different towns for it. His Lordſhip entered into the ancient hiſtory of Parliaments, and ſtated the degrees and gradations Parliament had paſſed through from their firſt inſtitution, accounting for the diſcretion of the Crown that had been formerly exerciſed, by ſtating, that originally the chiefs in feu, who held of the Crown, and were liable to ſuit and ſervice, were ſummoned, and being at the time chief tenants of the Crown, were at the will of the Crown aſſembled either wholly or partially. Afterwards, when they divided their lands, property became more diſperſed, and money grew more ſcarce; in conſequence of which, the leſſer barons were ſpared, on account of their inability to bear the expence of parliamentary attendance. Again, at a ſubſequent period, another change was made; after that another, and, by degrees, Parliament was ſettled on its preſent footing, where, his Lordſhip ſaid, he heartily hoped it would long be ſuffered to remain, and not be diſturbed on account of any chimeras, that entered the brains of viſionries and ſpeculatiſts, who were not, he verily believe, aware of the ſerious miſchiefs they had employed themſelves about. All the idea of the neceſſity of a reform, he was perſuaded, was the mere vapour of a dream, the ſhadow of a ſhade, empty whim and fanciful nothing, from which the right honourable gentleman was endeavouring to conjure up ſomething; but he relied on the good ſenſe and ſound reaſon of the majority, truſting that they would break the ſpell, and prevent the magicians from practiſing on a ſubject that ought to be held ſacred. His Lordſhip ſaid, even admitting, for the ſake of argument, and he ſhould not wiſh to be thought ſerious in admitting for a moment, that any alteration was actually neceſſary; yet he ſhould contend, that the alteration propoſed was not adapted to the feigned evil. He begged to know where there exiſted in Europe, or on the face of the globe, a people ſo happy as thoſe who lived under the Britiſh Conſtitution? Where was there a people ſo fully in poſſeſſion of their rights and liberties? The fact was undeniable? what mattered it then whether the perſons who ſat in that Houſe, the guardians of the public freedom, ſat by virtue of having

having been elected for a burgage tenure, a borough, or a county? While the People's rights were ſecure, and their liberties ſafe, why was it neceſſary to go into a minute inquiry how they came to be ſecure and ſafe? The means were provided by our anceſtors, and had been ſanctioned by experience, the teſt of truth. His Lordſhip ſaid, the right honourable gentleman, like a quack, was deſirous of having the doſe ſwallowed, whether the patient had any diſeaſe or not, and, like a true empiric, would inſiſt upon it that his pill was a ſpecific, and would cure patients in all caſes, and under all circumſtances. The ſubject was too ſerious to be ludicrous upon, but he would juſt ſtate, that the right honourable gentleman reminded him of the Mock Doctor in Moliere's farce. He ſaid, he ſuppoſed the Speaker had either ſeen or read the book, and would recollect, that a man's daughter is ſuppoſed to be *dumb*, and he ſends for a phyſician to cure her. The Doctor comes, and ſoon reſtores the girl to the uſe of her tongue, which ſhe exerciſes at ſuch a rate, that the father offers him another fee to make her dumb again; when the Doctor replies, "he can't do that, but if he pleaſes, he'll undertake to make him *deaf*." Having ſet the Houſe in a roar, his Lordſhip again returned to argument, and ſaid, it was of late become a cuſtom to catch hold of a ſtrong epithet, and apply it to any particular phraſe that was meant to be made uſe of to deceive and delude the people. Thus he had heard of the ſpirit of Liberty, the ſpirit of Freedom, and the ſpirit of the Conſtitution; what was meant by the latter, as applied at popular meetings, he knew not, nor did he believe thoſe who uſed it knew themſelves. For his part, he had always conceived that the ſpirit of the Conſtitution was to be looked for, and found in the common law of the land, and in the practice and uſage of Parliament. It was enough, in his opinion, for the People to be happy and free. With regard to the idea of the country gentlemen making a conſiderable part of that Houſe, the idea was a very juſt one: he was ready to admit the bulk and weight of that Houſe ought always to be in the hands of the country gentlemen, who were, undoubtedly, the beſt and moſt reſpectable objects of the confidence of the People. Their diſintereſtedneſs, their virtue, their public ſpirit, he admired: they were fitted by their education and their ſituation in life more peculiarly for members of Parliament, than almoſt any other deſcription of men in the kingdom; beſides, they had the greateſt ſtake in the country after all, and were the moſt deeply intereſted

tereſted in its welfare; becauſe, let what would happen, men of buſineſs and manufacturers could go and get their living elſewhere; but a country gentleman could not quit his native country, becauſe he could not carry his eſtate away with him. But, for God's ſake, had not the country gentlemen their ſhare in the repreſentative body at preſent? Was it merely the repreſentatives of counties that were now country gentlemen? Let any man look round the Houſe at the moment, and then let him ſay whether he did not ſee many very reſpectable characters, who were country gentlemen, repreſentatives of large boroughs! He ſaid, the general coheſion of the ſeveral branches of the legiſlature were now by uſe ſo ſettled, ſo firm, and its general operations ſo practicable, that he muſt be a Quixote who would ſtrive to change its aſpect. There was a reference which not only beneficially reſiſted the influence of the Crown againſt the People, but which even protected the People againſt the conſequences of momentary delirium in themſelves. His Lordſhip ended with an emphatic wiſh, that the friends of the Conſtitution would feel as one man, and arouſe at the danger it would be put in, if the preſent motion were carried; he therefore hoped they ſhould have the triumph of carrying it in the negative; for if a door were once opened to innovation and experiment, there was no knowing to what extent it might be carried. He gave the right honourable gentleman full credit for not intending, if he ſhould prove ſo ſucceſsful as to carry the preſent motion, to go any farther; but the right honourable gentleman could only anſwer for himſelf. Other Miniſters might make what the right honourable gentleman had done, a plea for doing ſomething more; and again, other Miniſters after him, till there would be no end to innovation and experiment.

Mr. Wilberforce.

Mr. *Wilberforce* remarked, that the dread of innovation ſeemed ſo much to prevail in the minds of certain perſons, that in order to avoid it, they took care to reject even any new ground of argument, and the Houſe was now entertained with a repetition of the ſame obſervations and the ſame jokes which they had ſo often heard before on ſimilar occaſions. There was, he ſaid, one peculiar excellence in the plan now ſubmitted by his right honourable friend, which no attempt had been yet made to diſpute, and which indeed was liable to no objection. This was that ſyſtem of gradual and progreſſive improvement which muſt proceed to rectify and meliorate the ſtate of repreſentation, according as thoſe circumſtances

cumſtances ſhould ariſe on which it was intended to operate. It would alſo tend, in his opinion, to diminiſh the progreſs of party and coheſion in this country, from which, he was well convinced, our greateſt misfortunes aroſe. There were men and parties in this country, which derive moſt of their power and influence from theſe burgage tenures, againſt which the operations of this bill were to be directed. By deſtroying them, the freedom of opinion would be reſtored, and party connections in a great meaſure vaniſh: for the conſequence of coalitions, and parties formed on one ſide of the Houſe was, that ſimilar engagements were neceſſarily formed on the other; and for his part, he wiſhed to ſee the time, when he could come into the Houſe and give his vote, diveſted of any ſentiments of attachment, which ſhould induce him to approve of meaſures from his connection with men. The objection made to this bill from its not making proviſion for the reduction of Treaſury boroughs, did not by any means apply, as no perſon could tell but theſe boroughs might be the firſt objects of the operations of the bill; thoſe boroughs had been long objects of jealouſy to him; and he declared, that every merit this bill poſſeſſed, in his opinion, would be much diminiſhed were not the miniſterial boroughs to be of that number which were likely to come firſt under theſe regulations. He made ſeveral remarks on the effect ſuch a ſyſtem as this would have had on the Americans; and argued, that under ſuch circumſtances, the war could not have been endured nor ſo popular. He reaſoned alſo with Mr. Powys on parts of his ſpeech, and ſaid, one of his arguments was ſuch as no human creature ought to have urged: [a cry of hear! hear! ariſing at this] Mr. Wilberforce immediately explained, and ſaid, what he meant was, that to deſire that a known and acknowledged evil might continue, merely that good might come out of it, was ſuch an argument, as in his opinion, no rational being ought to maintain. He concluded, with explaining the circumſtances of the Yorkſhire petition, which he declared he would not have recommended had he been conſulted, thinking it totally unneceſſary from the application which had been before made to Parliament on the ſubject. The beſt proof that the opinion of the nation at large was for a reform, needed no other confirmation, than that no petition had been preſented againſt it.

Mr. Powys explained in anſwer to the remark, which he conceived improperly directed to him, which drew a reply from

from Mr. Wilberforce, ſtating that he meant nothing perſonal in the alluſion: after which,

Lord Mulgrave. Lord *Mulgrave* ſaid, that nothing was more deſirable in ſuch a queſtion as the preſent, than that every endeavour ſhould be uſed to obtain unanimity. The noble Lord declared his hope, that the motion might either be carried unanimouſly, or rejected; becauſe he thought if it were carried, and there appeared a conſiderable majority againſt it, it would lead to infinite miſchief. His Lordſhip ſaid, if the majority thought with him, they would reject it, as he ſaw great danger in countenancing any attempt to build up and erect a conſtitution on ſpeculative propoſitions. His Lordſhip declared, he approved of the propoſitions better in the ſhape in which they ſtood in the motion, than in any ſhape that they had before been brought forward in. He alſo praiſed Mr. Pitt's eloquence as diſplayed in his ſpeech, in the warmeſt terms; but entered an elaborate proteſt againſt any endeavours to new mould the Conſtitution.

Mr. Fox. Mr. *Fox* ſaid, after the many occaſions on which he before expreſſed what his ſentiments were on the ſubject of a reform in the repreſentation, he ſhould not conſider himſelf under any great neceſſity of troubling the Houſe; if there had not been extraordinary circumſtances attending the introduction of the preſent queſtion. That he had always been a friend to the principle of this bill was a fact which did not require to be now repeated. Whether the means taken to effect that principle were ſuch as were moſt unexceptionable, muſt remain for future diſcuſſion, but could not provoke his oppoſition to the motion. There remained ample opportunities in the ſtages of the bill to examine and correct it; opportunities which in themſelves would be the higheſt acquiſition. In the review which had been taken of the queſtion this night, there were means uſed to implicate the American war in the ſubject now under diſcuſſion; by ſuggeſting that it was ſupported by the influence of burgage tenures, and that if they had been withdrawn, that war would have had a more ſpeedy termination. He acknowledged, that it would have been in the power of the Parliament to bring that war to a period had they conſidered it as an improper one; but the manner in which it muſt have been done, would be ſuch, as he ſhould little expect to hear recommended from the gentlemen on the other ſide of the Houſe. When the delay of a few days in paſſing the ſup-

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plies was repreſented laſt year as the moſt heinous proceeding, what would have been the enormity of ſtopping, not only the ordnance ſupply, as was the caſe, but all the other ſupplies alſo, as would be the caſe in the event mentioned by the right honourable gentleman, viz. the active interference of the Houſe of Commons to put a period to a war. This would be a conduct worthy of a Houſe of Commons, in certain ſituations, and would ſhew them to be ſenſible of their due weight and importance in the ſcale of the Conſtitution, and not the inſtruments of a ſuperior power, kept for no other purpoſe but to regiſter edicts, and to perform an annual routine. Much had been ſaid of the merit of diſſolving that coheſion which was ſaid to ſubſiſt in the parties in that Houſe. That coheſion did ſubſiſt, was a truth in which he took too much pride to think of denying, and from which this country derived too much advantage to be an enemy to; his connections were formed on liberal and ſyſtematic principles, and could not be diſſolved by any regulations, while the ſame union in ſentiment and principles continued to cement them. When an honourable gentleman ſaid, that parties formed on one ſide of the Houſe occaſioned ſimilar engagements on the other; he ſhould have conſidered, that it equally applied to one as the other. But there might be ſome circumſtances which might induce that honourable gentleman to look forward with eagerneſs to the diſſolutions of ſuch attachments, if they obliged him to ſupport and defend meaſures in which his opinions did not correſpond; if they found him to act one way and think another. Under ſuch circumſtances, it was perfectly natural that he ſhould pant to be diſengaged from ſuch connections, and reſign the load which ſeemed ſo much to oppreſs him. To that principle which, by a diminution of the members for boroughs, tended to increaſe the proportion of repreſentatives for counties, he was ſincerely a friend. But while he was thus explicit on the ſubject of his approbation, it was but juſt to mention, that there was another point to which he totally diſagreed: with all reſpect, which he always paid to a Houſe of Commons, and among the reſt to the preſent Houſe, he could perceive in it no ſuperlative excellence, no juſt ſuperiority which could juſtify the ſuſpenſion of the operation of this bill. To defer for the period of ſix years, any ſyſtem of reform, however partial and inadeque, was by no means complying with the declared wiſhes of the majority of the

electors of this country; whoſe voice, though by no means to be acknowledged as that to which the Houſe of Commons muſt conform, when they were directed by any ſudden impulſe, as the opinions of a moment, ſhould always be obeyed on points which the experience and conſideration of years had taught them finally to decide upon. The people, notwithſtanding all that had been ſaid, had no peculiar obligations to this Parliament, for uncommon inſtances of that propriety of conduct, which could warrant ſo implicit a reliance in it. No very flattering proofs of extraordinary attention to the rights of the People had been given by his Majeſty's preſent Miniſters, in their ſupport of that excellent meaſure, the Weſtminſter ſcrutiny; and no very ſplendid teſtimony of their prudence in financial concerns, could be drawn from the commutation tax. This was a proceeding, the hardſhip of which they already felt; and there were ſome others now in agitation, which were not likely to turn out much more favourable. Theſe only were the reaſons the People could have for a reliance in the preſent Parliament. He did not, however, mean to ſay any thing which could be conſtrued into invective againſt them; he had before been accuſed of inſulting them, he did not know that he did ſo, but if heat ſhould have led him at any time to ſay any thing which could have that appearance, he was exceedingly ſorry for it. There was nothing in any of theſe circumſtances which could impreſs them on his memory; but he had obſerved, that nothing he ever ſaid in his warmeſt moments, had ever drawn forth ſo much paſſion and ill temper on the other ſide of the Houſe as when he attempted to praiſe them. The right honourable gentleman had in this inſtance, receded from thoſe opinions, which on two former occaſions he ſeemed to maintain, and the alteration which he now made, for the purpoſe of a ſpecific plan, was infinitely for the worſe. It was in vain that he endeavoured to qualify the objections, which the idea of innovation raiſed in the minds of ſome, by diminiſhing the extent and influence of reformation.—From the earlieſt periods of our government, the principle of innovation, but which ſhould more properly be called amendment, was neither more nor leſs than the practice of the Conſtitution. In every ſpecies of government (putting abſolute monarchy out of the queſtion, as one which ought never to take place in any country) democracy and ariſtocracy were always in a ſtate of gradual improvement, when experience came to the aid of theory and ſpeculation. In all theſe, the

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voice of the people, when deliberately and generally collected, was invariably ſure to ſucceed. There were moments of periodical impulſe and deluſion, in which they ſhould not be gratified, but when the views of a people had been formed and determined on the attainment of any object, they muſt ultimately ſucceed. On this ſubject the people of this country had petitioned from time to time, and their applications were made to their Parliament. For every reaſon, therefore, they ſhould be gratified, leſt they might be inclined to ſue for redreſs in another quarter, where their application would have every probability of ſucceſs, from the experience of laſt year. Failing in their repreſentatives, they might have recourſe to prerogative.

It had been urged, that now, while this buſineſs was in agitation, the people of Birmingham and Mancheſter had not petitioned to be repreſented. This was an argument which at this time, of all others, could have but little weight; for while they were alarmed for their trade, and their ſubſiſtence, it was no time for them to ſet about making improvements in that conſtitution, in which they were not certain how long they might have any ſhare. On the eve of emigration, they were to look for this in another country, to which their property and buſineſs were ſoon to be transferred. The different parts of this plan would certainly, in a Committee, be ſubmitted to modification and amendment, but as it now ſtood, admitting only the firſt principle, every other part, and the means taken to attain the principle, were highly objectionable. He ſhould not heſitate to declare, that he would never agree to admit the purchaſing from a majority of electors the property of the whole. In this he ſaw ſo much injuſtice, and ſo much repugnance to the true ſpirit of our Conſtitution, that he could not entertain the idea for one moment. On the other hand, when the property of a borough was in one man, there was no chance of his diſpoſing of it, on the terms this day mentioned. For when a particular ſum was laid down for a particular purchaſer, and intereſt ſuffered to accumulate on that ſum, the man muſt be a fool, who could be in haſte to get poſſeſſion of it. There was ſomething injurious in holding out pecuniary temptations to an Engliſhman to relinquiſh his franchiſe on the one hand, and a political principle which equally forbade it on another. He was uniformly of an opinion, which though not a popular one, he was ready to aver, that the right of governing was not property, but a truſt, and that whatever was given for con-

ſtitutional purpoſes, ſhould be reſumed, when thoſe purpoſes ſhould no longer be carried into effect. There were inſtances of gentlemen offering to ſacrifice the intereſt they might have in boroughs, to the public good. He expreſſed, however, his ſurpriſe that the preſent propoſition was not attended by any liberal offers from thoſe whom Government had loaded with honours, and whoſe connection with the preſent Adminiſtration ſhould naturally excite an expectation of ſomething more liberal than a procedure by mere bargain and ſale. He was averſe to the idea of confining parliamentary ſituations to men of large fortunes, or thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in public profeſſions. Should this be the caſe, there was ſcarcely any man ſo little acquainted with the hiſtory of Parliament, as not to know, that the Houſe would loſe half its force. It was not from men of large and eaſy fortunes, that attention, vigilance, energy, and enterprize, were to be expected. Human nature was too fond of gratification not to be ſomewhat attentive to it when the means were at hand; and the beſt and moſt meritorious public ſervices had always been performed by perſons in circumſtances removed from opulence. The right honourable gentleman need not be aſhamed to take ſome of thoſe regulations formed in the time of the Protector Oliver Cromwell. For though a character too odious ever to be the object of praiſe or imitation, his ſtatutes, confirmed afterwards by his ſucceſſor, Charles II., bear the ſtrong marks of genius and ability, for his political diſpoſition was as good as that of his ſucceſſor, and his genius infinitely more powerful. He concluded with earneſtly entreating all ſides of the Houſe to concur in the queſtion now before them. He was ſorry the honourable gentleman who ſpoke before him (Mr. Wilberforce) did not in all the warmth he profeſſed on the occaſion, take the moſt conciliatory mode of acquiring ſtrength to it. Inſtead of reproaching the noble Lord (North) for confining himſelf to old arguments and obſervations, he ſhould rather tremble for the ſucceſs with which theſe old obſervations had been applied by his noble friend, and the contrary fate which had before attended the novel and more variable ſtile of the miniſter.

Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas.

The right honourable *Henry Dundas* thought it his duty to ſtate ſome of thoſe reaſons to the Houſe which induced him to declare himſelf a ſincere friend to this queſtion. [A very hearty laugh.] He was not at a loſs, he ſaid, to account for the merriment which gentlemen ſeemed to poſſeſs; but in his

his declaring himſelf a friend to the meaſure, he wiſhed to be underſtood as ſupporting a ſpecific propoſal. He had objected only to thoſe general and unexplained ſchemes under which the Houſe was to be converted into a project-ſhop, and they were to hold committees of conſultation on the diſeaſes of the conſtitution. Againſt ſuch dark ideas he had always ſet himſelf; but to the preſent plan, which was a ſingle and complete act, which went not only to an immediate, but to a conſtant reform of the repreſentation, which would not only cure the preſent, but the radical defects in the fabric of repreſentation, he was inclined to give his moſt hearty ſupport; and he repeated his declaration, that he was ſorry that any thing had been introduced into the debate ſo totally abſtracted from the buſineſs as the queſtion of the American war. The American war was the war of the people; and on that occaſion it was not the conſtruction of the Parliament which gave it riſe, but the general feeling of the People, and which was declared through their repreſentatives. It was not the noble Lord in the blue ribband who was the author of that war; he did no more than execute the ideas of the people, and in his mind, if he was blameable in any thing it was for executing thoſe ideas with leſs ardour than they were expreſſed.

He ſaid the preſent propoſitions were free from all the objections which had lain againſt the former plans. The ſacred inheritance of property was not to be violated, and men were not to be outraged by peremptory conditions. No man, or ſet of men, were to be forced to enter into the ſcheme, unleſs they approved of the conditions, and yet ſuch were the conditions, that he had no doubt but they would be ſoon accepted.

Mr. *Burke*, after entertaining the Houſe for a conſiderable time on the right honourable gentleman's (Mr. Dundas) converſion from the principles of anti-reformation, proceeded to diſcuſs the merits of the preſent queſtion, as well as the manner of bringing it in. It offered one alternative, either to adopt this limited, confined plan of reform, or be perhaps liable to receive one from the Duke of Richmond, on a more enlarged ſcale. Between the Miniſter and the Houſe of Commons, there was the ſame ſpecies of conduct, as if a robber ſhould enter the houſe of a man, and ſay, "Let me "take away ſuch things as I pleaſe, and I ſhall lock the door, "and keep out any other thieves: but if you refuſe the of-"fer, then take your chance of loſing all." The doctrine which had gained ſo much ground, and in conformity to which Mr Burke.

which this plan had now been introduced, was that of univerſal repreſentation. But this meaſure was only an illuſion, from which no ſolid benefit would ever reſult. The influence of the country gentlemen in Parliament was always known to preponderate, when they were united in opinion. The reſpectability which attended a man of landed property, called for the moſt part into a ſituation which was in itſelf diſagreeable, and rather a ſituation of duty and conſtraint, than an object of ambition. Theſe circumſtances added ſo much to the importance of theſe members, that the advocates of every meaſure was glad to boaſt of them as their ſupporters. Where then was the prudence of throwing into that ſcale, in whoſe power the balance already was, that ſhare of power which was pretended to be the means of keeping all parts of the Houſe on the ſame level. He took a very extenſive view of the preſent ſtate of repreſentation, and aſked if the proprietors of boroughs had not been already ſufficiently paid in the profuſion of the honours of this country, without now opening the purſe of the nation. He particularly adverted to the conduct of a reverend gentleman (Mr. Wyvill.) He took particular notice of the variety and extent of his correſpondence, which he ſaid was not confined to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or to the volunteers of Ireland. Lord Shelburne and Mr. Macgrugar had not been forgotten; and other celebrated names had been handed down to poſterity by this reforming divine. After reading ſeveral extracts from this correſpondence, he proceeded to remark, that the right honourable gentleman who had formerly ſubmitted to the Houſe two plans for a more equal repreſentation of the people, each of which was perfection itſelf, now comes forward with a third, ſtill more perfect than either of the former. He would allow that the preſent plan had many more palliatives in its compoſition than either of its brethren, for its operation was not likely to affect any of the members of the preſent Parliament; and he could not ſufficiently admire the addreſs of the right honourable gentleman, in thus rendering his plan palatable to all parties. For his part, he conſidered the whole of it as mere deluſion, an *ignis fatuus*, calculated to miſlead and to bewilder. He inſiſted that the right honourable gentleman had abandoned the ground on which he originally took up this queſtion.

Ld. Frederic Campbell. Lord *Frederick Campbell* delivered an eulogy on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but declared he could, by no means,

conſent to countenance any alteration in the Conſtitution. The door once opened for innovation and experiment, the wiſeſt among them could not ſay where it would end.

Mr. *Rolle* was alſo deciſively againſt the motion. If it was ſuffered to paſs that Houſe, there was no ſecurity for its being thrown out in the other Houſe; for how could he tell but a new Lord, or a new ſet, might be made on purpoſe to carry it, if it went up there? There were, Mr. Rolle ſaid, ſome perſons ſitting in a certain place, who had no more right to ſit in that Houſe than his groom. Mr. Rolle.

The *Attorney General* (Mr. Arden) ſupported the motion, entering into a recapitulation of ſeveral of Mr. Pitt's arguments, and anſwering ſeveral things that had been ſaid on the other ſide the queſtion. Mr. Attorney General, in the courſe of his ſpeech, ſaid there might be perſons impudent and indecent enough to declare, that he had no more right to ſit in that Houſe than their groom. The Attorney General.

Mr. *Young* obſerved, that had he been in a ſituation to attract the Speaker's notice in an earlier ſtage of the debate, he ſhould probably have, in ſome degree, expatiated on the very wide field which the right honourable gentleman had opened to the Houſe, that now much of his work had been done, much he ſhould have urged had been anticipated, and much he ſhould paſs over from a ſenſe of already how greatly the patience of the Houſe had been wearied, and how particularly he was indebted to their preſent attention. That among his former, inducements for offering himſelf to the notice of the Houſe was, that not having had a ſeat in Parliament when the right honourable Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward his former propoſitions, it ſuited beſt with the temper of his mind in the firſt ſtage of this important buſineſs to take an open and deciſive part, nor could he eſteem the part he took premature, inaſmuch as every man of liberal education, and ſurely every member of that Houſe muſt, in a great degree, be not only competent to the queſtion, but in theſe times, and when that queſtion had been ſo much agitated, muſt have turned his thoughts to the ſubject, and muſt have grounded thereon a deciſive opinion. That he was more particularly induced to riſe at the preſent moment from the learned gentleman who ſpoke laſt having taking up anew what had fallen from the Chancellor of the Exchequer at the opening of the debate, and who, as in feeling himſelf on the ſtrongeſt ground of argument, had repeated — "who, if legiſlating anew for this country, would form this Houſe as Mr. Young.

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exiſting in its preſent ſyſtem of repreſentation?" That it rather ſhould be aſked who could have imagined and framed ſuch a Conſtitution? The work not merely of time, as had been ſtated, but of the moſt extraordinary ſeries of events, and which could be laid to no account but that of a ſpecial Providence! Nor was the queſtion without perſonal application, more modern alluſions apart. It had been agitated by the greateſt political hiſtorian of antiquity; that great and wiſe writer. Tacitus, doing as the right honourable gentleman had done, remounting to firſt principles, and tracing thence the abſtract theories of the regal, ariſtocratic, and democratic branches of Government, adduced, as the reſult of his reſearches, this remarkable ſentence — "*Cunctas nationes, aut reges, aut primores, aut populus regunt, delecta ex his et conſociata Reipublicæ forma laudari facilius quam evenire, aut ſi eveniat, non diuturna eſſe poteſt.*" That learned and penetrating hiſtorian could not preſume the duration of a commonwealth conſiſting of theſe mixed ſtates; he knew that the *momentum* of the democracy, whether acting by the body of the people, or by a repreſentation unqualified and adapted purely to popular ideas, muſt quickly bear down one or both of the other branches of Government; and had it been moreover told him, that in this pure and direct repreſentation of the numbers of the people were to originate the reſources of war and peace, the *primum mobile* of public revenue, the doubts of Tacitus would not have been hypothetical; ſuch a ſtate, he could not have pre-conceived to exiſt a moment. This was not a time of night to trace thoſe errors back to their ſource, and in a hiſtory from the Courts *de More*, through the progreſſion of parliamentary growth, to mark the grounds of miſtake; that he ſhould, therefore, join iſſue with the right honourable mover on the actual and exiſting ſtate of Parliament. The errors of the right honourable gentleman were derived from a ſimilar ſource with the difficulties of Tacitus; the repreſentation of the People was his favourite expreſſion, but if he meant a repreſentation of poll or numbers, and ſo every point of his reform implied, he ſaid, we were not the repreſentation of the People, but of the People's intereſts. The conſiſtency of that Houſe was qualified by the equipoiſe of the landed, the commercial, and the popular intereſt. This proportion of balance could not be ſhifted but with danger to the Conſtitution of the country; adding to one of theſe principles might, in the end, be ſubverſive of the very exiſtence of that Houſe, which, loaded with a new

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and falſe bias, might be thereby directed to ſome gulph of ruin now unforeſeen; that at this point of the argument he muſt take occaſion to anſwer the Attorney General, when he aſked, "Is there a man in this Houſe, who, fairly and in his conſcience, rejects the principle of adding to the county members?" The anſwer was, "I do, and I do in fear that ſome ſpirit may be infuſed into this body, not congenial therewith, and which may affect the vitals and corode the very main ſpring that regulates its motion, and I do, from other motives, and motives which, if well founded, deſerve the moſt ſerious attention of this Houſe." Much has been ſaid of the coheſion of parties, much on the other ſide of individual independency, and of mouldering away every connection of men in that Houſe in the preſent ſtate of public manners it was not to be apprehended, that to buy or to retain would lapſe into diſuſage, or that a Miniſter might not engage a conſiſtency of ſupport to his meaſures. The right honourable gentleman might anticipate, perhaps, the application of the famous ſentence in Monteſquieu, — "But was there no other corruption but venality." He feared a worſe, and of more fatal tendency, than the holding out merely places of public truſt to men of ability and adventurers in policy, were theſe county members to be added. In one light, they muſt be men who had come into that Houſe on the great landed intereſt of a county, and in a county, perhaps, there was as much undue influence as at an election for any borough. when ſeated there, ſome future Miniſter might find it neceſſary to attach an authority to his ſupport, become thus numerous and weighty; the coronet was only his bribe, his only attraction to men of this deſcription; and an attraction, as experience proved, not often reſiſted. Thus, perhaps, in a ſhort ſucceſſion of Miniſters, much more of the great landed intereſt would paſs into the Houſe of Lords, there ever accumulating, and rarely or never returning. The conſequence was obvious; the great landed intereſt the people would ever look up to in their counties, and in the national Councils; to them would their confidence be directed, to them their petitions addreſſed, and under all the circumſtances it were idle to ſay, that the revenue and money bills ſhould not then originate there; whilſt that Houſe, fallen into diſrepute, and even to deriſion, might ſit idly diſputing about unimportant matters, or matters they had ſcarcely weight to interfere in, and idly attended by forty members, inſtead of the very numerous aſſembly that dignified the preſent queſtion. — On the call of additional county members, other, and as

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES

OF THE

HOUSE of COMMONS,

In the SECOND SESSION of the

Sixteenth Parliament of GREAT BRITAIN,

Appointed to be holden at WESTMINSTER

On TUESDAY the 18th of MAY, 1784.

Thurſday, April 7, 1785.

THE right honourable *William-Wyndham Grenville* roſe, in conformity to the notice which he had formerly given, to move for leave to bring in a bill to explain and amend the act for trying controverted elections. His intention, he ſaid, was not what he had in his contemplation when he laſt year ſignified his deſign to propoſe ſome alterations in the act alluded to; the bill had been thought by many perſons to require ſome alteration, but he did not intend to go into a comprehenſive and extenſive diſcuſſion of ſuch alterations as were of a general and important nature, then, becauſe he ſhould not propoſe any bill of the kind that ſeſſion, but would reſerve it to the next, holding it to be much more likely to be diſcuſſed with that degree of temper, moderation, and coolneſs, that the ſubject required, when conſidered in the abſtract, than when election caſes were exiſting untried, to which it might be in ſome degree or other applied, and thence impreſſions ariſe by no means favourable to a fair agitation of the bill. What he had then in his intention was, merely to propoſe ſome alterations in the mechanical part of

The right hon. W. W. Grenville.

could have no juſt reaſon to apprehend any complaint againſt them; becauſe not only a tax of a ſimilar nature, and collected in the ſame manner, had been ſo long ago as the reign of Queen Anne, laid upon another branch of the cotton manufacture, which identical branch, ſo far from ſuffering any diminution from thence, had ſince arrived to a very great degree of magnitude and importance. It appeared, afterwards, that the manufacturers took exceptions to the conduct of their deputies in this buſineſs, withdrew their ſubſtitution and authority, and made new objections. Thoſe objections, he ſaid, were, however, not in the opinion of the Board of Treaſury, ſufficient to ſuſtantiate the alledged impropriety of the meaſure. They principally turned on apprehenſions of the trade being totally ruined; more in conſequence of the inconvenience likely to ariſe from the mode of impoſition, than from the amount of the tax; but he believed the principal ſource of diſcontent was, in the unwillingneſs all men had to pay taxes of any kind. If no other taxes were to be impoſed but ſuch as all men agreed to, our reſources might fairly be ſaid to be at an end. The meaſure was accordingly finally decided on by the Board of Treaſury, and afterwards paſſed into a law.

The complaints of the manufacturers had not yet ſubſided, and they had now applied to Parliament for a repeal of that tax; urging in their petitions, the moſt violent apprehenſions of a total extinction of the manufacture, ſhould it continue. There had been a very long and elaborate ſeries of arguments offered to the Committee by the counſel for the petitioners, and a vaſt field of evidence gone into for the purpoſe of ſupporting the allegations on which their claim to the attention of Parliament was grounded; but he muſt acknowledge, that all the ingenuity, and all the zeal which had been diſplayed on the occaſion, had not brought home to his mind a conviction of the impolicy or hardſhip of the tax complained of. It certainly muſt have ſtruck every members of the Committee, that although the allegations of the petitions themſelves were ſufficiently far-fetched and extenſive, yet that the evidence in aid of them was out of all meaſure exaggerated and uncandid. There was ſcarcely a ſingle ſtage of the examination, or a ſingle point of the inquiry, on which there was not a glaring and evident deſire in the witneſſes to miſlead and deceive the Houſe. It had been laid down as a doctrine, that no manufacturer what-

ever ought to be made ſubject to taxation: this was a principle which he was ready in ſome degree to admit, but by no means in a latitude equal to that in which it was endeavoured to be eſtabliſhed. Manufactures in general ought to be free from taxes, leſt otherwiſe they ſhould be ſo far depreſſed as either to endanger their exportation, or elſe diminiſh their home conſumption. The drawbacks in this inſtance prevented the former of theſe misfortunes, and from the evidence produced, it clearly appeared that the latter had not yet taken place. In his opinion, what ought principally to be avoided in the practice of this doctrine was, the taxing of articles which generally run through manufactures, or of commodities which, in their conſumption, were confined to few, becauſe in one caſe the tax might, and the other neceſſarily muſt fall heavy on the individual, but here there was no ſuch principle, the conſumption of each ſex was ſo general, that the tax might rather be conſidered as a perſonal tax on the conſumer, than as a tax on the conſumption.—Their next object to eſtabliſh was, that the tax in queſtion was almoſt totally unproductive, in proportion to the neceſſary expences of collection. They had for this purpoſe ſtated the amount only at 10,000l.; this he was ready to aſſert was not a true calculation: to prove it, the Committee had only to turn their attention to the general ſtate of the manufacture, and to the proportion the tax bore to the quantity of the commodity; one penny on the ſquare yard. From hence it would appear, that two millions of yards, would very nearly produce the ſum alledged to be the amount of the whole tax; but it was notorious, that the quantity of the commodity exceeded that which he had mentioned in at leaſt a treble proportion. He ſaid there were 80,000 perſons in the manufacture, the men at a weekly hire of 8s. the women and children at 4s.. the very wages of the theſe perſons would amount to more than what the manufacturers had ſtated the tax to produce. The quantity of raw cotton annually imported was about ten millions of pounds, of which it was computed, that one million and a half was employed in various miſcellaneous articles, part, for inſtance, in ſtockings and other ſuch matters not concerned in the preſent queſtion, and part to be eſtimated as waſte; five millions were employed in the printing buſineſs, and therefore three millions and a half remained for the fuſtians and plain cottons, to which his preſent argument was confined. Now, of thoſe manufactures, it appeared, that, on an average, one

pound would make three yards, becauſe there were to be included in the calculation mixed ſtuffs, which took a much leſs quantity, as well as entire fuſtians, which in ſome inſtances might take more. This, he ſaid, would ſufficiently eſtabliſh his aſſertion, that the amount of the tax, as ſtated by the petitioners, bore no proportion to the truth, as it was thus evident that the quantity of the commodity manufactured was ſuch as muſt of neceſſity produce a ſum, almoſt beyond bounds, greater than that ſtated.

Another objection had been taken by the petitioners, on the ground of the difficulty and deductions, attending the drawbacks on exportation; and here they had given themſelves a latitude that, perhaps, was in ſome meaſure excuſable, on a ſubject which ſo nearly concerned any of the commercial intereſts of the nation; they had drawn into the queſtion the conſideration of the reſolutions, then depending before the Houſe, relative to the Iriſh commerce. Indeed thoſe Iriſh Reſolutions ſeemed to have an extraordinarily comprehenſive quality, they were indued with a ſort of ambiguity, for they had been found to apply to caſes infinitely more remote from them than the preſent. A right honourable gentleman, for inſtance, oppoſite to him (Mr. Fox) had thought them extremely uſeful in affording an illuſtration of his arguments relative to the repreſentation of the People of England in Parliament. Had he therefore felt any ſurprize at the cotton manufacturers extending them to their own caſe, it would have entirely ſubſided on his finding what an infinitely greater degree of extenſion they were capable of. The objections, however, on this ground were, as far as they went, of much greater importance than that which he had already conſidered; but ſtill they were ſuch as, by a different regulation in the mode of obtaining the drawback, might be obviated. The next complaint was, that the mode of collection was ſuch as neceſſarily ſubjected the manufacture to an inconvenience of a magnitude infinitely diſproportioned to the ſum raiſed for the Public, this, he admitted, was a ſtrong ground of objection, if true in the latitude in which it had been ſtated; but here he obſerved, that the petitioners had acknowledged themſelves to be very much miſtaken in their original opinion; for the inconveniences which they had complained of in their petition, and ſupported by their evidence, were by no compariſon equal to what they had before ſtated in their memorials to the Board of Treaſury, as the certain reſult of the meaſure, nor to that which they had endeavoured to impreſs the Houſe would hereafter ariſe from its continuance: however,

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the principle of the objection was in itſelf ſo ſtrong, that if it could be found to apply in almoſt any degree, it would be nearly inſurmountable, there certainly might be one adopted which would reduce the inconvenience complained of to the delay of a ſingle day, which certainly could not have any great effect in a proceſs which would neceſſarily require ſeveral weeks from the receipt of the order to accompliſh

Another objection, if it could not be removed, he admitted, would be perfectly unanſwerable. This was, that the exciſe ſtamp was of ſuch a nature, that in the ſubſequent progreſs of the manufacture it was often unavoidably obliterated, and in conſequence the owner ſubjected to a repetition of the payment, and frequently to a penalty. He was fully ſatisfied that there was a compoſition invented which would leave an indelible mark, and conſequently obviate this complaint. Thus, he ſaid, he flattered himſelf, that he had made it appear to the Committee that all the objections to the tax were either ſuch as at preſent had no exiſtence, at leaſt not in the degree ſtated by the petitioners, or elſe by future regulations might be overturned. But there was another point of view in which he conſidered the queſtion, one which he would willingly run the riſk of laying before the Committee, though he was aware that it would be taken up as a handle againſt him; it was, however, founded in a principle ſo ſtrongly impreſſed on his feelings, that no conſideration whatever ſhould induce him to abandon it, not the fear of being again miſrepreſented, calumniated, and vilified, as he had already often been, and as he ſuppoſed he ſhould often be again, nor even the fear of giving his opponents a temporary triumph; but a triumph which, he flattered himſelf, would ultimately return to him, when it was properly weighed and inveſtigated He thanked God that the ſituation of the country, and the ſtate of the public finances, were not ſuch as to ſuffer that gloomy deſpondency which ſo many perſons were induſtrious to ſpread abroad, to reach him, he had looked into them with a jealous ſcrutiny, and found that they were ſo flouriſhing and ſo promiſſing as to render the addition of the ſum derived by this tax, were it even much greater than it was, an object inconſiderable, when put in competition with the principle by which he propoſed to govern his conduct on the preſent queſtion. The eaſe and proſperity of trade and manufacture were objects which no man in that Houſe ſhould ever overlook; but there was another object of high importance, and almoſt equally intitled to their regard, and this was the *ſpirit* of commerce. That this ſpirit had been excited againſt the tax was too

too obvious from the abilities which had been exerciſed for that purpoſe, and from the pertinacity with which the manufacturers had purſued its repeal. The opinions, however originating, however infuſed, or however founded, of ſo large, ſo uſeful, and ſo reſpectable a body of men as the cotton manufacturers, nay, even their prejudices and errors were to him objects of ſuch ſerious conſideration, that he would not put his own ſentiments in competition with them, when the point in queſtion was ſuch as could with any ſafety be given up, if our ſituation were ſuch as to render the produce of the tax an important object, perhaps he ſhould not be ſo complying, but the addition of 30, or even 50,000l. was not in the preſent ſtate of the revenue, to be looked on as ſo indiſpenſable, as not to give way to the very deſirable purpoſe of quieting the minds of a large body of people, who contributed by their labour ſo great a portion of the national ſtrength, and on whoſe ſatisfaction the public tranquillity ſo much depended. He was therefore extremely willing to concede his own conviction to the wiſhes of ſo many thouſands of his countrymen; and beſides the pleaſure he ſhould always feel at thus gratifying ſo valuable a body of men, he was happy to have it in his power by this conceſſion to give a pledge to the People, that his hopes of being able to create a ſinking fund, over and above the neceſſary demands of the public eſtabliſhments, by which the national debt would, in time of peace, be in a very conſiderable degree diminiſhed, were ſuch as not to render him tenacious of any particular tax. In what he had ſaid in the courſe of his argument, he deſired to be underſtood as not applying to the tax on printed goods; the objections to that, he ſaid, had not been by any means ſupported, nor were they ſuch as came within the ſcope of the ſubject, for the complaint was not on the *quantum*, but on the *mode* of the tax. Now this complaint could by no means lie againſt his tax on the printed goods, becauſe that being only an additional tax, could be liable to no objection, except on the account of its ſize, the mode of collection having been already found not exceptionable, during a long courſe of uſage, and under which the manufacture had very greatly flouriſhed and increaſed. He ſhould therefore move,

"That it is the opinion of this Committee, that leave be "given to bring in a bill to explain and amend an act paſſed "in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of his preſent Ma- "jeſty, for impoſing a duty by exciſe on certain cotton ma- "nufactures, and to repeal ſo much of the ſaid bill as impoſed "a duty on plain cottons and fuſtians."

Mr.

Mr. Fox. Mr. *Fox* roſe, he ſaid, with great ſatisfaction to ſecond the right honourable gentleman's motion, concurring as he did compleatly in the reſult of the right honourable gentleman's argument. He thought it highly neceſſary to declare, that he voted for the motion on a very different ground from that ſtated by the right honourable gentleman in the commencement of his ſpeech. He agreed to the motion, not becauſe he thought the manufacturers of Mancheſter had either exaggerated facts, or failed in making out their caſe, but becauſe they had ſo far made out their caſe as to ſatisfy his mind, that the allegations ſtated in their petition had been compleatly proved at the bar of the Houſe; and if the right honourable gentleman would give himſelf the trouble to recollect the evidence he had heard, and would ground ſuch fair and juſt computations upon the price of labour, and upon the amount of the money paid by the manufacturers for duty, as each warranted, he believed he would find himſelf a good deal miſtaken in the computations that he had made, and that the revenue to be given up and abandoned, was by no means ſo large as he had imagined, nor, in fact, larger than the ſum the manufacturers themſelves had ſtated it to be in evidence. Mr. Fox ſtated the calculations of Mr. Pitt to be erroneous, and ſtated in what he diſagreed with him. Mr Fox ſaid, he had not a doubt that the manufacturers were ſtrictly warranted in every thing they had alledged in their petition, and aſſerted in evidence; and that the revenue to be relinquiſhed was certainly a trifle, compared with the injury and embaraſsment ſo capital a manufactory would have ſuſtained, had it not been taken off. Mr. Fox deſired not to be ranked in the number of thoſe who held that manufactures, as manufactures, were improper objects of taxation; he never had, nor ever ſhould entertain ſuch an opinion, on the contrary, he held that articles of manufacture were in many caſes a fair and juſt object of taxation, in ſome undoubtedly they were not, and eſpecially in ſuch where the impoſition of a tax would ſo far harraſs the manufacturers as to take conſiderably more money from them than the revenue received, and check the progreſs of a manufacture, and prove vexatious and oppreſſive to that degree, that it would affect its proſperity, and endanger its exiſtence. This he verily believed, notwithſtanding all that the right honourable gentleman had ſaid, would have proved to be the caſe with the fuſtian manufacture, had not the duty been repealed He agreed therefore perfectly with the right honourable gentleman in his idea of repealing that part of the tax of the laſt year; he agreed with

him

him alſo in retaining the part of the tax that remained on printed cottons, &c; he was not of opinion that any ſufficient reaſon had been made out to ſhew that there was any real danger to be dreaded from the continuance of the tax on printed cottons, &c. he was therefore for its remaining He muſt however deprecate a principle that the right honourable gentleman had laid down in the latter part of his ſpeech as a fit ground upon which any tax might be abandoned, and that was, on account of popular clamour and prejudices, which were founded in error. To ſuch a principle he never would accede, nor ought that Houſe to make it the ground of their proceedings, becauſe if it were once known that a great degree of popular clamour and prejudice, no matter how ill founded, was a ſufficient inducement for that Houſe to give their conſent to the repeal of any tax, the revenue would be in perpetual danger, and that ſinking fund, of which the right honourable gentleman was ſo fond of introducing the mention in almoſt every debate, and to which they all looked forward with the moſt anxious expectation, would be only a matter to be talked of, and never to be brought into exiſtence It was by no means wiſe in any Miniſter to declare, that he gave up that to prejudice and clamour, which he refuſed to reaſon and to fact, he did therefore moſt earneſtly deprecate the principle, and deny that it was the ground on which he ſeconded the motion. The right honourable gentleman had thought fit, Mr. Fox obſerved, to introduce alluſions to what he had ſaid in a former debate, relative to the Iriſh Propoſitions, notwithſtanding that no man was more ready than the right honourable gentleman to reprobate and condemn others for doing ſo diſorderly a thing as referring to what paſſed in prior debates. The right honourable gentleman would be ſo good as to recollect, that the ſubject of India, and a certain India bill had been repeatedly alluded to by himſelf and his friends in debates, where the queſtion was infinitely more foreign, than the conſequence the paſſing of the Iriſh Propoſitions was likely to have upon the People of England, was foreign to the queſtion of the reforming the ſtate of their repreſentation in Parliament Beſides, in that very debate, the right honourable gentleman had himſelf introduced the mention of the American war, and other topics equally foreign from the ſubject at that time under conſideration. But the right honourable gentleman had laid down two different rules of conduct, the one for himſelf and friends to act upon, and the other to be applied to thoſe who took part againſt him. With regard to how far the preſent ſubject had reference to

the Iriſh Propoſitions, he made no ſcruple to ſay he thought it had, becauſe undoubtedly, if the tax on fuſtians had continued, and the Iriſh Propoſitions paſſed, the manufacturers would be affected very materially, not indeed in their home conſumption, but in their export trade, ſince the fifth propoſition, that of the countervailing duties, would only make it neceſſary for the Iriſh to lay on a duty equal to what the revenue received, whereas the manufacturers paying more than the revenue received, in conſequence the Iriſh and they would not export on equal terms. Having ſtated this, Mr. Fox took notice of what Mr Pitt had ſaid of his expectation to be vilified and calumniated for the manner in which he had come forward to repeal the tax The right honourable gentleman had forgot, he ſaid, that the conduct of others had been full as much vilified and calumniated as his own, and he was ſatisfied, with as little reaſon and as little juſtice There was no ground for cenſure in honeſtly acknowledging an error, and deſiring to retract it; there might be ground for queſtion, and for ſomething not very like praiſe, for declaring that a ſacrifice was made to prejudice, and to prejudice merely

Mr Chancellor Pitt

Mr Chancellor *Pitt* ſaid, there could hardly be a gentleman in the Houſe who would not think it highly neceſſary for him not to loſe a moment before he roſe to anſwer the groſs and monſtrous miſrepreſentation that had been made of what he had ſaid; juſt as if he had declared that he relinquiſhed the tax in compliance with the prejudices of the manufacturers, and on that account merely. He appealed to the recollection of the Houſe, whether he had ſaid any ſuch thing, and he appealed to their judgement, whether he could poſſibly have meant any ſuch thing? What he had ſaid, was, that he weighed the popular opinion on the one hand, againſt the importance of the object on the other; and that where the revenue to be relinquiſhed was inconſiderable, compared with the degree in which the intereſts of the Public might be affected by the injury a capital and important manufacture might ſuſtain, in conſequence of the rooted and inſurmountable prejudices of a large body of manufacturers, if the one greatly outweighed the other, he thought that a ſufficient ground to act upon to repeal any tax ſo circumſtanced, and upon that ground he had come to the reſolution to propoſe the repeal of ſo much of the tax of the laſt year as related to fuſtians Was that any thing like what the right honourable gentleman had thought proper to ſtate as his argument? And could any reaſonable man believe that it was equal to a declaration, that what he had refuſed, and what he would have refuſed to reaſon

ſon and to fact, he would give up to clamour and to prejudice? Nay, would the right honourable gentleman himſelf, upon reflection, contend, that he had fairly ſtated his argument?

Mr *Fox* roſe again, and denied that he had, in any degree whatever, miſrepreſented the right honourable gentleman's argument. In the firſt part of his ſpeech the right honourable gentleman had taken conſiderable pains and ſtated a variety of computations to prove, that the manufacturers had given falſe evidence, that they had exaggerated facts, and failed in making out their caſe, inſomuch that the right honourable gentleman declared he was himſelf convinced that the allegations in their petition were by no means proved, and in the latter part of his ſpeech the right honourable gentleman had ſaid, he was ſatisfied that the prejudices of the manufacturers were founded in error, and were groundleſs, but that, nevertheleſs, he thought it right to relinquiſh the tax, what was this, Mr Fox aſked, but giving up to falſe and ill-founded prejudice, that which was refuſed to reaſon and to fact? Mr. Fox repeated his conviction, that the manufacturers had made good the allegations of their petition, and proved their caſe. Mr Fox.

Lord *North* roſe, and likewiſe concurred with the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the repeal of the tax on fuſtians, and in continuing the tax on printed cottons, &c. As, therefore, there was not likely to be any great difference of opinion, his Lordſhip ſaid, it certainly would be wrong to waſte much of the time of the Committee. His Lordſhip ſuggeſted his doubts as to the point of order and the proper mode of proceeding. He ſaid, he much queſtioned, whether the more regular method would not be, to repeal the whole of the act of the laſt year, and to move, in a Committee of ways and means, for leave to bring in a bill to impoſe the tax on the printed cottons, in the proper ſtage, where it was to be taken, becauſe if he underſtood the matter rightly, the tax impoſed by the act of the laſt year was a tax on all cotton, bleached and dyed; now, as a great deal of cotton was bleached which never was printed, the tax on printed cottons muſt neceſſarily be collected at the printing ſtage, and, therefore, it became, in ſome ſort, a new and different tax from the tax of the laſt year, though it was virtually and ſubſtantially the ſame. Lord North.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* gave the noble Lord credit for what he had ſaid, but was of opinion, that the more regular way of the two, was that which he had propoſed to the Committee; becauſe as the tax of the laſt year was to remain in part, viz. ſo much as related to printed cottons, it ſurely would be abſurd to repeal the whole, merely to enact a part of the ſame tax by a new bill. Mr Chancellor Pitt.

A ſhort diſpute accrued on the point of order, whether Mr. Stanley or Mr. Jenkinſon ſhould be heard firſt. A length Mr Jenkinſon roſe and confirmed Mr Pitt's argument in favour of the mode of proceeding under the original motion.

Mr. Stanley

Mr. *Stanley* then roſe, and reſcued the manufacturers from the imputation thrown on their evidence by the Chancellor of the Exchequer He expreſſed his extreme ſatisfaction at having attained the object he had taken ſo much pains to effect, but inſiſted upon it, that the facts alledged in the petition had been ſubſtantiated in evidence Mr Stanley particularly laid ſtreſs on the teſtimony of Mr. Hall, the dyer, and ſaid, if the right honourable gentleman had any doubt on his mind relative to any of thoſe facts to which he had pointed a part of his argument that day, he might have been fully ſatisfied by queſtioning Mr Hall; inſtead of which, the right honourable gentleman had contented himſelf with the information given by an exciſeman, ſent purpoſely from town to Mancheſter to inquire into the ſtate of the manufacture, who was not above ſix days in Mancheſter, and had derived all the little knowledge he had of the matter from exciſemen inſtead of the manufacturers themſelves, who alone were competent to inſtruct him. Mr. Stanley lamented, that it was not the right honourable gentleman's intention to repeal the whole of the act, and take off the tax on printed cottons, &c. as well as on fuſtians. He ſaid, the conſequence would be, the printed-cotton manufacture would be greatly injured, and the revenue detrimented, by printed linen being ſmuggled, in proportion to the produce of the tax Before he ſat down, Mr. Stanley termed the Mancheſter manufactories the pride of this country, and the envy of foreign nations, and declared, that Meſſrs Walker, Richardſon, and the other gentlemen, delegates from the manufacturers, as well as the reſt of the witneſſes, were, to his knowledge, men of undoubted character and reputation, and of as much private honour, virtue, and probity, as they were ingenious, ſkilful, and familiar with their manufacture, and that ſuch men were above ſtating falſehoods, or exaggerating facts, on any conſideration upon earth.

Mr Dempſter.

Mr. *Dempſter* ſaid, he could by no means agree with the other gentlemen in rejoicing at the motion upon the table, on the contrary, he muſt acknowledge, that he felt great diſſatisfaction in conſequence of the right honourable gentleman's not having moved a general repeal of the act. Mr Dempſter ſaid, he was in the condition of a part of a ſet of criminals, to whom a general had extended mercy, by ordering them to be decimated, unfortunately the lot had fallen on his conſtituents.

tuents. The right honourable gentleman might not be aware that there were printed linens as well as cottons, and that the printed-linen manufacture would be materially detrimented by the tax. Mr. Dempſter ſtated, that the printed-linen manufacture laboured under a burden now of fifty per cent where as before, it was not taxed in any thing like the ſame proportion. Mr Dempſter urged the ſevere injury and the intolerable grievance a continuance of the tax would be upon the manufacture, and declared, if the preſent motion were perſiſted in, he ſhould think it his duty to take the ſenſe of the Committee upon it

The Earl of *Surrey* reminded the Committee, that when the tax was firſt ſtated laſt year to the Houſe, the ſuſtians, plain cottons, printed cottons, linens, &c. were all propoſed to be taxed in one and the ſame proportion, whereas it was afterwards altered, and the tax now ſtood as it ſtood at preſent. His Lordſhip contended, that it was unjuſt, and contrary to the expreſs condition upon which the tax had been agreed to, to take it off ſome of the articles, and not off the whole of them. His Lordſhip then moved an amendment. The Earl of Surrey

Mr *Fox* roſe to repeat, that he was for the tax on printed cottons continuing, but if the noble Lord perſiſted in his amendment, he muſt, out of conſiſtency, and for the ſake of order, divide againſt the motion. He wiſhed, therefore, the right honourable gentleman oppoſite to him would help him out of his difficulty Mr Fox likewiſe ſaid, that in his laſt ſpeech he had ſtated the medium of the price of labour at ſix ſhillings per week, but that ſince he had laſt ſpoke, he had examined the evidence, and found it was no more than four ſhillings per week, which made greatly in favour of the argument of the manufacturers, and againſt the computations of the right honourable gentleman. Mr Fox.

The *Lord Advocate* (Mr T. Campbell) agreed, that in reaſon and in juſtice the act ought to be repealed altogether, for that continuing the part of it to remain as the right honourable gentleman had propoſed, would be a grievous hardſhip upon the printed-cotton and linen manufacture of Scotland The Lord Advocate.

Mr. *Sheridan* roſe, not, he ſaid, to vilify the right honourable gentleman, but to declare, that the right honourable gentleman had moſt unjuſtly caſt aſperſions on the Manchester manufacturers, who, by no means, merited ſuch treatment, on the contrary, their evidence was unqueſtionably founded, and the whole of their conduct had been moſt laudible Mr. Sheridan ſtated, that he had ſpent part of the ſummer in Lancaſhire, and had been a witneſs to the infinite pains the manufacturers Mr. Sheridan.

facturers had taken to keep their numerous workmen quiet, and to preſerve the peace of the country. He roſe principally, Mr Sheridan ſaid, to impreſs more ſtrongly the idea ſuggeſted by his right honourable friend, viz the reprobation of the doctrine of giving that to prejudice, which had been refuſed to reaſon. Such doctrine was the way to raiſe clamour, and to throw the whole country into confuſion It was pointing out a mode of obtaining the repeal of a tax, that could not but be attended with the moſt miſchievous conſequences; and, therefore, to obviate it, and to prove to the world, that whatever might be the rule of conduct adopted and followed by his Majeſty's Chancellor of the Exchequer, as an individual, the Houſe of Commons did not act by ſo ſtrange a rule, he ſhould move an amendment, which was to inſert after the word *that*, a few lines, the purpoſe of which amounted to a reſolution, "that it appeared to the Committee, that the manufacturers of Mancheſter would be ſo much aggrieved and injured, if the tax on fuſtians, cottons, and cotton ſtuffs, &c &c. &c impoſed by an act of the laſt year, were ſuffered to continue, that the manufacture would be materially detrimented, and, perhaps, entirely ruined, therefore it was the opinion of the Committee, that leave be given to bring in a bill to explain and amend," &c. &c. &c. Mr. Sheridan moved this amendment regularly

Mr Wilberforce

Mr *Wilberforce* ſaid, if the forms of the Houſe would have permitted it, he would have moved the previous queſtion upon the amendment. That not being maſter of the whole of the evidence, he could not poſſibly vote for the motion with that amendment, whereas he very ſafely could conſent to a repeal of the tax He ended with declaring, he would give the amendment his flat negative

Mr Rolle

Mr *Rolle* charged Mr. Sheridan with having made an inflammatory ſpeech, with a view to excite alarm and diſcontent in the country He ſaid, he would not ſay who it was that went down to Lancaſhire to ſtir up the manufacturers, to ſet them againſt the taxes, and to promote tumult and diſcontent. Neither would he ſay who it was that diſtributed, or cauſed to be diſtributed, ſeditious and inflammatory handbills, and had them circulated all round the country; but the fact was ſo, and if he could bring the proof home to the party he ſuſpected, he would take the proper ſteps to have this head ſtuck upon Temple Bar. Mr. Rolle charged Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox with having ſhifted their ground. The firſt of them had ſeconded the motion, and declared he approved highly of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's conduct, and now the

the right honourable gentleman had ſaid, he would vote againſt the motion he promiſed to ſecond, this was, in his opinion, abandoning and deſerting ground, once taken in a moſt ſhameful manner

Mr. *Fox* ſaid, with regard to the empty threat of having heads ſtuck upon Temple Bar, he knew not of any act which made circulating handbills a capital offence; but he was ignorant of any ſuch fact, if the honourable gentleman had alluded to him. His honourable friend, ſo far from having made an inflammatory ſpeech, tending to alarm the country, and create diſcontents and clamour againſt the taxes, had done the direct contrary, his whole ſpeech, and the amendment he had moved, had obviouſly been calculated to guard againſt alarms, and to prevent clamour from ariſing againſt other taxes, in conſequence of the repeal of the tax on fuſtians. With regard to the charge of having ſhifted his ground, he had not ſhifted any ground; he had ſaid, he approved of the motion, and approved of letting the tax remain on the printed cottons He did ſo ſtill, but a point of order having ſince been ſtarted, which ſtruck him to be well founded, he muſt neceſſarily vote accordingly. If the honourable gentleman called that ſhifting his ground, to that accuſation he begged leave to plead guilty With regard to what the honourable gentleman had ſaid, he would not ſpeak, he preſumed the honourable gentleman was too much a man of honour to aſſert what he knew he could not prove Mr Fox.

Mr. *Sheridan* roſe to ſay, that his right honourable friend muſt certainly have miſtaken the honourable gentleman, becauſe the honourable gentleman had ſaid nothing but what was a defence of his argument; for what was his argument, but an argument to prevent the public from being miſled, and thence alarmed? With this view, he had moved an amendment, declaring the reaſons for which the Houſe agreed to repeal the tax on fuſtians. The charge of making inflammatory ſpeeches lay at the door of the right honourable gentleman oppoſite to him, if it lay any where, becauſe the right honourable gentleman had ſaid, he repealed the tax on account of the prejudices of the manufacturers, and not becauſe it was burdenſome and oppreſſive. Mr. Sheridan declared he did not think it neceſſary to make any reply to what the honourable gentleman had not ſaid, and with regard to the handbills, he really knew nothing about them; but he could eaſily conjecture why the honourable gentleman was ſo ſore about publications. The handbills were not the compoſitions that hurt him, but compoſitions leſs proſaic, but more Mr Sheridan

more popular, he was afraid, had made him ſo ſore. [Here a general laugh]* Mr. Sheridan ſaid, he was aware that the honourable gentleman had ſuſpected, that he was either the author of thoſe compoſitions, or ſome way or other concerned in them; he did aſſure him, upon his honour, he was not, nor had he ever ſeen a line of them till they were in print in the newſpaper.

Mr Rolle — Mr *Rolle* ſaid, he held the author of the compoſitions alluded to, be he whom he would, in ſovereign contempt, as well as his works, but as the cap fitted the honourable gentleman and his right honourable friend, they were welcome to wear it He ſaw he had touched a ſore place. With regard to there being no act to prevent the circulating of ſeditious hand-bills, for the ſake of creating diſcontent in the country; if there was no ſuch act, there ought to be one, and if he knew the author, as a member of Parliament, he declared, he would take the proper ſteps to have him puniſhed He perſiſted in charging Mr Fox with having ſhifted his ground, and ſaid no man living ſhould make him abandon his ground, either in that Houſe or out of it.

Mr Sheridan — Mr. *Sheridan* again replied, and ſaid, while the honourable gentleman talked at random he ſhould take no notice of it, but if he charged him with being concerned in circulating any ſeditious handbills, he would anſwer him both there and elſewhere, very plainly, and very coarſely. Mr. Sheridan having ſaid this, touched upon his amendment, which ſeveral gentlemen preſſed him to give up, to which he conſented.

Mr Dundas — Mr. *Dundas* then roſe, and drew a diſtinction between the degree in which the tax would affect the fuſtian manufacturers, and that in which it would bear upon the manufacturers of printed cottons, printed linens, &c. ſhewing that it would not affect them in any thing like the ſame proportion. Mr. Dundas ſaid, let the matter be as it would, there would be abundant opportunities of diſcuſſing it in the courſe of the progreſs of the bill through the Houſe The motion need not, therefore, be ſtaid for it In alluſion to the art of producing popular taxes, and rendering taxes unpopular, he hoped, it would long continue to be the duty of his right honourable friend to propoſe taxes [a laugh] He would, therefore, truſt the power of producing popular taxes to him, and leave the art of rendering them unpopular with the gentlemen

* Mr Sheridan alluded to a popular ſatire entitled, "*Critiques on* "*an Rolliad*," for which we refer our readers to the *Aſylum* publiſhed by Debrett.

on the other ſide of the Houſe. Mr. Dundas ſtated the probable amount annually at 40,000l.; ſo much, he ſaid, he was willing to ſacrifice, the flouriſhing ſtate of the revenue conſidered, and the advantage of giving ſatisfaction to the large and reſpectable body of men employed in carrying on, and in manufacturing one of the firſt manufactures of the kingdom, weighed and balanced againſt the ſum loſt to the Public; but he declared, if the revenue to be relinquiſhed, had been larger, if it had been 100,000l. for inſtance, he ſhould have decidedly oppoſed any propoſition of repeal, from a conviction that the Public ought not to ſacrifice ſo great a loſs for ſuch a compenſation.

Mr. *Eden* ſaid, that as he moſt cordially concurred with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the queſtion of the day, he ſaw with pleaſure that the little incidents which had happened in the diſcuſſion of it, were likely to end without any heat or diviſion. With reſpect, however, to what had dropt from his right honourable friend who ſpoke laſt, he muſt beg leave to expreſs very differently, both as to the fact and the reaſonings connected with it. The right honourable gentleman had ſtated the tax propoſed to be repealed, as likely to have produced 40,000l. a year, and had added, that if it had been worth 100,000l. a year, ſo large a produce would have decided him to ſupport the tax againſt all the evidence which had been brought. Now for his own part, though determined to reſiſt the repeal of any tax, on light grounds, he muſt declare, that if the preſent tax had produced, upon a fair calculation, the large ſum ſtated in that ſuppoſition, he would ſtill have repealed it without heſitation, becauſe it had been ſhewn by inconteſtible evidence, that it was injurious to the manufacturers and dyers, to an extent for which no poſſible produce could compenſate. Under the preſſure of ſuch a neceſſity, he was happy to feel, and to inform the Houſe and the Public, that the loſs to be incurred was very inconſiderable with reſpect to the revenue; he had heard with aſtoniſhment, the ſeveral ſtatements which laboured to depreciate the objections made by the petitioners, and to exaggerate the probable produce of the tax. He had given the moſt unremitting attention to the whole of the inquiry in all its parts, and ſolemnly declared it to be his deliberate opinion, that the net annual produce of the fuſtian tax, now propoſed to be repealed, could not be eſtimated at ſo much as 6000l. And in truth, it was no ſlight Mr Eden

miſtake, or what ought to eſcape obſervation, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer and others, in computing the value of the tax, had ſuppoſed, becauſe one pound of cotton wool would produce about three ſquare yards of callico, that therefore, one pound of cotton wool would produce three ſquare yards of fuſtian it was in evidence, and well known, that about eight pounds of cotton would make only twelve yards of fuſtian. It was equally well known, that the whole import of cotton wool was not more than ten millions of pounds weight a year; and it was a large allowance to eſtimate, that half that quantity was uſed in the fuſtian branch; an allowance beyond the fact, but he would admit it, therefore five millions of pounds of cotton wool would produce ſeven millions and a half of fuſtian; which, at a penny a yard, would give 30,000l.; but to two thirds of the manufacture being exported, and the drawback given, there would remain only 10,000l, from which muſt be deducted about 4000l, under a loſs of other drawbacks, heretofore retained by the Public, as explained in the evidence. The remaining net produce would be 6000l., from which there ſtill remained to be deducted all the charges of collection, being five per cent. on the groſs ſum. Mr. Eden concluded by ſaying, that he had much pleaſure in ſtating this, becauſe it would prove that the public purſe would ſuffer little, at the ſame time that the town of Mancheſter would be relieved from an intolerable grievance.

Mr. Iſaac Hawkins Brown praiſed the conduct of Mr. Pitt, in the buſineſs of the day, as a defence replicatory to the arguments of Mr. Sheridan.

Mr. John Egerton, Mr. William Egerton, Mr. Blackburn, Mr. Wilbraham Bootle, Mr. Caſwall, and other gentlemen, expreſſed their ſatisfaction at the repeal of the tax, and ſeverally ſpoke in praiſe of the manufacturers who had been examined at the bar.

Mr Pulteney

Mr. *Pulteney* adviſed a repeal of the duty, and recommended it to the Miniſter to impoſe it *ad valorem*, as the only means of obviating the juſt complaint, that it bore too hard on the coarſe and ordinary linens.

Mr Chancellor Pitt.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* ſaid, that had been at firſt thought of, but it was found to be attended with too many difficulties to carry it into execution. Mr. Pitt ſtated, why he did not conſider it as any oppreſſive tax in its preſent form and operation.

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The amendments were diſpoſed of, and the original motion paſſed.

The right honourable *W. W. Grenville* ſtated, that ſo many alterations had been made in his bill for the better regulation of the trial of elections, he throught it better to drop it entirely for the preſent, and bring it in more fully in the enſuing ſeſſion. The right hon W W. Grenville.

Thurſday, April 21.

Mr. Eden moved, that the evidence given in the Committee on the Iriſh reſolutions ſhould be printed, to which the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſaid he heartily conſented.

Adjourned.

Friday April 22.

The houſe having reſolved itſelf into a Committee of ways and means, Mr. Steele in the chair,

Mr. *Roſe* moved, "That the ſum of 702,000l. remaining "in the Exchequer on the 5th of April 1785, of the "ſurplus of the ſinking fund, be applied towards the ſup-"ply." Mr. Roſe.

Mr. *Huſſey* put ſome queſtions relative to the deficiencies that had been made good from the ſinking fund, and in particular wiſhed to know whether the ſum ſtated in the reſolution was the clear ſurplus over and above all the ſums taken for deficiencies Mr. Huſſey

Mr. *Roſe* anſwered in the affirmative, and ſaid, that without ſuch a vote as that now moved, the ſurplus could not be appropriated to the public ſervice. Mr. Roſe.

Mr. Huſſey expreſſed his ſatisfaction on finding that there was ſo conſiderable a ſurplus.

Mr. *Eden* ſaid, that the preſent occaſion appeared to him proper for calling the attention of the Houſe to a ſubject of moſt ſerious importance. It muſt be in the recollection of all who heard him, that a few days ago the Chancellor of the Exchequer had moved for two accounts of the net produce of all the taxes, the one from Michaelmas 1784, to Chriſtmas 1784, and the other from Chriſtmas to the 5th of April laſt. The right honourable gentleman in ſtating the totals of thoſe accounts to the Houſe, had undoubtedly good ground for ſaying the revenues of this country were in a ſtate of improvement, and the public reſources ſuch as ought to prevent any deſpondency. but the right honourable Mr Eden.

gentleman had gone much farther, for, in ſtating the net produce of the laſt quarter to be above three millions, he had inferred, that the future annual produce might, upon the ſame ſcale, be eſtimated at twelve millions; and ſtill farther, that as the late quarters had ſhewn an increaſe, a progreſſive increaſe might be expected. With reſpect to the latter inference, Mr. Eden ſaid that he would put it out of the queſtion, by remarking, that nothing could be more fallacious or more fallible, than to ſuppoſe, that an increaſe of revenue is a forerunner of a further increaſe it might be fortunate when it proved ſo, but the preſumption in common ſenſe and experience would generally prove the reverſe. As to the other inference of a twelve-millions revenue, becauſe the laſt quarter had produced three millions, he thought it highly material to be diſcuſſed, and he ſhould be ſincerely glad to find himſelf under a miſapprehenſion reſpecting it, becauſe his ideas of it were exceedingly unfavourable to the bright proſpect which had been preſented to the Public. He had heard the firſt mention of it with pleaſure, but with ſurprize, with pleaſure, becauſe he was glad to hear ſo promiſing an account from ſo high an authority, with ſurpriſe, becauſe it happened that he had recently taken great pains to form an accurate eſtimate of the probable produce of all the taxes (except the land and malt) and could not with any liberal allowance, find cauſe to believe that the future annual produce of the whole, including the taxes of 1784, would be more, *communibus annis*, than 11,200,000l. a year. That eſtimate had been made with ſo much care, that he certainly heard the right honourable gentleman's computation with ſome doubts as to its accuracy, the papers on which that computation was grounded were now printed, and it appeared upon the face of them, that this productive quarter, upon which the whole fabric was built, conſiſted of one hundred and three days inſtead of ninety-one, being a period from Chriſtmas eve to the 5th of April. If then, there was an advantage taken of twelve in the hundred, he would be content, however, to call it an advantage equal to ten per cent. and what was the conſequence? Ten per cent. or 300,000l. muſt be deducted from the 3,000,000l. and applied either to a prior or ſubſequent quarter; and in the ſame line of computation a ſimilar deduction muſt be made from the three full ſubſequent quarters, making in the whole 1,200,000l. to be deducted from the twelve millions. That this was a moderate deduction, would appear from another mode of calcu-

calculation; if the quarter was admitted to conſiſt of 103 days, it would give a year of 412 days; and conſequently above forty days more than the fact; and the daily income being at leaſt 30,000l. in that way alſo, 1,200,000l. would be a reaſonable deduction. Mr. Eden ſaid that it would be found an unfair quarter from various circumſtances of the moſt evident kind for example, it contained various articles of weekly payments of certain ſums from the Excile and Poſt Office to the Exchequer, and upon examining thoſe ſums, it appeared that they all were the payments of fifteen weeks, inſtead of thirteen. How ſo ſingular an account had happened to be prepared, and laid before Parliament, it did not reſt with him to conjecture, or to explain; but ſurely he ſhould not have diſcharged his duty, if obſerving a fallacy of ſuch extent, he had omitted to remark it he would only add, that there were many particulars in the account, excluſive of this leading circumſtance, which were open to much diſcuſſion at ſome future day. In the mean time, he ſhould be content when the Houſe ſhould be reſumed, to move for an account of the net produce of all the taxes for the firſt eleven days of this extraordinary quarter, and alſo for the laſt eleven days when the accounts ſhould be returned, gentlemen might take their choice, and deduct from the three millions the net produce of the firſt eleven days, or the laſt, after which, the calculation, ſuch as it was, would ſtand upon a fair ground.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* enlarged on the impropriety of any gentleman of that Houſe endeavouring to miſconſtrue and depreciate the ſtate of the public revenue. In vein of irony, he profeſſed to exculpate the right honourable gentleman from that charge, as he was certain he could have no inclination, intentionally, to do ſo, from his known and conſtant zeal for the credit of the nation, which, he hoped, he ſhared with every other gentleman, and alſo from a motive more immediately perſonal to himſelf, from the pride he muſt neceſſarily feel, and the anxiety with which he muſt neceſſarily look for the accompliſhment of his own predictions, which he had ſo ſolemnly delivered to the Public on ſo many occaſions, and particularly in his own Report from the Committee on ſmuggling. In this inſtance, however, the miſconſtruction was ſo obvious, that if the right honourable gentleman had not wilfully abandoned his uſual rendements for the public credit, which he had frequently declared to be equally dear to him, by whomſoever the finances were adminiſtered, he Mr Chancellor Pitt.

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muſt at leaſt appear to the Houſe to have been guilty of an extraordinary and almoſt inconceivable miſtake. In the firſt place he had only referred to one of the various calculations which he had formerly laid before the Houſe, becauſe that particular calculation afforded him the faireſt opportunity, perhaps, of drawing an unfavourable concluſion; but this calculation was by no means that on which he principally reſted. He had only mentioned that among others to the Houſe, in order to point out to them the different lights in which the ſubject might be viewed, in order to govern them in the proſpects they might form of the whole year's income. Inſtead of the calculation of the two remaining quarters of the preſent year equaling the laſt quarter, ending April 5th, which the right honourable gentleman had argued from, he deſired the Houſe to recollect, that the calculation which he had principally relied upon was grounded on a compariſon of the produce of the half year ending April 5, 1785, with that ending April 5, 1784, and the probable expectation that the current half year, to end on the 10th of October next, would bear the ſame proportion with the half year ending on the 10th of October 1784, that the other half years ending on the 5th of April, were found to bear to each other.

Another error had crept into the right honourable gentleman's argument, when he had ſtated, that becauſe the paper on the table included an account of the produce of more than the quarter by an exceſs of one tenth part of the whole; that therefore one tenth ſhould be deducted in conſidering the amount of the quarter. This general rule he could by no means comprehend, unleſs it were to be admitted, that the income of every week, and of every day in the year, were exactly equal; but as this was not the caſe, the only fair way of conſidering that part of the queſtion, and of reconciling the difficulty, would be by looking into the account, and ſtriking off the ſimple amount of the receipt of thoſe extra days that had been included in the ſtatement of the whole quarter. When the right honourable gentleman had done this, he flattered himſelf that he would have the ſatisfaction to find his deſpondence on the ſubject conſiderably diminiſhed. He wondered that the right honourable gentleman's experience in matters of finance had not ſuggeſted to him how uſeful in his preſent enquiry it would have been to have turned his attention to this point, whether the greater proportion of the improvement of our revenue were to be found in the department of the exciſe or in that of the cuſtoms. With reſpect

reſpect to the cuſtoms, he deſired it to be underſtood, that the two Summer quarters were always more productive than the Winter quarters, and in conſequence of the more frequent arrival of ſhips; therefore in that branch, his hopes and expectations were certainly well founded. He requeſted the Houſe never to loſe ſight of the object which he had on a former occaſion ſet before them, the eſtabliſhment of a ſinking fund, for the purpoſe of paying off, or rather diminiſhing the national debt. His own hopes on that ſubject were every day more and more ſtrong, from every new point of view in which he contemplated the reſources of the nation, and from every new information he had obtained, and in proportion to his hopes of ſucceſs, his conviction of the neceſſity of the meaſure became more and more impreſſive. But ſtill the warmeſt hopes, or the moſt demonſtrable certainty of ſucceſs, inſtead of creating any relaxation in the efforts of the Houſe to attain the end, ought to be an encouragement to redouble exertions—to exertions which ought to give way to no deſponding miſrepreſentations, nor even to any actual diſappointments, if ſuch were unexpectedly to occur for ſo deſirable, ſo neceſſary, and ſo practicable was the object, as to leave no ſort of excuſe for Parliament, if they were to overlook and neglect it. Still, however, he expected, and hoped, that however promiſing our proſpect of being able annually to appropriate the clear ſum of one million to this moſt important purpoſe, from the produce of the preſent exiſting taxes, yet ſhould theſe by any means be found deficient, the Houſe ſhould adopt it as a fixed and unalterable principle to make up that ſum by ſome new mode, in order that the great bulwark of the public credit, an efficient and uniform ſinking fund, might not by any accident be endangered.

Mr. *Eden* replied, that neither ironical compliments nor ſarcaſtic inſinuations would ever affect either his temper or judgement; and that he would not be diverted from a ſtatement equally true and important, becauſe motives were aſſigned to him which he diſdained. He had brought forward the buſineſs with due reſpect to the right honourable gentleman, with the fulleſt reſpect to the Houſe, and with the ſtricteſt integrity towards the Public; if it was the intereſt of the Public not to exiſt under a ſtate of deception; and if it were for the benefit of the public credit, to be built upon truth, and not upon fallacies. The right honourable gentleman's explanation, in his opinion, admitted the whole Mr Eden

of what had been ſtated, for the right honourable gentleman now ſhifted his ground, and inſtead of relying on the produce of the one quarter, wiſhed to argue from the joint produce of the two quarters. be it ſo; but then the inference would be, that the two quarters amounting to 5,800,000l. the four quarters would be only 11,600,000l.; and from that ſum there muſt be deducted the extra ten days, becauſe it included the period from the 29th of September to the 5th of April, which was not the fair half year. Mr. Eden expreſſed ſome ſurprize that a diſcuſſion, which had been brought forward for the purpoſe of bringing to the point of truth a moſt material ſubject of public finance, ſhould have appeared unpleaſant and painful to a gentleman, who hitherto really had ſhewn a manly readineſs and candour to meet ſuch diſcuſſions. As to the inſinuation that he had ſtated this matter with a ſeeming triumph on finding the revenue worſe than had been ſuppoſed, he could only deny that in his heart he had entertained any ſuch ſenſation he felt only the triumph of truth, with due concern for the intereſts involved in that truth, and could appeal to every part of his public conduct during twelve years, for his having uſed every exertion to the limited extent of his abilities, to improve the revenue, and ſupport the reſources of the country.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* diſclaimed any intention of offence to the right honourable gentleman, and declared, that he ſhould by no means think himſelf juſtified in making any perſonal ſarcaſm againſt him, and ſhould be ſorry to lie under ſuch ſuſpicion. But ſtill, whenever he ſaw an attempt made to eſtabliſh a general argument, tending to depreciate the national reſources, and to overlook or hide any particular exiſting circumſtances highly favourable to the public credit, he felt it his duty, whether the miſrepreſentation was accidental or through deſign, to overturn and confute all ill-founded ſuggeſtions, calculated to prejudice a ſubject of ſuch importance to the national welfare; and perhaps his peculiar anxiety to anſwer any miſconceptions of the right honourable gentleman, deſerved rather to be conſtrued into an inſtance of high reſpect than the contrary, and to proceed from his unwillingneſs, that any thing of that nature ſhould proceed from ſo weighty an authority, in queſtions of finance, without the ſtrongeſt confutation in his power to make. He admitted, with the right honourable gentleman, that he had no right, nor had he power to look into his heart; the ſtate of that was only known to himſelf; but he muſt always continue

tinue faithfully to discharge the duty that lay on him, to scrutinize his argument, especially when that argument had a tendency to injure the public service. He answered the deductions which the right honourable gentleman had drawn from the mode of payment at the Excise and Post Office, pointing out that the depreciation which he had endeavoured to establish from thence was not reasonable, nor applicable to the statement of the quarter's account in question. He still persisted in his original assertion, that the medium of calculation, which on the former mention of the business he had chosen principally to abide by, was not that which the right honourable gentleman had selected as the basis of his argument. The right honourable gentleman had, in his second speech, made a fresh mistake in his computation of the length of the quarter, to end on the 10th of October 1785, by stating that quarter to contain ten days extra; this he was surprized at the more, as it was so extremely obvious, that as it was to commence on the 5th of July, and to end on the 10th of October, it could only exceed the natural quarter by five days; therefore the deduction of ten per cent. demanded by the right honourable gentleman must be reduced one half, viz. to five per cent.

Mr. *Eden* declared, he was ready to let the whole rest upon the real receipts of the taxes in the ten days additional. This would be seen when the papers he meant to move for should come. Mr Eden.

Mr. *Jenkinson* rose to support Mr. Pitt's argument, declaring, that he had never understood his right honourable friend to mean otherwise than as he had explained himself to mean, and that nothing could be more fair than the manner in which he had originally brought the subject forward, and stated it to the House. The number of days of the quarter ending April 5, 1785, must certainly have struck every man in the house at the time, and therefore he wondered that his right honourable friend should have misapprehended it so grossly. Mr. Jenkinson said farther, that the public accounts of the receipt of the produce of the taxes always had been made up in the manner in which the last half year's receipts had been made out, viz. one quarter, from the 10th of October 1784, to Christmas Eve 1784; and the other quarter from Christmas Eve 1784, to April 5, 1785. He added, that from all the experience he ever had, in regard to the receipt of the produce of taxes, the summer quarter's receipt always exceeded the winter's quarter in a very considerable degree. Mr Jenkinson

His right honourable friend therefore was every way juſtified in declaring, that the increaſed amount of the net receipt of the produce of the taxes for the quarter ending April 5, 1785, afforded the moſt comfortable proſpect that the receipt for the current quarters would be ſtill greater in amount, and that the Public would feel the eſſential advantage of gaining a very conſiderable exceſs upon the whole of the year's receipt, beyond the receipt of the four quarters ending the 10th of October 1784.

Mr Eden

Mr. *Eden* roſe again, and declared he was not a little ſurprized to find his right honourable friend ſo compleatly miſtaken. So far from the Summer quarter's receipt exceeding the receipt of the Winter quarter, the fact was directly the reverſe. Let his right honourable friend look but to any yearly account of the net produce of the taxes, and he would find the receipt of the Summer quarter, viz. that ending July 5, always fell conſiderably ſhort of the receipt of the quarter preceding it. With regard to his right honourable friend's having aſſerted that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had particularly noticed to the Houſe that the quarter, ending April 5, 1785, conſiſted of 103 days, he appealed to the Houſe, nay he would even appeal to the right honourable gentleman himſelf, whether he had ſaid a ſyllable upon the ſubject, or whether the number of days had been at all noticed till he himſelf remarked it that day. Mr. Eden complimented Mr. Jenkinſon for appealing to his judgement, rather than his memory, in matters of fact, and aſſured the right honourable gentleman, (Mr. Pitt) that there had been on his part no idea of imputing to him an intention to miſlead the Public, or to deceive the Houſe, he had too much reſpect for him, and too much confidence in his integrity to entertain ſuch an idea.

The reſolution was then read, and the queſtion being put, it was agreed to.

As ſoon as the Houſe was reſumed, Mr. Eden made his promiſed motion for the papers, and Mr. Chancellor Pitt moved for ſimilar papers, relating to the quarter from Chriſtmas Eve 1783, to April 5, 1784.

Mr Courtenay

While the motions were under conſideration, Mr. *Courtenay* roſe, and complimented Mr. Jenkinſon on the extraordinary formation of his ears; to which ſingular circumſtance he attributed the right honourable gentleman's having been able to hear from the Chancellor of the Exchequer when he firſt brought the ſubject forward, which neither he himſelf,

nor, he believed, any other honourable gentleman in the Houſe, had been able to hear, though they had liſtened with the moſt minute attention.

Mr. Jenkinſon ſaid a few words in reply.

Mr. *Steele*, in a ſhort ſpeech, ſupported the Chancellor of the Exchequer's argument in the Committee of Ways and Means, declaring, that he thought when the right honourable gentleman [Mr. Eden] made his firſt ſpeech, he appeared to betray an air of triumph at the diſcovery of what he ſeemed to think an important error, but that he (Mr. Steele) happened at the moment to be placed in a ſituation which would not well admit of his taking notice of it. Mr Steele.

The motions were all carried

Lord Mahon moved the order of the day for the ſecond reading of his two bills relative to elections, which being read, the Speaker put the queſtion on the firſt of the two bills, when

Mr. *Filmer Honeywood* roſe and ſaid, he did not mean to oppoſe the motion, or to prevent the bill's going to a Committee, but he hoped it would be conſiderably amended when it was in the Committee, as there appeared to him to be ſeveral bad parts of it, as the noble Lord was fond of amuſing himſelf with bringing in bills, Mr. Honeywood expreſſed a wiſh that the noble Lord would purſue the line of another election bill, commonly called Mr. Crew's bill, and follow the idea a little farther. There were certain dependants on the Board of Ordnance and the Board of Admiralty, as well as the Board of Cuſtoms, whom he ſhould be glad to ſee diſfranchiſed, and they ought, for the ſame reaſons, that had operated to diſfranchiſe the Cuſtom-houſe officers. In proof of this, Mr. Honeywood ſtated, that at the laſt election for the county of Kent, Lord Mahon had played off a trick upon him and his colleague, which to their honour, (for ſo he thought he had a right to put it) did not prove ſucceſsful. The noble Lord came down upon them of a ſudden, at the head of a troop of the ſort of voters he had juſt deſcribed, with labels in their hats, on which were printed the words, *Pitt and the Conſtitution*. This was done with a view to deprive the honeſt yeomanry of Kent of being repreſented by the objects of their choice. Happily his conſtituents had too much ſpirit as well as too much zeal in his cauſe, and that of his honourable colleague, to be taken in by ſo unconſtitutional a manœuvre. Nay, ſome of the noble Lord's followers were themſelves aſhamed of the buſineſs, for he obſerved ſeveral of them take the la- Mr Filmer Honeywood.

bels out of their hats, and throw them away. Mr. Honeywood enlarged upon theſe facts, and pointed out the inconvenience that candidates might be put to, in conſequence of their being ſuffered to be continued. He particularly recommended it to the noble Lord to bring in a bill upon the ſubject, leſt it ſhould ever happen that his own arts ſhould be turned againſt him, or any of his friends.

Ld Mahon. Lord *Mahon* ſaid, what the honourable gentleman had ſtated might refer to another bill, that which related to the wearing of cockades at elections.

The bill was read a ſecond time.

Lord Mahon then moved the ſecond reading of his other bill for reducing the expence and preventing bribery at elections.

Sir M W Ridley. Sir *Matthew-White Ridley* roſe upon this, and ſaid, he heartily wiſhed the noble Lord had happened to have ſtood candidate at a popular election, where the voters were to be fetched at a great diſtance; he would then have known that there were clauſes in the preſent bill that would be found of the utmoſt inconvenience in their operation with regard to ſuch elections. If at any period of the noble Lord's life he ſhould happen to ſtand a candidate at a popular election, he would, Sir Matthew ſaid, experience the truth of what he had now thrown out, and be convinced that it was highly improper to paſs the preſent bill. Sir Matthew ſaid he would not oppoſe the bill's going to a Committee.

Ld. Mahon. Lord *Mahon* ſaid, he was now nearly circumſtanced as he had been before, for the honourable Baronet had ſaid little or nothing relative to the bill. With regard to his having ſtood candidate at a popular election, it might be recollected that he had ſtood candidate for Weſtminſter, which was well known to be as popular an election as any in the kingdom.

The Earl of Surrey The Earl of *Surrey* ſaid, he believed when the honourable Baronet behind him had talked of the difficulty and inconvenience that would be experienced at popular elections, he meant merely at popular elections at a conſiderable diſtance from town His Lordſhip farther ſaid, there were many parts of the bill that deſerved praiſe, he wiſhed, therefore, that thoſe who had oppoſed the late queſtion for reform in the ſtate of repreſentation, would, as a recompence to their country, unite their efforts to make the bill as perfect as poſſible, that the Public might have ſomething like a reform where a reform was ſo neceſſary.

Sir

Sir *Matthew-White Ridley* ſaid, undoubtedly that, and that only was the idea; and he inſtanced the caſe of an election for Briſtol, where the voters are to be fetched from all parts of the kingdom. Sir M W. Ridley.

Mr. *Jolliffe* ſaid, he would oppoſe even the ſecond reading of the bill, becauſe if the bill paſſed, it would be impoſſible to aſk a friend to dinner who was a voter, or to carry him in your coach to the place of election With regard to the clauſe to prevent the giving away of cockades, that he approved of. Mr. Jolliffe.

Mr. *Courtenay* ſaid, he thought the clauſe putting a ſtop to the giving away cockades perfectly right, and perfectly conſiſtent with the other meaſures of Government, for as Adminiſtration were taking the neceſſary ſteps to prevent the manufacturers from making any more ribbands, it was certainly right to put an end to the giving away cockades. Mr. Courtenay.

Mr. *Powys* ſaid, he wiſhed the honourable gentleman on the ſame bench with him had not ſtated his intention to give a negative to the ſecond reading of the bill, but had let it alone till it were in a Committee. Mr. Powys ſaid, the noble Lord was fond of amuſing himſelf with bringing in bills of that kind, and his perſeverance was wonderful. They had had that bill before them in three different Parliaments, in one, by ſome means or other, it got up to the other Houſe, but he was happy to ſay, it never came back again, and they heard no more of it With regard to the preſent bill, he wiſhed to treat it with all poſſible reſpect, and to let it go to a Committee, in order to ſee what degree of relaxation the noble Lord would evince, and how much of the bill he would conſent to forego As it ſtood at preſent, it conſiſted of two parts, one of which was law already, and the other, he hoped, never would be law, becauſe it never ought to be law. Mr. Powys ſaid, if the ſenſe of the Houſe were inſiſted upon being taken againſt the ſecond reading, he muſt of neceſſity vote with the honourable gentleman, but he really wiſhed the bill might go to a Committee. Mr. Powys.

Mr *Le Meſurier* ſaid, he certainly ſhould vote with the noble Lord, for whoſe ſpirit and integrity he entertained great regard, but he would not tie himſelf down to vote for the whole of the bill as it ſtood, when it came into the Committee. For his part, he did not admire the clauſe which forbade candidates inviting the electors to eat and drink at their expence, like a good citizen, he was a friend to good cheer, and was ſure that he could not carry on an hour's canvas without it. With regard to the putting a ſtop to candidates Mr Le Meſurier.

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giving away cockades, unleſs they could prevent the wearing of cockades, the end of the noble Lord could not be effected, for the evil lay in the wearing them, and not in the giveing, and while they were ſuffered to be worn, the electors might purchaſe them themſelves, and the ſame matter be done indirectly that was now done directly and openly Mr Le Meſurier was for having the bill go to a Committee, in order to be amended.

Mr. Pye. Mr. *Pye* agreed with Mr. Le Meſurier that the complaint with regard to cockades lay in their being worn, for as long as that was the caſe, the regulation to bind down a candidate from giving them would be ineffectual. Mr. Pye ſaid, he ſhould be glad that the cuſtom of giving cockades could be effectually aboliſhed; they often led to quarrels and diſturbances, as he had lately experienced, having recently ſtood for a popular election.

Mr. Powney. Mr. *Powney* ſaid, he had known a county where the cockades had done much good.

Mr. Courtenay. Mr *Courtenay* obſerved, that one gentleman had a predilection for cockades, with a particular motto; he thought, therefore, if "Pitt and the Conſtitution" were the motto adopted, it would ſave trouble, and give ſatisfaction to the gentleman and his friends; he would, however, make one exception to pleaſe the honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt, for inſtance, the motto for the cockades for the borough of New Windſor ſhould be "The King and the Conſtitution."

Mr. Powney. Mr *Powney* roſe again, and ſaid, he believed it was the firſt time any member of that Houſe had alluded ſo perſonally to another, and mentioned any particular borough with an immediate reference to the perſon repreſenting it

Mr. Martin. Mr. *Martin* ſaid, he highly approved of the bill, being of opinion that candidates ought not to be put to any expence whatever, but that they ſhould be ſent to that Houſe by the pure, unbought, and impartial ſuffrages of their conſtituents. In theſe days of degeneracy and corruption, every thing ſerious and important, he obſerved, was treated with levity and ridicule But thoſe who thought properly upon the purity of election would, he believed, concur in opinion that it was not a fit ſubject for jeſts and laughter. Mr. Martin in particular praiſed the clauſe about cockades, declaring that they put candidates to a very great, and, in ſome caſes, an intolerable expence, and only led to noiſe, riots, and diſturbances.

The bill was then read a ſecond time, and both bills were committed for next Wedneſday.

The

The Houſe having reſolved itſelf into a Committee of Supply, Mr. Gilbert in the chair,

The *Secretary at War* (Sir George Yonge) moved ſeveral reſolutions, one for 800l. for a particular branch of the Scotch roads, another for the remaining ſubſidy to the Landgrave of Heſſe; and a third for the remaining ſubſidy due to the Duke of Brunſwick, and two others. The Secretary at War.

That for the 800l. for the Scotch roads, occaſioned a ſhort converſation between the Earl of Surrey, Mr Roſe, Sir Joſeph Mawbey, Mr. Courtenay, Sir William Cunynghame, and others

Sir *Joſeph Mawbey* rather objected to the idea of applying for money for ſuch a purpoſe, and argued againſt the propoſition of building a bridge on the road to Portpatrick. Sir Joſeph Mawbey.

Mr *Courtenay*, affecting to miſunderſtand the Baronet, with a grave face, ſaid, he roſe to aſſure the honourable Baronet that there was no ſerious intention, for the preſent, to build a bridge from Portpatrick to Donaghadee. He added many humorous remarks on the advantage that muſt neceſſarily reſult from the making good roads through Scotland to the ſea ports, declaring it would ſerve to encourage the Scotch to emigrate, and to convey ſupplies of food and cloathing the more readily from Ireland; to which place good roads to Portpatrick would alſo enable them to reſort, and it was evident Adminiſtration held out every encouragement to them to go to that land of plenty. Mr Courtenay.

All the reſolutions were agreed to.

Proceeded in the Iriſh ſyſtem.

Monday, April 25.

A ſhort debate aroſe on a bill authoriſing the prize agents, appointed by the officers of the garriſon of Gibraltar, to pay all ſums that came into their hands of the bounty allowed for the deſtruction of certain Spaniſh ſhips of war.

The bill was committed.

Proceeded to hear evidence in the Iriſh ſyſtem.

Tueſday, April 26.

Mr. *Fox* gave notice that he ſhould call the attention of the Houſe to the ſtatement which Mr. Chancellor Pitt had given of the revenue and finances of the country. Some altercation on this matter had, it ſeems, lately happened, when he had the misfortune to be abſent. He would not at preſent interfere in that debate, or ſay who was right or wrong, but Mr. Fox.

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he would ſay, that it was an object about which the Public were naturally ſolicitous, and which the Houſe ought perfectly to underſtand. Various papers had been laid before the Houſe, and very promiſing preſumptions entertained on that account They were ſoon to vote away their conſtituents' money, and he was perſuaded moſt gentlemen would [illegible] with them that they ought to be well ſatisfied on what principle they performed that part of their duty. This was the chief reaſon for which he meant to offer his opinion on this particular, which, therefore, he wiſhed gentlemen would conſider and revolve in their minds.

Mr Chancellor Pitt

Mr Chancellor *Pitt* thought it would very much tend to facilitate the object of the right honourable gentleman's motion, whatever it might be, if he would make gentlemen ſenſible what the drift of it was. They would then turn it in their minds, and, by having conſidered it fairly and fully, come to a diviſion on it in ſome day prepared. He, therefore, hoped the honourable gentleman would more explicitly ſay to what particular point he meant to call the attention of the Houſe.

Mr Fox.

Mr. *Fox* did not know how more explicitly to declare what he meant by the motion which he ſhould have the honour of ſubmitting to the conſideration of the Houſe.—He wiſhed to eſtabliſh ſome ſyſtem by which the revenue of the kingdom could be as nearly as poſſible eſtimated This was the direct object of his motion And he was willing to bring it forward the more readily now, becauſe from the attendance given in conſequence of the Iriſh buſineſs, ſtill pending before Parliament, the Houſe would be pretty full The extent of the revenue, as affording this country a proſpect of leſſening their burdens, was the preciſe point of conſideration, which he wiſhed every gentleman would diſcuſs within his own mind previous to their coming to a new vote on the ſubject of any farther ſupply

Mr Chancellor Pitt

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* would have no objection whatever againſt ſuch a motion, as the right honourable gentleman could not be more happy in bringing the ſubject of finance fully and accurately before the Houſe than he was. He had ſtated various views which might be taken of the matter from the papers which had been laid before the Houſe, but whatever particular opinions might be indulged, this general concluſion he had laid down, and, as he apprehended, from premiſes altogether incontrovertible, that the finances of this country held forth much more promiſing proſpects than ſome ſhort time ago could have been imagined.

Mr.

Mr. *Eden* said, he would not enter into any thing which had now fallen from either of the right honourable gentlemen. He had risen merely to express his desire, that the papers lately moved for on this point might be laid on the table before Friday next Mr. Eden.

The order of the day being read for agreeing with the amendments made by the Lords to the bill, "For appointing "Commissioners to inquire into the fees, gratuities, perqui- "sites, and emoluments, which are, or have been lately re- "ceived in the several public offices therein mentioned, to "examine into any abuses which may exist in the same, and "to report such observations as shall occur to them, for the "better conducting and managing the business transacted in "the said offices;" several of the amendments were read and agreed to, but an amendment having been made, which was to subject the Commissioners to the controul of the Privy Council,

Mr. *Hussey* objected to the amendment, as it, in his opinion, was wrong to controul the Commissioners, who were to controul the offices. Mr. Hussey.

Mr *Fox* said, he never was a great friend to the bill, as it appeared to him not calculated to do any public service; however, the very essence of the bill was, by the amendments of the Lords, totally done away for the only thing palatable in the bill was, that the Commissioners were left to the free exercise of their judgement, and not supposed to be under the controul of the Minister, but, in the amendment of the Lords, that freedom was taken away, and they would now be subject to the controul of the Privy Council, who might give such instructions as totally to defeat the intention of the bill. Mr. Fox.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* defended the bill, and stated, that it was founded on principles of justice and œconomy, as to the amendment made in the Lords, it was not by his desire, nor was it done by any noble Lord who was remarkable for his attachment to the present persons in office, but the House might depend upon it, that as the bill originated with the present Ministry, there would be but little fear of any person in the Privy Council giving such orders as would counteract the intent of the bill. Mr Chancellor Pitt.

Mr. *Fox* said, if he was not mistaken, the amendment came from Lord Sydney; but, whether he was friendly or not to the present men in power, was of little consequence, the amendment would, to all intents, destroy the independence of the Commissioners. Mr. Fox.

After ſome diſpute, the amendment paſſed, and another amendment being read, which was relative to the power of controuling the fees to be taken,

Mr. Sheridan. Mr. *Sheridan* ſtated, that, in his opinion, the bill was, to all intents, a money bill, and, therefore, any alteration being made by the Lords, was contrary to the privilege claimed by that Houſe.

Mr Chancellor Pitt. Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* defended the bill, and denied that it came within the deſcription of a money bill.

On the queſtion being put, to agree with this amendment made by the Lords, the Houſe divided,

Ayes	-	-	25
Noes	-	-	13
Total		-	38

Which being two leſs than ſufficient to form a Houſe, the Speaker adjourned immediately

Wedneſday, April 27.

On a motion to go into the Committee on Lord Mahon's bill,

Mr. Powys. Mr. *Powys* ſaid, that he objected to the Speaker's leaving the chair. The bill before the Houſe was, in his opinion, liable to many ſubſtantial exceptions. He thought it would increaſe, inſtead of removing, the evil of which it complained The principle of it was to deſtroy all manner of good underſtanding between the electors and the elected, and to render the moſt good-natured action criminal While theſe fundamental defects remained, he could not be a friend to the meaſure. He never did like it. The objects to which it pointed were two, to eſtabliſh that which was already law, and that which never ought to be law; and, therefore, he oppoſed its going into the Committee

Ld Mahon Lord *Mahon* certainly could not agree with the honourable gentleman; but he choſe to defer anſwering his objections now, as that, he believed, would be done more effectually in the Committee.

The Houſe in a Committee went through the bill.

Thurſday, April 28.

The report of the Committee, to which the petition of the plate glaſs manufacturers, and the petition of the glaſs manufacturers of Newcaſtle upon Tyne, and others, had been referred for inveſtigation, was moved to be read, and the ſame having

having been read accordingly, the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe, Sir William Dolben in the chair.

A ſhort debate took place on a reſolution to grant 7000l. which had been overpaid. It was negatived.

Friday, April 29

An Account of Payments into the Exchequer, by the Receiver General of the Cuſtoms, from Lady Day, 1775, to Lady Day, 1785, both inclusive, diſtinguiſhing each Year and each Quarter, together with the Totals of each Year.

Purſuant to an Order of the Hon Houſe of Commons, dated 12th April, 1785

	£.	s	d	£.	s	d
The Quarter to 5 July, 1774	386256	16	8½			
to 10 October -	935135	8	5¾			
to 5 January, 1775	691109	9	6¼			
to 5 April -	593753	7	0			
Total of One Year to 5 April, 1775				2606255		
The Quarter to 5 July, 1775	334709	8	6¼			
to 10 October -	928684	2	8			
to 5 January, 1776	623884	7	4¾			
to 5 April -	618285	10	10			
One Year to 5 April, 1776				2505563	9	5
The Quarter to 5 July, 1776	410773	13	4½			
to 10 October -	886273	19	4			
to 5 January, 1777	565069	7	7½			
to 5 April -	502263	18	6½			
One Year to 5 April, 1777				64380	18	10
The Quarter to 5 July, 1777	375286	14	11½			
to 10 October -	784296	16	1¼			
to 5 January, 1778	567258	9	9			
to 5 April -	592475	17				
One Year to 5 April, 1778				2319317	18	0
The Quarter to 5 July, 1778	229620	8	5½			
to 10 October -	854901	18	9			
to 5 January, 1779	485682	17	8			
to 5 April -	715676	5	3			
One Year to 5 April, 1779				2285881	10	
The Quarter to 5 July, 1779	346827	18	10			
to 10 October -	756264	7	9½			
to 5 January, 1780	683505	7	9			
to 5 April -	708672	10	10¼			
One Year to 5 April, 1780				2495270	5	2¾

		£.	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
The Quarter to	5 July, 1780	383233	9	10			
to	10 October -	935581	6	3¼			
to	5 January, 1781	696433	10	0½			
to	5 April -	612395	7	9¼			
One Year to 5 April, 1781					2627643	4	1½
The Quarter to	5 July, 1781	321417	13	10¾			
to	10 October	1145089	10	0			
to	5 January, 1782	712525	16	2¼			
to	5 April -	457503	15	1¼			
One Year to 5 April, 1782					2636536	15	2¼
The Quarter to	5 July, 1782	668592	0	9¼			
to	10 October -	916477	5	1			
to	5 January, 1783	818989	19	9½			
to	5 April -	579514	16	9			
One Year to 5 April, 1783					2983574	2	4¾
The Quarter to	5 July, 1783	457378	12	9			
to	10 October	1054963	5	2½			
to	5 January, 1784	756463	12	7¾			
to	5 April -	385951	16	7¼			
One Year to 5 April, 1784					2654757	7	2¾
The Quarter to	5 July, 1784	722595	5	8¼			
to	10 October	1233251	13	11¾			
to	5 January, 1785	984840	7	8¾			
to	5 April -	778717	19	2¼			
One Year to 5 April, 1785					3719405	6	7

For WILLIAM MELLISH, Esq.

Receiver General,

T. MILLS.

An Account of the Net Produce of all the Taxes granted since the 5th Day of January, 1776, for one Year, ended the 5th Day of April, 1785.

CUSTOMS.	£	s.	d.
Glass, 5th July, 1777 - - - -	90	15	10
Imported wines, 5th April, 1778 - -	59,615	1	3
5l. per cent 15th April, 1779 - -	165,728	15	11½
Cotton wool, 1780 - - -	15	5	5
Imported wines, 1780 - - -	57,031	10	4
Verdigrease, 24th June, 1781 - -	28	8	3
Carried over	£. 282,509	17	0½

Tobacco,

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	282,509	17	0½
Tobacco, 1ſt January, 1781 - -	1,869	8	9½
Tobacco and ſugars, 1781 - -	479,556	3	6½
Tobacco, ſnuff, and brandy, 1782 -	145,445	12	6½
Wax, 1782 - - -	1,537	2	5½
Additional 5l. per cent. 5th and 25th July, 1782	208,199	16	1½
18l. per cent. on muſlins, 1ſt Auguſt, 1783	111,714	4	1
Bricks and tiles, 2d September, 784	11	3	8½
Silk and lead, 1784 -	13,445	12	4
Paper, &c. 11th Auguſt, 1784	0	12	0
Candles, 1ſt Auguſt, 1784	0	2	6
Coffee, &c. 1784 -	232		
Total of Cuſtoms £.	1,244,521	17	7½

STAMPS.

Additional cards and dice, 5th July, 1776 -	8,466	19	4
Additional ſtamps on paper and parchment, 5th July, 1776 - - - -	63,489	8	10
Ditto, 5th July, 1777 - - -	50,855	19	3
Ditto, 2d Auguſt, 1779 - -	25,241	9	11
Ditto, 1ſt June, 1780 - -	20,344	0	5
Poſt horſes, 1ſt Auguſt, 1780 -	105,757	0	0
Almanacks, 24th June, 1781 - -	1,339	0	1
Additional policies, 1ſt Auguſt, 1782 -	93,883	11	10
Additional ſtamps on paper and parchment and bills of exchange, 1ſt Aug. Sept. Oct. and Nov. 1783	247,941	4	11
Additional carriages, &c. 1ſt Auguſt, 1783	9,443	17	3
Additional ſtamp duties, 1ſt and 29th September, 1ſt October, and 1ſt December, 1784 -	112,614	0	0
Total of Stamps £.	739,376	11	10

TAXE.

Additional coaches, 5th July, 1776 -	21,349	0	0
Glaſs - - - - 1777 -	80,477	0	0
Auctions, 29th Sept. 1777 - -	40,314	0	0
Carried over £.	142,140	0	0

5l. per

	£		d.
Brought over	142,140	0	0
5l. per cent. on ſeveral duties, and 15l. per cent. on malt, 5th April, 1779	124,334	2	3
Additional brandy, 30th May, 1780	54,040	0	0
Additional 5l. per cent. 1780	38,505	0	0
Additional low wines, 30th May, 1780	11,129	5	0
Additional ſweets, 1780	6,983	0	0
Additional ſtarch, 6th July, 1780	25,611	0	0
Tea licenſes, 1780	9,515	0	0
Additional Britiſh ſpirits, 30th May, 1780	19,122	6	6
Additional malt 1780	228,158	0	0
Additional 5l. per cent. 1781	82,322	2	3
Men ſervants, 21ſt May, 1781	52,812	0	0
Old cocoa nuts, 5th July, 1781	607	0	0
Addition ditto 1781	262	0	0
Additional ſope, 5th July, 1782	94,256	0	0
Additional coaches, 1782	25,571	0	0
Table beer, 5th July, 1782	22,542	0	0
Additional 5l per cent. 5th and 25th July, 1782	86,540	2	3
General licenſes, 11th Sept. 1784	42,082	0	0
Paper, &c. 11th Auguſt, 1784	3,235	0	0
Linens and ſtuffs, 2d Oct. 1784	3,085	0	0
Bricks and tiles, 2d Sept. 1784	20,159	0	0
15l. per cent. 11th Aug. and 2d Oct. 1784	1,012	0	0
Additional candles, 1ſt Aug. 1784	45,052	0	0
Total of exciſe £.	1,199,077	18	3

INCIDENTS.

Houſes, 5th April, 1778	116,438	11	9¼
Additional ſalt, 10th May, 1780	58,004	17	1
Ditto 22d June, 1782	58,895	4	4
2,300l. per week letter money, 1784	43,700	0	0
Hackney coaches, 1784	4,800	0	0
Licenſes for ſelling lottery tickets, A° 1784	1,000	0	0
Stamp per Bank, 1783	12,000	0	0
Men ſervants, 5th July, 1777, (arrears)	460	7	6
Total of inciden's £.	295,299	0	8¼
Total of cuſtoms, ſtamps, exciſe, and incidents £.	3,478,275	8	4¾

Exchequer, the 29th day of June 1785

JOHN HUGHSON.

NORTH

NORTH BRITAIN.

An Account of the Produce of the several Taxes granted since the 5th day of January, 1776, for one year, ending the 5th of April, 1785, as ordered in the Votes of the honourable House of Commons, of the 29th of April, 1785.

Taxes granted since the 5th of January, 1776 Under the management of the Commissioners of Excise in Scotland.			Net Produce for One year, ending 5th April, 1785. £.	s.	d.
Wheel carriages	Commenced	23d May, 1776	1,426	4	0
Auctions	Ditto	29th Sept. 1777	1,706	3	9¾
Per cent. duties	Ditto	6th April, 1779	7,494	15	11¼
Ditto	Ditto	31st May, 1780	1,508	2	4¾
Spirits imported	Ditto	31st May, 1780	1,182	6	9
Low wines and spirits	Ditto	31st May, 1780	6,408	5	0¾
Additional malt	Ditto	31st May, 1780	15,777	3	3
Additional sweets	Ditto	6th July, 1780	2	3	6
Additional starch	Ditto	6th July, 1780	954	4	9¾
Tea licenses	Ditto	6th July, 1780	271	17	2¼
Per cent. duties	Ditto	6th April, 1781	6,424	6	9
Male servants	Ditto	21st May, 1781	4,158	2	11¾
Additional sope	Ditto	6th July, 1782	5,207	11	11¼
Wheel carriages	Ditto	6th July, 1782	1,553	0	0
Per cent. duties	Ditto	26th July, 1782	6,569	19	7¾
Additional candles	Ditto	2d Aug. 1784	3,356	0	6¼
Additional paper	Ditto	11th Aug. 1784	334	7	9
Bricks and tiles	Ditto	2d Sept. 1784	555	4	10¾
General licenses	Ditto	11th Sept. 1784	3,125	16	7
Additional printed linens	Ditto	2d October, 1784	450	7	5¼
Cotton stuffs, and licenses to bleachers of cottons, &c. commenced 2d October, 1784 - - -			1,198	16	7¾
Licenses for retailing wax and spermaceti candles, commenced 2d October, 1784			3	5	0
		Total	69,668	6	10¾

Excise Office, Edinburgh, } 10th June, 1784.

J. WHARTON. JAMES BRUCE, Accomptant.
GILB. LAURIE. ROB. CHALMERS, Accomp. General
GEO. BROWN.
Examined per ANDREW HAMILTON, D. Comptroller.

An Account of the Produce of the ſeveral Taxes impoſed by any Act paſſed in the Year 1783, as far as the ſame can be made up, diſtinguiſhing the Produce of each Tax.

	£.	s.	d.
Received on the additional duty on ſtamps, ſince 1ſt Auguſt, 1783 - - -	361,236	4	11
From the Bank of England, as a compoſition in lieu of the above duty - - -	20,301	7	4
On the additional duty on carriages, ſince 1ſt November, 1783 - - -	19,942	17	3
£.	401,480	9	6

Memdums.

Beſides the above duties for payment of annuities granted in the year 1783, the duty of 18l. per cent. on muſlins and callicoes, from 31ſt Auguſt, 1783, in lieu of the duty of 15l. per cent. on muſlins and callicoes repealed by act 23d Georgii Tertii Rs. has produced the ſum of - - - 136,714 4 1

From the above ſum of 361,236l. 4s. 11d. muſt be deducted the ſum of 84,020l. 12s. 4½d. carried to the account of the fund for payment of annuities anno 1782, to make good the deficiency of ſo much calculated to have been the produce of the ſtamp duty upon inland bills of exchange, promiſſory notes, and other notes payable otherwiſe than upon demand, by act 22d Georgii Tertii Rs. which act was repealed by act 23d Geo. Tert. Rs.

JOHN HUGHSON.

Exchequer, the 15th day of April, 1785.

An Account of the Produce of the ſeveral Taxes impoſed by any Act of the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, as far as the ſame can be made up; diſtinguiſhing the Produce of each Tax.

	£.	s.	d.
Received on the duty on ſilk and lead, 1784 -	13,445	12	4
on paper ſince 11th Day of Auguſt, 1784	3,235	12	0
on candles ſince 1ſt of Auguſt, 1784 -	46,168	2	6
on general licenſes ſince 10th Sept. 1784	42,082	0	0
on 15l. per cent. ſince 11th Auguſt, 1784	1,012	0	0
on linens and ſtuffs ſince 2d October, 1784	3,085	0	0
on bricks and tiles ſince 2d Sept. 1784 -	20,170	3	8½
on the addit. duty on hackney coaches, 1784	4,800	0	0
on additional ſtamps ſince 1ſt Sept. 1784	113,411	0	0
on 2,300l. per week letter money, 1784	43,700	0	0
£.	291,109	10	6½

Memdum.

Beſides the above duties for payment of annuities granted in the year 1784, the duty on coffee has produced - - 232 2 6

JOHN HUGHSON.

Exchequer, the 15th day of April, 1785.

NORTH BRITAIN.

An Account of the ſeveral Taxes impoſed laſt Seſſion of Parliament, from their reſpective Commencements, to the 5th of January, 1785, which is as far as the Returns are come in; diſtinguiſhing the Produce of each Tax: As ordered by the Votes of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, of 11th of April, 1785.

TAXES.	Dates of the Commencement.	Total Produce.		
		£.	s.	d.
Waſh from malted corn, &c.	1784. Nov. 1ſt.	11,708	2	11
Ditto from melaſſes - -	———	237	6	11½
Rum imported from the Britiſh plantations, at 4s. 8d. - -	Sept. 1ſt.	8,227	13	8
Additional duty on candles -	Aug. 1ſt.	2,480	6	10½

		£.	s.	d.
Licenſes for retailing wax and ſpermaceti candles - -	———	0	5	0
Additional duty on paper -	10th.	219	16	7½
Ditto on linens, cottons, &c. -	Oct. 1ſt.	466	6	4¼
Bricks and tiles, &c. - -	Sept. 1ſt.	552	0	1½
Exciſe licenſes - - -	10th.	2,495	0	0½
Total -		£. 26,386	18	6½

Exciſe Office, Edinb. 22d April, 1785.

JOHN EDGAR, Accomptant.
JAMES RAMSAY, Accomptant General.
Ex^d per ANDREW HAMILTON, D. Comptroller.

GILB. LAURIE.
GEO. BROWN.
J. WHARTON.

An Account of the Net Produce of all the Taxes, from Michaelmas 1783, to Chriſtmas Eve 1783; together with the Totals.

CUSTOMS.	From Michaelmas 1783, to Chriſtmas Eve 1783.	From Michaelmas 1784, to Chriſtmas Eve 1784.
Wines and vinegar, 31 July, 1716 - - -	36,004 16 9	36,533 0 4½
Tobacco, 31 July, 1716 and 1781 - - -	32,259 11 1½	17,234 8 1
Eaſt India goods - -	44,433 17 11½	27,088 8 10½
25l. per ton on French wines imported, 29th Sept. 1715	4,557 8 3½	1,204 4 1
Additional ſubſidy on tonnage and poundage, 21 Oct. 1760	109,072 2 9	112,403 18 4½
1-3d additional ſubſidy, 1796	37,873 13 11	41,567 4 9½
Additional poundage, 1747 and 1759 - -	144,709 16 2	126,513 8 7½
Gum Senega, 1765 and 1774	31 10 10	
Eaſt India wrought ſilks, 1766 Tobacco and ſugars, 1781	125,976 17 2	108,770 17 11
Tobacco, ſnuff, and brandy, 1782 - - -	28,956 15 3½	44,526 11 11½
Cotton wool, 1780 - Verdigreaſe, 1781 - Wrought plate, 1756 - -	———	48 12 6½
Pepper and raiſins - -	394 1 0½	5,597 1 8

All

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
All wines imported, 1745, 1763, 1778, and 1780 -	61,223	4	10	75,580	3	7
18l. per cent. on muſlins -						
Cambricks and ſugar, 1776				918	13	8
Canvas and lawn, 1767 -	420	0	1	2,451	14	8½
½ ſubſidy, 31 July 1712 and 1714 - - -	34,572	15	10½	71,735	10	11½
Drillings and broad linens, 1767 - - -	2,026	6	9	8,000	0	0
Additional impoſitions on goods, 31 July, 1716 -	16,762	11	7½	60,938	7	0½
5l. per cent. 1779 and 1782	62,688	3	7½	144,176	12	8½
2-3ds ſubſidy, 8 March, 1711	25,411	9	5	44,005	8	5½
Brandy, 29 September, 1736	5,037	12	10	3,222	10	8½
Goods exported, 8 Mar. 1710	12,579	18	9	14,341	2	11½
Coals, 8 March, 1710, 29th Sept. 1710, 1714, 1719, 1757	115,400	10	1½	131,310	18	6½
Coals and Eaſt India goods, 1765 - - -	4,693	18	3	5,471	6	2½
1d. per ell on foreign ſail cloth, 1715 - -	8	3	9	47	14	9
4½ per cent. plantation duty, 1715 - - -	1,099	13	7½	4,960	6	7
Coinage duty on wines -	1,680	1	8½	1,492	7	4
Ditto on ſpirits - -	504	17	10½	42	0	4
Spices and pictures - -				17	7	4½
Addl. ſpices and white callicoes						
Sugars, &c. 29 Sept. 1764	2,488	8	7	1,226	15	5
Melaſſes, &c. 1766 -	310	18	9	780	16	10
Apples imported - -	21	18	0			
Candles, 1711 and 1715 -				2	2	0
Sope, 10 June, 1712 -	6	8	9	0	18	4
Additional ſope, paper, and other duties, 2d Aug. 1714	3	4	4½	0	9	2
Enumerated duties, 1715 -	100	0	0	370	0	6
Hides, 24th June, 1711 -	3	15	10½	16	13	1½
Additional hides, ſtarch, and drugs, 10 June, 1712 -	4	16	2	18	17	1
Glaſs imported, 5 July, 1777	18	9	7½	15	1	4
Rice exported, 1773 - -						
Whale fins - - -						
Glaſs, paper, &c. 20 Nov. 1767				6	16	6

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Fines and forfeitures				483	3	9½
Silk and lead, 1784 -				151	7	2½
Bricks and tiles, 1784				11	3	8½
	£.911,297	1	3½	1,093,284	8	2½

EXCISE.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
99 years excise - -	30,740	0	0	27,841	0	0
Candles, 1711, 1715, and 1784	17,458	0	0	29,022	0	0
Hops, 1715 - -				1,103	0	0
Sope, paper, and other duties, 10th June, 1712 and 1714	98,122	13	6	116,452	10	7
Additional sope, 1782 -	27,012	0	0	25,581	0	0
British spirits, 1736, 1743, 1746, 1751, 1760, 1762, and 1780	21,994	0	0	27,037	17	8
Low wines, 1736, 1743, 1746, 1751, 1760, 1762, and 1780	8,897	0	0	11,176	4	8
Brandy, 1736, 1760 and 1766, 1762 and 1780 - -	129,416	0	0	146,775	0	0
5l. per cent. on several duties, and 15l. per cent. on malt, 5th April, 1779 - -	30,185	0	0	22,487	0	0
5l. per cent. on several duties, 1780, 1781 and 1782 -	56,203	0	0	37,360	0	0
Men servants, 1781 - -	12,159	0	0	13,304	0	0
9d. additional excise per annuities, 1706 - - -	30,739	0	0	27,842	0	0
Plate licenses, 1758 - -	2,221	0	3	1,597	0	0
Coaches, 1747, 1776, and 1782	43,162	0	0	39,396	0	0
Addit. 3s. per barrel on ale, 1761	96,912	0	0	86,398	0	0
Table beer, 1782 - -	5,981	0	0	5,642	0	0
Auctions, 1777 - -	9,903	0	0	9,586	0	0
2-7ths of 9d. per Bank -	8,782	17	1	7,954	11	5½
5-7ths of ditto - -	21,957	2	11	19,886	8	6½
3d. additional excise - -	10,238	0	0	9,269	0	0
Sweets, 1737 and 1780 -	912	0	0	2,712	0	0
Hides, 24th June, 1711 and 1712 - - -	48,260	0	0	47,026	0	0
Wire and starch, 10 June, 1712	6,571	0	0	8,025	0	0
Additional starch, 1780 -	6,056	0	0	7,146	0	0

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Coffee, 1724 - -	2,448	0	0	270	11	0
Old and new cocoa nuts, 1781	678	0	0			
Tea, 24th June, 1745 -	133,887	18	1	2,546	16	0
Tea licenſes, 1780 - -	2,942	0	0	3,516	0	0
Licenſes for retailing ſpirituous liquors, 1743 and 1752	21,257	0	0	20,744	0	0
Glaſs, 5th July, 1777 -	19,675	0	0	17,455	0	0
Addit. malt, 1760 and 1780	105,321	0	0	146,122	0	0
Cyder, 5th July, 1766 -	2,108	0	0	1,071	0	0
Hereditary and temporary excile, 25th October, 1760	30,232	10	9	30,515	12	9
3,700l. per week excile -	48,100	0	0	48,100	0	0
General licenſes, 1784 -	——			30,021	0	0
Linens and ſtuffs, 2d Oct. 1784	——			148	0	0
Bricks and tiles, 1784 -	——			8,759	0	0
Paper, &c. 11th Aug. 1784	——			109	0	0
£.	1,090,531	2	7	1,039,997	12	8

STAMPS.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Pamphlets and ſtampt papers	9,339	0	0	7,830	0	0
Stamps per Hamper office, 1747	793	0	0	782	0	0
Paper and parchment, 31ſt July, 1710 - -	7,396	0	0	7,824	0	0
Paper, cards and dice, 24th June, 1711 - - -	4,563	0	0	3,912	0	0
Additional cards and dice, 15th April, 1756 - - -	2,108	0	0	1,892	0	0
Ditto 1776 - - - - -	2,040	0	0	1,853	0	0
Additional almanacks, 1781	666	0	0	926	0	0
Policies of inſurance, 10 June, 1712 - - - -	1,832	0	0	1,531	0	0
Additional ditto, 1 June, 1765	215	0	0	205	0	0
Apprentice duty, 1 May, 1715	1,087	0	0	957	0	0
Ale licenſes ſince Eaſter 1756	17,061	0	0	17,010	0	0
Additional ſtamps on paper and parchment, 5th July, 1757	22,339	0	0	24,477	0	0
Do. 1759 - - -	2,032	0	0	1,931	0	0
Do. 1762 - - -	60	0	0	125	0	0
Do. 1765 - - -	131	0	0	282	0	0

	£.	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Do. 1776 - - -	18,074	0	0	19,498	0	0
Do. 1777 - - -	11,696	0	0	13,298	0	0
Do. 2d Auguſt, 1779 -	4,847	0	0	5,908	0	0
Do. 1ſt June, 1780 - -	3,177	0	0	2,305	0	0
Additional ſtamp duties, 1ſt Aug. 1ſt Sept. 1ſt Oct. and 1ſt Nov. 1783 - -	26,298	0	0	46,173	0	0
Do. 1ſt and 29th Sept. and 1ſt Oct. 1784 - -	———			14,607	0	0
Poſt-horſes, 1ſt Auguſt, 1780	26,127	0	0	21,453	0	0
Additn. policies, 1ſt Aug. 1782	26,402	0	0	24,450	0	0
Additional paper and parchment, 1731 - -	10,811	0	0	11,994	0	0
Paper per lottery, 1714 -	3,669	0	0	4,889	0	0
Wine licenſes, 5th July, 1757	3,846	0	0	3,985	0	0
Addn. carriages, 1ſt Aug. 1783	1,727	7	4			
Stamps per Bank - -	2,301	0	0	6,000	0	0
Licenſes for ſelling lottery tickets, anno 1784 -	———			1,000	0	0
	£. 210,637	7	4	247,097	0	0

INCIDENTS.

	£.	s	d.	£	s	d
Salt, 1759, 1780, and 1782	102,744	14	3½	101,885	4	2
700l. per week letter money	9,100	0	0	9,100	0	0
2,300l. per week letter money, 1784 - - - - -	———			9,200	0	0
Seizures, 1760 - -	11,201	13	8½	5,495	2	4½
Proffers, ditto - -	49	18	6	90	19	4
Compoſitions, ditto -	———			0	3	4
Alienation duty, ditto -						
Fines and forfeitures, ditto	138	18	0	40	0	0
Rent of a light houſe, ditto						
Fines of leaſes, ditto -	———			2,010	0	0
Allum mines, dittto -						
Hawkers and pedlars, 1710	1,200	0	0	600	0	0
Rent of hackney coaches, 1711	2,500	0	0	2,500	0	0
Ditto 1784 - - -	———			1,800	0	0
6d. per libr. on penſions, &c.	11,000	0	0	15,000	0	0

1s. deduction

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1s. deduction on salaries, &c. 1758 - - -	23,118	5	6	11,014	12	0½
Letter money, 1760 -	35,000	0	0	42,000	0	0
First fruits of the clergy -	5,761	5	11½	5,640	6	11
Tenths of ditto - -	9,752	15	2½	9,188	19	0
Men servants, 1777 (arrears)				29	17	6
Houses and windows, 1747, D°	200	0	0	1	13	3
Ditto 1758, ditto - -	500	0	0	0	11	9
Windows, 1762, ditto -	300	0	0	0	30	4
Houses and windows, 1766	122,508	16	8	106,362	18	11½
Houses, 1778 - -	37,888	0	3½	35,320	2	3½
	372,964	8	1½	357,981	1	1½
Total of customs, excise, stamps, and incidents	£.2,585,429	19	4	2,738,360	2	9½

Exchequer, the 15th day of April, 1785

JOHN HUGHSON.

An Account of the Net Produce of all the Taxes from Christmas Eve 1783, *to the 5th Day of April* 1784; *and from Christmas Eve* 1784, *to the 5th Day of April* 1785.

CUSTOMS.	From Christmas Eve 1783 to 5th April 1784. £.	s.	d.	From Christmas Eve 1784, to 5th April 1785 £.	s.	d.
Wines and vinegars, 31st July, 1716 - - -	15,849	17	5	24,802	13	8
Tobacco and vinegars since D°.	17,978	8	11	11,197	3	10
East India goods ditto -	10,373	16	2	86,028	2	11¼
25l. per ton French wines imported, 29th Sept. 1715 -	2,818	7	10½	3,886	18	7
Addit. subsidy on tonnage and poundage, 25th Oct. 1760.	37,892	2	2	92,525	12	9
1-3d additional subsidy, 8th March, 1706 - -	13,435	5	7½	26,568	9	0½
Addit. poundage, 1st March, 1747 - - -	19,680	4	3¼	39,930	4	11
Ditto, 5th April, 1759 -	20,467	5	6½	61,508	11	8
Gum senega, 24th June, 1765 and 1774 - -	15	4	6	119	13	10
East India wrought silks, 1st August, 1716 - -	0	18	0	5,005	7	1
Addit. tobacco, 1st January, 1781 - - -	5,660	17	9½	63	1	3¼
Tobacco and sugars, 1781 -	21,533	16	10¼	105,126	10	2
Tobacco, snuff, and brandy, 1782 - - -	24,680	18	4½	39,912	9	3
Cotton wool, 1780 - -	69	12	0			
Verdigrease, 24th June, 1781	———			25	17	0
Wax, 1782 - -	———			1,537	2	5¼
Pepper and raisins - -	1,873	11	2¼	6,803	8	3½
Imported wines, 1745 -	10,487	7	6½	10,888	19	1
Ditto, 1763 - -	13,412	12	7½	12,172	19	2¼
Ditto, 1778 - -	15,099	4	8½	13,735	18	4½
Ditto, 1780 - -	12,836	11	9½	9,287	11	6
18l. per cent. on muslins, 31st August, 1783 -	———			86,000	0	0
Cambrics and sugars, 1st August, 1766 - -	945	8	4	431	4	1

Canvas

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Canvas and lawns, 1ſt Auguſt, 1767	502	4	2	6,655	14	5
¼ ſubſidy, 31ſt July, 1712	21,700	17	9	21,508	7	5
Ditto, 1714	21,700	17	8½	21,508	7	5½
Drillings and broad linens, 25th May, 1767	192	16	11			
Addit. impoſitions on goods, 31ſt July, 1716	6,507	5	0	21,043	13	2
5l. per cent. on goods, 1ſt April, 1779	16,119	18	11	41,854	7	9
Addit. 5l. per cent. on goods, 5th and 25th July, 1782	15,003	9	11½	40,937	14	4½
2-3ds ſubſidy, 8th March, 1711	12,220	18	8	48,189	8	7½
Brandy, 29th Sept. 1736	1,429	2	6½	16,842	5	4
Goods exported, 8th March, 1710	5,810	8	1½	8,218	3	2
Coals, 8th March, 1710	19,812	17	8½	21,699	7	5½
Coals, 29th Sept 1710	27,412	6	3	31,565	2	8
Coals exported, 2d Aug. 1714	1,608	15	1	2,510	6	5
Coals, 25th March, 1719	16,141	6	4	19,462	2	0
Additional coals exported, 5th July, 1757	2,175	7	8	2,918	2	6
Coals exported, and Eaſt India goods, 1ſt June, 1765	1,901	6	0	7,261	16	4½
1d. per ell on foreign ſail cloth, 29th September, 1715	42	3	3½	50	12	3
4½ per cent. plantation duty, D°	3,127	19	1½	4,500	0	0
Enumerated duties, ditto	6	2	6			
Coinage duty on wines	1,012	6	2½	3,086	4	10½
Ditto on ſpirits	1,862	8	8	6,773	6	2
Spices and pictures, 24th June, 1714	8	3	4			
Additional ſpices and white callicoes, ditto	20	17	8	1,293	6	7½
Sugars, &c. 29th Sept. 1764	1,437	8	1½			
Melaſſes, &c. 1ſt Nov. 1766	469	4	10½			
Apples imported	258	17	0	0	15	0
Candles, 25th March, 1711	1	16	8	9	[illegible]	5
Ditto, 1ſt May, 1715	1	16	8	9	[illegible]	5
Ditto, 1ſt Auguſt, 1784				0	[illegible]	6
Sope, 10th June, 1712	88	6	10	2,003	1	1
Additional ſope, paper, and other duties, 2d Aug. 1714	45			1,001	12	5

				£.	s.	d.
Hides, 24th June, 1711 -	48	12	3	3,052	3	4
Additional hides, ſtarch, and drugs, 10th June, 1712 -	57	19	3	3,065	14	0
Paper, 11th Auguſt, 1784 -				0	12	0
Glaſs imported, 5th July, 1777	94	0	6	40	9	8
Whale fin - - -	10	6	6			
Crapes, &c. 1ſt Auguſt, 1766				2,000	0	0
Rice exported, 1774 -				37	19	0½
Coffee, 1784 - -				232	2	6
Silk and lead, 1784 - -				13,294	5	1½
Total of cuſtoms to 5th April, 1784	£. 419,945	0	6½			
Total of cuſtoms to 5th April, 1785 —				£. 990,209	14	7½

EXCISE.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
99 years exciſe - -	41,969	0	0	44,738	0	0
Candles, 25th March, 1711	28,678	19	4	29,194	0	0
Ditto, 1ſt May, 1715 -	28,651	0	0	29,194	0	0
Ditto, 1ſt Auguſt, 1784 -				30,924	0	0
Hops, 1ſt Auguſt, 1715 -						
Sope, paper, and other duties, 10th June, 1712 - -	58,423	10	5	61,774		0
Additional ditto, 2d Aug. 1714	40,239	0	0	44,158		0
Addit. ſope, 5th July, 1782	25,252	0	0	25,293		0
Britiſh ſpirits, 29th Sept. 1736	7,075	0	0	8,636		0
Addit. ditto, 25th Mar. 1743	9,328	0	0	9,156		0
Ditto, 1746 - -	4,340	0	0	4,172		0
Ditto, 1ſt July, 1751 -	13,992	0	0	13,297		0
Ditto, 21ſt April, 1760 -	43,600	0	0	37,409		0
Ditto, 21ſt January, 1762 -	8,830	0	0	8,538		0
Ditto, 30th May, 1780 -	8,941	0	0	8,663		0
Brandy, 29th Sept. 1736 -	77,591	0	0	129,084		0
Additional ditto, 21ſt April, 1760, and 1ſt July, 1766	22,216	0	0	38,392	0	0
Ditto, 21ſt January, 1762 -	3,641	0	0	6,738	0	0
Ditto, 30th May, 1780 -	19,581	0	0	13,485	0	0
Low wines, 29th Sept. 1736	4,015	0	0	4,853	0	0
Addit. D°. 25th March, 1743	4,791	0	0	4,909	0	0
Ditto, 1746 - -	2,492	0	0	2,319	0	0

Ditto,

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Ditto, 1ſt July, 1751 -	6,993	0	0	6,058	0	0
Ditto, 21ſt April, 1760 -	25,378	0	0	22,409	0	0
Ditto, 21ſt January, 1762 -	5,164	0	0	5,074	0	0
Ditto, 30th May, 1780 -	5,207	0	0	5,144	0	0
5l. per cent. on ſeveral duties, and 15l. per cent. on malt, 5th April, 1779 - -	29,070	0	0	22,495	2	3
Addit. 5l. per cent. 1780 -	4,568	0	0	2,351	0	0
Ditto, 1781 - - -	27,702	0	0	23,332	2	3
Ditto, 1782 - - -	28,357	0	0	22,912	2	3
Men ſervants, 21ſt May, 1781	4,605	0	0	4,663	0	0
General licenſes, 11 Sept. 1784	———			8,491	0	0
9d. additional exciſe, 1706 -	41,970	0	0	44,788	0	0
Plate licenſes, 5th July, 1758	1,240	17	6	1,320	0	0
Coach, 25th March, 1747 -	17,375	11	3	18,644	0	0
Ditto, 5th July, 1776 -	4,352	0	0	4,403	0	0
Ditto, 1782 - - -	4,928	0	0	5,255	0	0
Additional 3s. per barrel on ale, 24th January, 1761 -	139,316	0	0	151,427	0	0
Table beer, 5th July, 1782 -	5,627	0	0	5,815	0	0
Auctions, 29th Sept. 1777 -	13,058	0	0	11,020	0	0
Paper, 11th Auguſt, 1784 -	———			3,126	0	0
Linens and ſtuffs, 2d Oct. 1784	———			2,937	0	0
Hereditary and temporary exciſe, 25th October, 1760 -	86,943	7	4	67,907	15	11
2-7ths of 9d per Bank exciſe	11,991	2	11	12,796	11	6
5-7ths of ditto - - -	29,977	17	1	31,991	8	6
3d. addit exciſe, 25th March, 1710 - - -	13,980	0	0	14,920	0	0
Sweets, 25th June, 1737 -	1,751	0	0	3,334	0	0
Additional ditto, 1780 -	958	0	0	1,676	0	0
Hides, 24th June, 1711 -	37,954	8	6	38,921	0	0
Addit. ditto, 10th June, 1712	22,619	0	0	23,103	0	0
Wire and ſtarch, 10 June, 1712	8,002	4	6	6,985	0	0
Addit. ſtarch, 6th July, 1780	7,593	0	0	6,309	0	0
Coffee, 24th June, 1724 -	6,105	1	6	318	8	2
Addit. ditto, 5th April, 1759	127	0	0			
Old cocoa nuts, 5th July, 1781	1,065	0	0			
Addit. ditto, 5th July, 1781	506	0	0			
Tea, 24th June, 1745 - -	210,30	3	2	43,481	16	0
Tea licenſes, 1780 - -	899	0	0	1,580	0	0
Bricks and tiles, 2d Sept. 1784	———			12,400	0	0

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
15l. per cent. 11th Auguſt and 2d October, 1784 - -				1,012	0	0
3,700l. per week exciſe -	51,800	0	0	55,500	0	0
Licenſes for retailing ſpirituous liquors, 25th March, 1743 and 1752 - - -	18,643	0	0	19,190		0
Glaſs, 5th July, 1777 -	17,801	0	0	27,035		0
Addit. malt, 8th Feb. 1760 -	24,756	0	0	12,268		0
Ditto, 30th May, 1780 -	7,825	0	0	5,500		0
Cyder, 5th July, 1766 -	604	0	0	743		0
Total of exciſe to 5th April, 1784 -	£.1,292,220	3	6			
Total of exciſe to 5th April, 1785 -				£.1,312,612	6	10

STAMPS.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Pamphlets and ſtamped papers	10,685	0	0	11,158	0	0
Stamps per Hanaper office, 1749	839	0	0	960	0	0
Paper and parchment, 31ſt July, 1710 - - -	12,399	0	0	15,526	0	0
Paper, cards and dice, 24th June, 1711 - -	4,199	0	0	4,978	0	0
Additional cards and dice, 15th April, 1756 - -	3,084	0	0	3,175	0	0
Ditto, 5th July, 1776 -	2,931	0	0	3,079	0	0
Almanacks, 24th June, 1781	339	0	0	413	0	0
Policies of inſurance, 10 June, 1712 - - -	1,949	0	0	1,962	0	0
Addit. ditto, 1ſt June, 1765	1,021	0	0	678	0	0
Apprentice duty, 1ſt May, 1715	1,171	0	0	1,252	0	0
Ale licenſes, 1756 - -	7,252	0	0	15,389	0	0
Additional ſtamps on paper and parchment, 5th July, 1757	18,267	0	0	21,744	0	0
Ditto, 1759 - - -	2,516	0	0	3,107	0	0
Ditto, 1762 - - -	81	0	0	147	0	0
Ditto, 1765 - - -	177	0	0	321	0	0
Ditto, 1776 - - -	15,414	0	0	18,182	0	0
Ditto, 1777 - - -	12,322	0	0	15,230	0	0
Ditto, 2d Auguſt, 1779 -	8,393	0	0	9,376	0	0
Ditto, 1ſt June, 1780 -	3,241	0	0	5,942	0	0

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Addit. policies, 1ſt Aug. 1782	24,093		0	22,681	0	0
Addit. carriages, 1ſt Aug. 1783	8,772		0			
Addit. ſtamps on paper and parchment, and bills of exchange, 1ſt Aug. 1ſt Sept 1ſt Oct. and 1ſt Nov. 1783	37,521	0	0	74,287	0	0
Additional ſtamp duties, 1ſt and 29th Sept. 1ſt Oct. and 1ſt Dec. 1784 - -	———			96,710	0	0
Poſt horſes, 1ſt Auguſt, 1780	24,580	0	0	34,052	0	0
Addit. paper and parchment, 1731 - - - -	11,032	0	0	12,725	0	0
Paper per lottery, 1714 -	5,520	0	0	7,689	0	0
Wine licenſes, 5th July, 1757	3,833	0	0	3,573	0	0
Licenſes for ſelling lottery tickets, A° 1782 - -	290	17	0			
Ditto, 1783 - - -	500	0	0			
Stamps per Bank - -	———			6,000	0	0
Total of the ſtams to } to 5th April, 1784 }	£.222,421	17	4			
Total of the ſtamps to the 5th April, 1785				£.390,336		0

INCIDENTS.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Salt, 5th April, 1759 -	53,472	3	0	67,314	13	11½
Ditto, 10th May, 1780 -	13,368	0	0½	16,828	12	11
Ditto, 22d June, 1782 -	13,485	18	6½	17,039	9	8½
700l. per week letter money -	9,800	0	0	10,500	0	0
2,300l. per week letter money, 1784 - -	———			34,500	0	0
Letter money, 25th Oct. 1760	44,000	0	0	43,000	0	0
Seizures, ditto - -	3,282	18	0	1,191	1	9½
Proffers, ditto - -	16	11	2	21	12	2
Compoſitions, ditto - -	5	10	0	1	0	0
Fines and forfeitures, ditto -	346	11	4½			
Rent of a light-houſe, ditto -	6	13	4			
Fines of leaſes, ditto -	2,813	0	0	1,224	0	0
Allum mines, ditto - -	———			480	0	0
Hawkers and pedlars, 23d June, 1710 - -	400	0	0	748	14	7

Hackney

	£.	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Hackney coaches, 1711 -	2,500	0	0	6,909	15	8
Ditto, 1784 - -				3,000	0	0
6l. per libr. on penſions, 24th June, 1721 - -	17,400	0	0	16,800	0	0
1s. deduct on ſalaries, &c. 5th April, 1758 - -	10,000	0	0	19,284	16	7½
Men ſervants, 5th July, 1777 (arrears) - -	7	7	0			
Houſes and windows, 10th October, 1766 - -	69,576	6	11¾	102,774	6	9¾
Houſes, 5th April, 1778 -	22,938	4	4¼	31,479	13	3¼
Total of incidents to 5th April, 1784	£. 263,419	3	10			
Total of incidents to 5th April, 1785 -				£. 373,097	16	8½
Total of cuſtoms, exciſe, ſtamps, and incidents, to 5th April, 1784 -	£. 2,198,006	5	2½			
Total of cuſtoms, exciſe, ſtamps, and incidents, to 5th April, 1784 -				£. 3,066,255	18	2

Exchequer, the 15th day of April, 1785

JOHN HUGHSON.

An Account of the Net Produce of all the Taxes, from Chriſtmas Eve 1783, to the 5th of January 1784; ſtating and diſtinguiſhing the Totals of Cuſtoms, Exciſe, Stamps, and Incidents.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Totals of Cuſtoms - -	13,913	18	6			
Exciſe -	87,174	3	6			
Stamps -	11,470	0	0			
Incidents -	15,996	18	4½			
				128,555	0	4½

Exchequer, the 25th day of April, 1785

JOHN HUGHSON.

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An Account of the Net Produce of all the Taxes, from Chriſtmas Eve 1784, to the 5th of January 1785; ſtating and diſtinguiſhing the Totals of Cuſtoms, Exciſe, Stamps, and Incidents.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Totals of Cuſtoms -	158,629	1	3			
Exciſe -	166,511	11	9			
Stamps -	55,604	0	0			
Incidents -	58,927	19	11½			
				439,672	12	11

Exchequer, the 28th day of April, 1785.

JOHN HUGHSON.

An Account of the Net Produce of all the Taxes, from the 25th of March 1784, to the 5th of April 1784; ſtating and diſtinguiſhing the Totals of Cuſtoms, Exciſe, Stamps, and Incidents.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Total of Cuſtoms -	34,154	1	11½			
Exciſe -	106,540	0	0			
Stamps -	21,098	0	0			
Incidents -	35,373	12	6			
				197,165	14	6

Exchequer, the 28th day of April, 1785.

JOHN HUGHSON.

An Account of the Net Produce of all the Taxes, from the 25th of March 1785, to the 5th of April 1785; ſtating and diſtinguiſhing the Totals of Cuſtoms, Exciſe, Stamps, and Incidents.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Totals of Cuſtoms -	110,744	19	5½			
Exciſe -	118,509	15	1			
Stamps -	39,400	0	0			
Incidents -	64,653	8	0½			
				333,308	2	7

Exchequer, the 28th day of April, 1785.

JOHN HUGHSON.

Mr.

Friday, April 29.

Mr Fox. Mr. *Fox* roſe to make a motion on the ſtate of the public revenue, and to call the attention of the Houſe to the calculations and ſuppoſitions which were made by the right honourable Mr. Pitt.

He prefaced his motion with ſaying, that whatever differences there might be in that Houſe upon queſtions of a political nature, and in ſpeculative opinions, there was no difference with reſpect to the propriety and neceſſity of ſupporting the public credit. The Houſe had in all adminiſtrations been uniform in maintaining the credit which had been ſo uſeful to us in our difficulties, and in countenancing every meaſure which tended to the advancement of our revenue, or the ſecurity of the national creditor. It would not, therefore, be imputed to him, that he roſe this day to agitate the Houſe on the ſubject from motives of faction, or for the purpoſe of exciting alarms in the country. In what he ſhould ſay, he would give occaſion to no ſuch charge. It was his firſt and moſt earneſt deſire to ſee the revenues of this country rendered ſo indubitably equal to our neceſſities, that neither cavil nor ingenuity ſhould be able to excite terrors in the breaſts of thoſe who had lent their money on the faith of Government; and he did not believe there was an individual in the Houſe of different ſentiments.

There had been, he ſaid, a good deal of converſation at different times on the Sinking Fund, and on the propriety of applying it to the neceſſities of the ſtate—Without entering at all into the queſtion, whether it was wiſe in all poſſible caſes ſo to apply it; or whether the public might not be more benefited by its appropriation occaſionally to other purpoſes, he would not ſay—This was certain, that though it had been applied occaſionally to make up for the year the deficiencies of any tax which might have failed of producing what it was calculated to produce, or to anſwer any ſudden and unforeſeen emergency, it never was yet taken and applied to the permanent payment of the annuity of any ſum which we have had occaſion to borrow; to this length we never yet had gone; the wiſdom of the Houſe had always provided by taxes a permanent fund for the payment of the national creditor; and the produce of the Sinking Fund was only held out as an additional ſecurity to them, that in caſe thoſe taxes ſhould fail, their annuities would ſtill be regularly paid. The right honourable gentleman at the head of the finances, had ſaid

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ſome days ago, that by the late production of the taxes we had confidence that the revenues of this country would annually produce the ſum of fifteen millions and a half, which conſtantly would leave a ſurplus of one million to be applied to the extinction of the national debt. He would not be confident in the preciſe words which the right honourable gentleman made uſe of in ſtating this fact; but ſurely this was the reſult, and which his friends had adopted, with the moſt ſanguine diſpoſition.

He was by no means pleaſed that the ſtate which he ſhould give of the accounts did not warrant the concluſion which the right honourable gentleman had drawn from them. He by no means wiſhed that his ſtate of the public revenue ſhould turn out to be the true ſtate, in contradiction to that of the right honourable gentleman; but the Houſe muſt not argue, that becauſe he went into theſe diſcuſſions for the purpoſe of ſhewing them that the concluſions which had been drawn from them were not well founded, that therefore he was anxious to affect the public credit, and to lower the ſtate of the funds. He was actuated by no ſuch motive. It was his opinion, that the true and only foundation on which the credit of this country could be maintained, was in the publicity and clearneſs of our accounts; it was in the evident determination of Parliament at all times to look their ſituation in the face, and neither to deceive themſelves, nor to deceive others with fallacious ſtatements, which could only ſerve intereſted purpoſes for a moment, while they might produce laſting and dreadful conſequences to the country. Perfectly to deſpond was as injurious as to be too ſanguine. Deſpondency would depreſs the genius, enterpriſe, and energy of the country: and again, to be too ſanguine in our expectations, would prevent us from taking thoſe meaſures which might be neceſſary to our deliverance. Apprehending that the ſtate of our finances was very different from that which the right honourable gentleman had held out, it was his opinion, that though our circumſtances were bad, they gave no reaſon for deſpondency; they were yet to be retrieved; but they were only to be retrieved by our chearfully ſubmitting to new and to heavy burdens. This, in the preſent ſituation of the country, was undoubtedly a melancholy proſpect; but he had too much confidence in the good ſenſe of the people, and in the wiſdom of Parliament, to believe, that when the neceſſity was made apparent for new burdens, the one would either heſitate to impoſe, or the other to bear them.

He was afraid, that in what he ſhould have to ſtate to the Houſe, he ſhould make the neceſſity for new burdens too apparent. The right honourable gentleman had laid before the Houſe a paper to ſhew the comparative produce of the taxes of the quarter ending the 5th of April, 1784, and of the quarter ending the 5th of April, 1785. From the amount of the latter he had argued, that the produce of all the taxes for the year would leave a ſurplus of one million above the payment of all the annuities and eſtabliſhments of the year. It had already been ſtated to the Houſe, that to draw this concluſion from this particular quarter would be fallacious, for that the quarter conſiſted of eleven days more than either of the other three. The quarter in general was ninety-one days and a fraction; but this quarter was one hundred and two days in length. The amount of the taxes for this long quarter was, by the account produced, 3,066,000l. which multiplied by four, undoubtedly made the produce of the taxes for the whole year 12,260,000l. He avoided fractions to make the matter more readily intelligible. The eleven days, however, which were to be taken from this quarter made the amount very different. On an average the amount of the taxes was about 30,000l. per day, which for the eleven days amounted to 330,000l. and this multiplied by four, made the ſum of 1,300,000l. which was to be taken from the calculation of the right honourable gentleman. This, therefore, reduced the annual produce of the permanent annuities to 11,000,000l. Add to this 2,500,000l. for the amount of the land and malt, and the whole was only thirteen millions and a half, which was two millions ſhort of the calculation of the right honourable gentleman.

It was not a fair nor a true way of ſtating the taxes, by taking the amount of a quarter as a fourth of the year. The quarters ſometimes varied exceedingly, and arguing in this way, from this particular quarter, was liable to much fallacy. He had it not in his power to argue by compariſons of all the quarters for any given number of years, but having an account in his hand of the amount of the cuſtoms for eleven years, he did not think it would be unfair to argue by analogy from them, and to ſee how treacherous it would be to decide on the amount of the cuſtoms for a year by any one quarter. In computing the ſeveral years, he would naturally paſs over the laſt year, as by the poſtponement of the cuſtoms due by the Eaſt-India Company, that year could not be ſet in compariſon ſo as to give any fair eſtimate of the public revenue.

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The total of the cuſtoms for the quarter ending the 5th of April laſt, was 770,000l. To argue that this was a proof that the other three quarters would be equally productive, he was afraid would be very fallacious, and would not be borne out by the experience of former years. It was a fact, that whenever the ſpring quarter was high, the ſummer quarters fell off, and whenever it was low the ſummer quarters made up for the deficiencies. The years 1778 and 1779 preſented inſtances like the preſent year of high ſpring quarters: in the one, the cuſtoms amounted to 708,000l. and in the other to 715,000l. and yet it ſo happened that theſe two years were the loweſt of all the eleven years, for which the account on the table was made up. Was it therefore reaſonable to infer, from the high amount of the cuſtoms in this quarter, that the amount of the year would be equally or proportionably high?

But in this particular quarter on which the right honourable gentleman had calculated in ſo ſanguine a manner, there were ſeveral articles which ſtruck him in a very forcible manner as being charged too high — Laſt India goods, for inſtance, were ſtated in this quarter to have produced 86,000l. a ſum ſo much above what they had ever produced in a former quarter, that he knew not how to take that as a fourth of the produce of this article for the year. The average produce of this article for the laſt eleven years was but 120,000l. a year; and the quarter ending the 5th of April 1784, had produced but 10,000l. On ſuch experience, it was impoſſible that he could ſet down this article at 340,000l. for the year. There muſt have been in the payments made this quarter, ſome arrearages paid up, or ſome extraordinary circumſtances which would not enter into the other quarters, and which therefore it would be unfair to calculate upon in this ſtatement.

Another article ſtruck him as curious — the duty of eighteen and a half per cent. on muſlins was ſtated to produce 86,000l. in this quarter; this was as much as the duty had produced for the whole of the laſt year. The exciſe duties which were paid into the Exchequer at the rate of 350,000l. per week made another very material inaccuracy in this account; for, by the addition of the eleven days in this quarter, the exciſe duties were paid for fifteen weeks. So that if this was to be taken as a fourth of the year, the year muſt conſiſt of ſixty weeks inſtead of fifty-two.

The ſtamp duties which had been impoſed by his noble friend (Lord John Cavendiſh) were ſtated to have produced in this quarter 96,000l. a ſum which very much aſtoniſhed, and which, if it were true, would very much pleaſe him. He was afraid, however, there was no truth in this ſtatement. The whole produce of theſe duties, which undoubtedly had fallen ſhort of their calculation, had never yet amounted to much above 100,000l. a year. To ſtate, therefore, that they had produced 96,000l. in one quarter, was a thing for which he could not account however he might wiſh that the fact were ſo. The additional ſtamps which had been laid ſince that time, were ſtated alſo at 96,000l. This would give on each of theſe articles an annual produce of 380,000l.; and he called upon gentlemen to ſay, whether they expected ſuch a ſum, or any thing like it, from theſe duties? Beſides this, there was to be mentioned other charges, which were evidently inaccurate the deduction from ſalaries, the compoſition of the Bank for the whole of the ſtamp duties on notes was 12,000l. a year, and yet in this quarter 6000l. of that ſum was taken, and which therefore could not be multiplied by four.

It was impoſſible that he could ſpeak on theſe points with the authority of the right honourable gentleman, becauſe he had not the information. He conceived theſe things to be curious and unaccountable, and he truſted that the right honourable gentleman would explain them to the Houſe, in ſupport of the reaſoning and concluſions which he had drawn from this quarter. Theſe articles, which he had enumerated, would amount, in the calculation for the whole of the year, to upwards of 150,000l. but he underſtood the right honourable gentleman had ſaid, in his ſtatement of this quarter, that there was one ſum of 125,000l. to be deducted, and that there was 100,000l. to ariſe in another quarter, which was not in this. Not knowing preciſely in the preſent ſtage what were the articles on which the right honourable gentleman had ſaid, that theſe deductions were to be made, he would not inſiſt to particularly on the particular objections as on the great objection to the eleven days in this quarter which were not in the others; and upon this he ſtill contended, there was a deduction to be made of 1,300,000l. from the calculation for the year.

Another way had been taken in ſtating this buſineſs — inſtead of multiplying this quarter by four, the two winter

quarters

quarters were taken together and multiplied by two. He conceived this alſo to be fallacious, though not perhaps ſo fallacious as the other. He muſt reaſon on this alſo from the account of the cuſtoms on the table. In that account he found that the average of ten years was about 74,000l. in favour of the ſummer quarters; and here it was to be obſerved, that taking it in this way, there was a difference of five days in the calculation. The winter quarters included from the 10th of October to the 5th of April; but one thing particularly deſerved the notice of the Houſe, and that was, that by the account of the cuſtoms on the table, it appeared, that whenever the ſpring quarter exceeded 700,000l. the ſummer quarters were proportionably low. But admitting this mode of ſtating the account, and multiplying the two laſt quarters by two, to give the probable production of the preſent year, the amount would be but 11,400,000l. which would ſtill leave a deficiency of 1,650,000l. of the fifteen millions and a half ſtated by the right honourable gentleman.

He underſtood the right honourable gentleman had argued from this account in another way: he had compared this ſpring quarter with the ſpring quarter of laſt year; he conſidered this as ſtill more fallacious; he had compared it with the worſt ſpring quarter for the laſt ten years. The quarter of laſt year was bad for the reaſons he had ſtated, namely, the poſtponement of the Laſt India duties: but he begged gentlemen again to look at the account in their hands of the cuſtoms, they would find, that though the ſpring quarter of 1784 was the worſt of the whole ten years, yet the year 1784 was the beſt but one of all that period. Nothing could be more erroneous than to argue, that from the goodneſs of the ſpring quarter the whole year was to be eſtimated. It ſo happened, that whenever the ſpring quarter was higheſt, the whole year was low — For inſtance,

The ſpring quarter of 1779 was - - - -	715,000
The ſpring quarter of 1784 was - - - -	385,000
Yet the whole of the year 1779 produced but	2,200,000
While 1784 produced - - - -	2,600,000

It was in vain therefore to argue from this mode of ſtatement: but he ſaid, that in giving the right honourable gentleman every thing he demanded, in ſtating the account with all the poſſible advantages which could be enumerated, and omitting all the objections which he had made, by laying the two winter quarters together, and even permitting him

to

to ſay that the ſummer quarters would be better, granting that they would be better as ſix is to five, yet in this way, the whole amount of the permanent revenues, and of the land and malt, would be but 14,233,000l. which would be a ſum 300,000l. ſhort of what we had annually to pay, and 1,300,000l. ſhort of the ſtatement of the right honourable gentleman, by which there was to be a ſurplus of 1,000,000l. a year of a ſinking fund.

If therefore it was the determination of that Houſe to meet the ſituation of the country fairly; if they intended, with the honeſty and determination that became them, to put the finances of the country beyond the reach of cavil; give ſecurity to the creditor, and manifeſt to the whole world their diſpoſition to be ſtrictly honeſt, they muſt lay additional burdens on the people to the amount of 1,300,000l a year. The alternative was undoubtedly unpleaſant; but no man could heſitate one moment in making his choice. The alternative was, that in the preſent moment, when the people of this country were labouring under taxes that were almoſt inſupportable, they ſhould impoſe new and heavy burdens on them to the amount of 1,300,000l. a year; or that the immenſe load of this country ſhould be ſuffered to continue for ever; by which, when ſome new ſtruggle might occaſion extraordinary calls, we muſt be brought to that dreadful ſtate which no conſiderate man could look at without horror — a bankruptcy. Surely in this view of the matter, no man would heſitate one moment in his choice: he who could cheriſh in his boſom for one moment the idea of embracing the one ſide of the alternative, muſt have a head incapable of judging: a national bankruptcy would be national ruin; and his head muſt be ſtrangely dull, or his heart inhuman, who could harbour ſuch a notion. It was not to be thought of; and yet he knew that ſtrange, mad, and atrocious ſchemes had been engendered in the brains of ſome men to this end; but no practical ſtateſman had ever thought of them, no wiſe man had ever countenanced them, and no good man, he truſted, would ever adopt them. The right honourable gentleman had properly ſtated to the Houſe, that it was only by the gradual diminution of the debt that we could retrieve our affairs. This was his opinion; and he ſincerely was of opinion, that by cheārfully ſubmitting now to an increaſe of burdens, our affairs might not only be retrieved, but we might be brought to a more proſperous condition than we had ever enjoyed.

It

It might be ſaid, let us wait another year before we lay any more taxes on the people. Let us ſee what the reſult of our wiſhes are: this, he ſaid, was truly impolitic, the loſs of a year of peace was a material loſs. If the ſum was actually not wanted; if there ſhould at this time be a ſinking fund, the increaſe of that fund would be a bleſſing, and the year of peace ought not to be loſt, though he knew it was the opinion of ſome men, that war was the proper time for the diminution of the national debt. Perhaps it might be ſaid, that he puſhed Miniſters to do this, in order to make them unpopular, becauſe it muſt be an unpopular meaſure to lay additional burdens to ſo large an amount. If ſuch ſhould be the imputation thrown on gentlemen who roſe in that Houſe to deliver their opinions on ſubjects of revenue, it would be wiſe for them to abſent themſelves whenever ſubjects of finannce were mentioned, but no ſuch imputation could with juſtice be brought againſt thoſe who fairly offered to ſhare in the unpopularity by aſſiſting the Miniſters in the taſk.

He concluded with ſaying, that it was his intention to have moved, from the grounds which he had ſtated, that it appeared to the Houſe, that the permanent revenues of the country amounted only to between eleven and twelve millions, but not being able to ſtate the preciſe amount, he did not think that ſuch a motion would have the accuracy which the Houſe ſhould require, and therefore he propoſed to move, "That a Committee be appointed to inquire into, and ſtate to the Houſe, the annual net produce, from the 5th of April 1785, of the ſeveral taxes now ſubſiſting, which were granted previous to the 5th day of January 1776, diſtinguiſhing each year, together with the totals, and ſtating alſo the
" average of the produce of each tax, and of the totals.
" And alſo the produce of the ſeveral taxes granted ſince
" the 5th day of January 1776, for the year ending the 5th
" day of April 1785.
" And alſo the amount of the public debts, as they ſtood
" at the receipt of His Majeſty's Exchequer on the 5th day
" of April 1785, with the annual intereſt, and other charges
" payable thereon.
" And alſo the amount of the Exchequer bills, Navy bills,
" Ordnance bills, and other unfunded debts.
" And to report the facts to the Houſe with their obſerva-
" tions thereon."

Mr. *Eden* roſe merely to ſecond the motion, having fully ſubmitted his ſentiments on the matter in queſtion upon a Mr Eden.

former

forther occaſion; he ſaid, he would only obſerve, that every ſubſequent reflection and information, as well as the arguments which he had that day heard, confirmed his original opinion, and he continued to think, that the ſtatements of the public revenue which were brought forward were highly erroneous at leaſt, if not fallacious. It was become of the utmoſt importance to the Public to have thoſe ſtatements fairly and completely brought to the teſt of truth; and ſuch was the object of the preſent motion, founded on a well-known precedent, and calculated merely to enable the Houſe and the Public to aſcertain the actual and probable produce of the revenue, by preciſe accounts, and the criterion of long averages. The ſtatements which the Committee were required to prepare by the motion, might undoubtedly be prepared by the revenue officers, and might afterwards be diſcuſſed by the Houſe, but it ſeemed better to collect and ſettle them in the moſt intelligible ſhape under the inſpection of a Committee.

With reſpect to what his right honourable friend had ſtated upon the comparative differences of the two half years on which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had placed ſo much ſtreſs: he muſt obſerve, that if the difference between thoſe two half years was eſtimated at 700,000l. (and it ought not, after all the obvious deduction, to be eſtimated higher) that ſum was fully accounted for by two circumſtances, which ſeemed to eſcape gentlemens recollection. In this laſt and boaſted half year, there was an increaſe of about 460,000l. in the duties paid by the Eaſt-India Company, beyond the duties paid by that Company in the half year ending in April 1784, and there was alſo 240,000l. taxes of 1784: theſe two ſums added together, would be found to leave no riſe in the half year ending the 5th of April 1785, on which any argument of a great increaſe could be built.

There was, however, one circumſtance in the paper preſented by the Receiver General of the cuſtoms, which was very encouraging and comfortable to the Public, and therefore he felt pleaſure in remarking it. The net produce of the cuſtoms for the year ending the 5th of April 1785, appeared in that paper to be 3,720,000l. He would not adopt the modern reaſonings, and infer from it, that the next year's produce would be equally high. ſtill leſs would he preſume, that becauſe this was 800,000l. higher than the preceding year's produce, the next ſubſequent year would advance 800,000l. farther. But he would obſerve, that it occurred fully

fully to the fair produce of the old branches of the cuſtoms, in the moſt proſperous times: the average net produce of the cuſtoms for eight years, ending in 1776, was above 2,500,000l. and the taxes eſtabliſhed ſince upon the cuſtoms, together with the diſcounts, might be eſtimated at about 1,200,000l. upon the 3,720,000l. This proſperous ſtate of trade was, perhaps, chiefly owing to the energy of the kingdom and of the merchants, but perhaps alſo it was in part owing to the meaſures adopted againſt ſmuggling. He was far from wiſhing to detract from the merit of thoſe meaſures; he had always differed, and continued to differ, from ſome of his friends, in thinking that the tea act and the ſmuggling act were likely to have a gradual and material effect in the improvement of the revenue: and though he had diſapproved of the new window tax, it was not becauſe he diſliked its principle, but becauſe he thought it injudiciouſly executed, and proportioned in a manner unjuſt to the community, and injurious to the old window tax, which had conſequently been much diminiſhed. He nevertheleſs entertained favourable expectations from the effect of the plan.

The queſtion was read from the Chair.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* ſaid, that during a conſiderable part of the right honourable gentleman's argument who made the motion, he had expected his motion would have been of a very different nature from what it at length turned out to be. From what had fallen from him at the beginning of his ſpeech, he was inclined to think that his propoſition would have gone to eſtabliſh it as a doctrine, that whenever a tax was found to be deficient of the produce, at which it had originally been eſtimated, the miniſter of finance was bound to make up that particular deficiency by a new tax, without conſidering the degree in which other branches of the revenue might be found to make compenſation, thus directing his attention to minute and individual objects, inſtead of embracing and regarding the general amount of all the taxes. The right honourable gentleman, however, he ſaid, had diſappointed him by taking a new ground, and he was ready to believe that the motion which they had then heard made, was not that which it was his original intention to have offered. He ſuppoſed, that light in which the right honourable gentleman had viewed the ſ ſince his firſt notice to the Houſe, when he acknowledge hat he could not aſcertain what his motion was to be, though a motion at all events he was de- Mr Chancellor Pitt.

termined to make, or perhaps even his own arguments, which he had juſt now delivered, had perſuaded him, that it was perfectly out of his power to form any fixed and decided opinion, contrary to that which he had himſelf formerly endeavoured to impreſs the Houſe with, relative to the proſperous ſtate of our finances; and therefore he was deſirous of a Committee, in hopes that they might be able to do it for him. He was happy ever to have it in his power to agree in ſentiment with the right honourable gentleman; and on the preſent occaſion there were ſome points in which their opinions did perfectly coincide. In the firſt place, he heartily agreed with him when he ſaid, that to impreſs the Public with ſanguine and flattering hopes of the proſperity of the nation in point of revenue, when thoſe hopes could only be ſupported by fallacious ſtatements, by concealment or deceit, was a groſs violation of duty in a miniſter, but he wiſhed the right honourable gentleman was as ready to concede to him on the other hand, that to promote deſpondency and deſpair, by unfair miſrepreſentations to the prejudice of the nation in her moſt eſſential and vital part, her public credit, was at leaſt as culpable. Another principle of the right honourable gentleman he was alſo happy to find correſponded exactly with his own moſt favourite object, an object which he had never loſt ſight of ſince he firſt had the honour of a ſeat in that Houſe, the neceſſity of an efficient and regular ſinking fund, to be uniformly, and, he would ſay, unalienably applied to the diminution and diſcharge of the national debt. He congratulated the right Honourable gentleman on his having become a *proſelyte* to this meaſure, but ſtill there were ſome of his collateral doctrines on the ſubject, in which he could not but differ with him in opinion. He denied that it was contrary to the proper intent of a ſinking fund ever to apply any part of it to any other purpoſe, except the diminution of the debt, not even to the payment of the intereſt, for, on the contrary, it had been, he ſaid, the conſtant practice of all financiers ſo to apply it, if neceſſary, ſtill making up the deficiency ariſing from ſuch application by other taxes; and indeed the ſinking fund was at all times conſidered not only as a reſource for paying off the debt, but was alſo uniformly underſtood to be a collateral ſecurity to the public creditors. He paid ſome ironical compliments to Mr. Fox for his zeal on the ſubject; a zeal however, which, like that of all new converts, was, he ſaid, more ardent than judicious; for in his great anxiety

that

that a ſinking fund ſhould be eſtabliſhed, he was deſirous immediately to proceed to the impoſition of taxes for that purpoſe, without being ſatisfied to wait a few months longer to ſee whether thoſe now in being would not be found ſufficient. He returned the right honourable gentleman his thanks for his readineſs to eaſe him of the moſt diſagreeable part of his duty, that of propoſing new taxes, and hoped the ſame diſpoſition would continue, if it ſhould be found, contrary to his preſent expectations, that they were neceſſary; for he ſhould be more happy to ſee all that brilliancy of eloquence, and all that force of argument, exerted on an occaſion when taxes were to be laid on, than at a time when no ſuch thing was in agitation, or at all requiſite. Notwithſtanding, he ſaid, thoſe arguments of the right honourable gentleman were, on this occaſion, uſeleſs and inapplicable to any preſent object of his, he ſhould not however forget them, but would treaſure them up in his memory for any future uſe to which they might be turned, when the ſubject of taxation ſhould come forward. And he hoped the Houſe would remember, that the right honourable gentleman, by his extreme forwardneſs on the preſent day for proceeding to lay new burdens on the Public, had pledged himſelf to ſupport whatever meaſures of finance ſhould from any future diſappointments be found neceſſary. He apprehended the ſole object of the motion was to procure for the Houſe ſuch information as ſhould enable them to judge whether the preſent ſyſtem of taxes was ſufficient without freſh additions to anſwer the neceſſary demands of the different eſtabliſhments, and to afford a ſurplus ſufficient for a ſinking fund of one million annually. Now as this was the whole extent of the queſtion at preſent before the Houſe, he ſubmitted it to their conſideration whether it would not be more adviſeable to wait for the experience of a few months, and experience was, he obſerved, the only infallible criterion by which they could be guided in a matter of this nature, than to put the buſineſs into the channel propoſed by the preſent motion; a meaſure liable to every degree of uncertainty and error that could well be expected from the ordinary mode of conducting ſuch a buſineſs, beſide other diſadvantages which he would mention before he ſat down. With regard to the grounds of objection that were now taken to his former propoſitions to the Houſe, he ſaid, they were extremely different from thoſe which had already been ſuggeſted. If it were a general truth, that in all arguments, the ſureſt way to come to a mutual underſtanding, was the ad-

hering to ſome certain premiſes, and following a regular and uniform ſyſtem of reaſoning, or in the common phraſe, ſticking to the point; it was a truth that applied to queſtions of a numerical nature, above all others; and yet, in the preſent inſtance, this principle ſeemed to be entirely forgot, for the particular calculation, on which he was then attacked, was one, which, until that day, had never been called in queſtion he was happy to find, that thoſe, which had been formerly taken up, were at laſt abandoned as untenable; by which it was to be underſtood, that a tacit teſtimony was borne a[illegible]inſt them by his opponents themſelves. He deſired the Houſe to recollect, that when he made his ſeveral calculations he had not done it with a view of adopting any one particularly, as the foundation of his proſpects concerning the revenue, but only with a view to lead the minds of gentlemen to the eaſieſt method by which they could form their judgements, in order that when the whole ſubject came properly before them, they might be more competent to decide upon it, having been in the habit of turning in their thoughts every diſtinction or conſideration into which it could poſſibly be reſolved. The calculation that was now endeavoured to be overturned was that by which he had compared the two quarters, ending on the 5th of April, in the preſent and laſt year, and grounded thereon a comparative computation of the produce of the two ſubſequent quarters, thoſe ending on the 10th of October in each year. This calculation, he ſaid, had been principally combated on two different grounds: Firſt, it was objected, that the accounts of the quarter, ending on the 5th of the preſent month, contained the receipts of eleven days beyond the natural quarter to underſtand this, it was neceſſary that the Houſe ſhould be informed of the method of making up the public accounts in the Exchequer; the principal body of weekly payments were, he ſaid, made into the Exchequer on Tueſdays and Wedneſdays, and the day for making up the accounts was Friday; the cuſtom therefore was, that on whatever day any particular ſum was received, it was to be credited and accounted for, as if received on the Friday neareſt to that day, whether precedent or ſubſequent; hence he inferred that there muſt always be a difference in each quarter of between three and ſix days at leaſt, therefore the exceſs of the numbers in the quarter on which ſo much ſtreſs had been laid, was greatly reduced. Thus, he obſerved, what was gained in one quarter, was loſt in another, and the whole of the relative accounts of the half year came to their proper

proper level. The next objection was, that the laſt quarter, including nearly the amount of the receipts for the whole year, upon the new taxes, was not a medium from which any fair calculation could be drawn of a comparative proportion between the other quarters, in which little or nothing could be received on the ſame accounts. This, he ſaid, notwithſtanding the reaſons with which it had been relied on, was by no means ſo decided in fact. Here he inſtanced the horſe tax, the hackney, the game licenſe tax, and ſome few others, which had not yet afforded nearly the complement of their yearly revenue. Beſides theſe taxes, there was, he ſaid, another which would be found to yield an increaſing produce, when the odium which had been ſo induſtriouſly excited againſt it had ſubſided, and when people began to find that the inconvenience of paying a trifling tax was not equal to that which they endured from their ſchemes and devices to avoid it, this was the window tax, a tax which, conſidering every circumſtance attending it, had turned out to be the moſt nearly adequate to the produce at which it was eſtimated of any that he remembered. He reprobated the conduct of thoſe who had endeavoured to create a popular oppoſition to the payment of this tax, obſerving, that from what had fallen from the right honourable gentleman when ſpeaking on the ſubject of taxation and public credit, he thought he could not but agree with him in opinion, that all thoſe who by their words, their writings, or their actions, had fomented that general diſcontent for which the window tax afforded a pretext, were guilty of the moſt traiterous conduct towards their country. Here he anſwered the arguments which Mr. Fox had drawn from the ſtate of ſeveral different *items* in the accounts before the Houſe, particularly that relative to the cuſtoms on muſlins, which, as nearly amounting to the whole of the uſual annual produce of the article, Mr. Fox had ſtated as not to be looked forward to, with a view to any future produce for the remainder of the year: this Mr. Pitt confuted, by obſerving, that the increaſe in that article for the laſt quarter did not ariſe from the duty being already paid for the conſumption of the whole year, but from the efficacy of the methods adopted for the ſuppreſſion of ſmuggling, by which a conſiderable quantity of the commodity, which uſed to eſcape the duty, had now been obliged to pay it. He alſo entered into Mr. Fox's calculation, by which he had endeavoured to prove, that becauſe in the account of the receipts of the ſtamp duties of Lord John Cavendiſh,

vendiſh, there appeared to have been paid in a ſum nearly equal to the eſtimate which Lord John, on the original moving of them, had formed of their annual produce, therefore that there could be but little more to receive on that head for the remainder of the year. To this he replied, that the right honourable gentleman had not taken notice that the account alluded to included the amount of Lord John Cavendiſh's whole budget, except one trifling article, (that of waggons,) and obſerved, that it would be extraordinary indeed if one quarter of the entire taxes of that miniſter, which had been laid at the ſum of five hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, but which at the ſame time had never exceeded three hundred, or thereabouts, ſhould not amount to ſo much as ſeventy or eighty thouſand. Here he returned again to the laſt-mentioned calculation relative to the proportionate exceſs of the ſummer quarters beyond the winter quarters. The principle which he had ſuggeſted as a fair ground for forming this calculation, viz. the uſual ſuperiority of the cuſtoms in the two ſummer quarters over the two winter quarters had, he obſerved, been oppoſed by the right honourable gentleman on the ſtrength of an average calculation which he had made of nine ſucceſſive years, during which nine years the principle was found not to operate. This ſeries of years, he obſerved, was the moſt unfair of any which could be adduced to the argument in queſtion, for they were in general years of war. In war time, he ſaid, it was impoſſible to find any principles of reaſoning on ſubjects like the preſent applicable to times of peace. It was eaſily to be imagined, that in time of war an extraordinary degree of ſucceſs might attend the arms of a nation for one quarter of a year, and yet the ſucceeding quarters be calamitous and unfortunate in an equal or greater proportion. Hence the ſucceſsful quarter muſt neceſſarily be more productive of revenue by cuſtoms than the others, which might alſo be the caſe, without any ſuch reverſe of fortune, from the circumſtance of ſhips waiting for convoy, or being detained in diſtant ports for want of ſeamen. Hence the average, which in peace was uniform and regular, became diſturbed and unſatisfactory in times of war. He aſſerted, that if the right honourable gentleman had gone back to a period of peace, and drawn his average from thence, he would have found it to be ſuch as would have fully correſponded with what he had laid down as a juſt mode of computation. He ſaid, that on general reaſoning there was nothing more evident, than that the ſummer quarters muſt neceſſarily

neceſſarily afford a greater produce in the cuſtoms than thoſe of winter; but he would reduce thoſe general grounds of argument to particular facts, by which the Houſe would be much better informed. For this purpoſe, he inſtanced firſt the cuſtoms payable by the Eaſt-India Company; this, he ſaid, was one of the moſt important branches of the cuſtoms, and yet in the laſt quarter we had received ſo far ſhort of one quarter of the whole year's amount, that the net ſum on that account in the papers before the Houſe was no more than forty-ſeven thouſand pounds. In the tobacco trade alſo it was notorious, that a very ſmall proportional quantity of the ſhipping ever arrived ſo early in the year as to pay the cuſtoms within the winter quarters; the ſame was the caſe with the Weſt-India goods, and in another branch of commerce the receipt of the cuſtoms was entirely confined to the ſummer quarters,—the Baltic trade was ſo circumſtanced, that the ſhips could not ſail from their reſpective ports early enough in the year to arrive in England till the ſummer was far advanced. Hence, he contended, it was obvious that the future quarters of the preſent year muſt of neceſſity be far more productive than the former quarters. It had alſo been ſuggeſted, that the whole of the drawbacks on re-exportation not having been yet paid, left the produce conſiderably greater than it otherwiſe would have been. To this he anſwered, that ſo far from there being any ground for an argument of that nature, on a ſuppoſition of a decreaſe in the exports; the fact was, that they had been for ſome time paſt in a ſtate of conſiderable increaſe, as was evident from the returns from all the out-ports where they were more numerous than they had been remembered, and in the port of London they were nearly equal to the greateſt extent to which they had ever reached. He concluded, that as the half year ending the 5th of April, 1784, produced four millions ſeven hundred and eighty-three thouſand pounds, and that ending the 5th of April, 1785, preduced five millions eight hundred and four thouſand pounds, if the enſuing half year were to bear the ſame proportion to the paſt, that the two correſponding half years of the laſt year bore to each other, the whole produce of the preſent year might be expected to amount to 12,580,000l. which, with the land and malt taxes at 2,400,000l. would make 14,980,000l. and leave a ſum of only 420,000l. deficient for the purpoſe of appropriating a clear yearly million for the ſinking fund propoſed. This ſum was ſuch as the hopes he entertained of the growing commerce

merce of the nation, reſpiring as ſhe was from the heavy preſſure of her late ſevere and diſpiriting calamities, and riſing again into new life and vigour with a ſpring and elaſticity that muſt rouſe the moſt deſponding, and give redoubled animation to the moſt ſanguine. This ſum would preclude the neceſſity of applying to new burdens; but if there ſhould be occaſion, he had no apprehenſion that there could be found a ſingle voice in the nation that would heſitate to proclaim the neceſſity and good policy of ſupplying the deficiency by new impoſitions on articles, that ſhould evidently and undeniably be productive in the degree required. Here he appealed to the candour of the right honourable gentleman, to the good ſenſe of the Houſe, to every principle of political arrangement, whether it could, on any ground of prudence or propriety, be expedient to give up ſuch favourable expectations, as aroſe from every point of view, in which our national reſources could be put; expectations, which the experience of a very few months would either eſtabliſh or overturn, and to proceed to the impoſition of new burdens on their conſtituents, in addition to thoſe, under which they already laboured, burdens which an event ſo ſhortly to arrive would moſt probably prove to be unneceſſary. With regard to the mode by which the right honourable gentleman endeavoured to carry his point, viz. the appointing commiſſioners for the purpoſes named in his motion, it was ſuch, as if he had no objection to the object, he could nevertheleſs by no means agree to. He ſaid, he ſhould be extremely ſorry to believe that there were not in that Houſe many perſons infinitely more capable of filling the office which he had the honour to enjoy than he was; but ſtill even badly ſupported as it might be, he thought it more properly veſted in him, a ſervant of the Crown, and anſwerable for his conduct, than it could be in a Committee of the Houſe, liable to no ſuch control from perſonal reſponſibility. He then went into a conjecture of what would be the conduct of ſuch a Committee as was required by the preſent motion, which he ſuppoſed was intended to conſiſt of members of different opinions; they would, he ſaid, perhaps with leſs eloquence, with leſs vehemence, with leſs noiſe, and with leſs action, but not with leſs obſtinacy, debate the ſame points, and nearly in the ſame manner, as the whole Houſe would do; there would moreover be a conſiderable difficulty in appointing ſuch a Committee as would give ſatisfaction to all ſides of the Houſe: here he lamented that it was not, from the orders of the Houſe, allowable for him

to

to ſpeak out the whole of his idea on the ſubject; but gentlemen might very well underſtand him, that there were ſeveral different deſcriptions of men in the Houſe, and that ſome perſons would wiſh to have one deſcription, and ſome another deſcription, to compoſe the Committee; for his own part, if his office was to be put into commiſſion, he confeſſed he ſhould be extremely willing to be himſelf one of the commiſſioners, and would of courſe wiſh to have his own moſt particular friends for colleagues. On the other hand, he imagined the right honourable gentleman would alſo chooſe to be one of the Committee, and perhaps would have no objection to being allowed to appoint the reſt; in that caſe there would be no great difficulty to form ſome judgement of the ſort of report that would proceed from them; for not to mention the extreme facility with which the right honourable gentleman and his friends had formerly doomed the greateſt commercial company in the world to bankruptcy—[Here a loud cry of *Hear! hear!* on which Mr. Pitt ſaid, he was glad to find the gentlemen ſo ſore upon the ſubject; he conſidered it as a ſign of their repentance.] The very little delicacy which the right honourable gentleman had ſhewed to the public credit, in coming forward with his preſent attack at ſo critical a time, within a few days of that on which he intended to bring on a queſtion relative to the finances, for the purpoſe of providing for the funding of ſuch part of the national debt incurred in the courſe of the laſt war as yet remained to be funded, and for paying the intereſt of the ſmall loan that might be found neceſſary, plainly indicated which way their wiſhes went, and what their real purpoſe was. Upon the whole, he ſaid, the meaſure propoſed could have no good effect whatſoever, but muſt be productive of many bad ones; it muſt occaſion a delay in the very buſineſs to which it related, the eſtabliſhment of the ſinking fund; it muſt tend to create apprehenſions for which there was no real foundation, extremely prejudicial to the credit of the nation, and give a temporary check to that rapid progreſs which had of late taken place in the funds; and which, if not thwarted by idle and uſeleſs ſpeculations of this nature, would ſhortly riſe to ſuch a height as the proſperous ſtate of the public revenue muſt, when more univerſally known, and proved by the experience of a few months, tend effectually to ſecure.

Mr. *Fox* roſe to reply. He began with obſerving, that the right honourable gentleman had thought proper to beſtow the Mr. Fox.

name of a *proſelyte* upon him. He deſired to know at what period of his political life it was that he had ever held any other than one and the ſame language, reſpecting the neceſſity of keeping up the ſinking fund, ſo as to be able to apply a certain ſum unalienably towards the diſcharge of the national debt, in time of peace. At all times, and on all occaſions, when queſtions of finance were agitated, had he not contended, that unleſs this were done, the nation would be inevitably ruined? How happened it then, that the right honourable gentleman had diſcovered that it was a new doctrine in his mouth? With regard to his having declared, that the ſurplus of the ſinking fund ought never to be applied towards the annual eſtabliſhments, or in diſcharge of the public annuity, he had ſaid directly the reverſe; having declared, that it was, in his opinion, right ſo to apply it, when a neceſſity aroſe, as Sir Robert Walpole and all his ſucceſſors had occaſionally applied it; but he had at the ſame time ſaid, that it ought not to be ſuffered to remain as a fund appropriated to thoſe purpoſes generally; on the contrary, its great object, viz. the applying it in diminution of the public debt, ought ever to be held in view. Mr. Fox reprobated Mr. Pitt's argument as in the higheſt degree fallacious and illuſory. The right honourable gentleman, he ſaid, uniformly avoided and flew from any computation grounded on the average of a number of years, and upon experience, to reſort to what?—a computation built upon the amount of the produce of the two laſt quarters, an amount exceeding any that had gone before for obvious reaſons, joined to the amount of two ſummer quarters, which accidentally had been the greateſt of any two ſummer quarters to be inſtanced. This was, he ſaid, of all weak modes of reaſoning, the weakeſt. It was not merely to truſt to viſionary ſpeculation, but to that ſort of ſpeculation moſt liable to failure. With regard even to the confidence the right honourable gentleman had placed in his conjectures, in conſequence of his boaſted quarter ending April 5, 1785, he might find his conjectures deceive him; ſince the only quarter's produce that had, Mr. Fox ſaid, greatly exceeded others, was a quarter in the year 1779, the remaining quarters of which failed beyond all example. Mr. Fox defended Lord John Cavendiſh's budget from imputation, and ſaid he ſhould not have imagined the preſent Adminiſtration would have imputed blame to it, ſince they could not have forgotten, that Lord John had been obliged to open his budget within three weeks after he had kiſſed his Majeſty's hand as Chancellor

dangerous, circumſtances might ariſe, from cauſes widely different and of different tendency. He alluded to the adventurous candidates, who oppoſed the ariſtocracy of a county, and who, to ſecure an election, might feed the prejudices of the commonalty, might ſign teſts, and pledging themſelves to every ſelf-injurious prepoſſeſſion, might find their way into that Houſe under engagements, and with abilities too, backed by the popular clamour to urge new claims, new reforms, freſh innovations. The right honourable gentleman had adduced, as favourable to his reform, that its principle was completed in his plan, and was thus final; the right honourable gentleman might anſwer for himſelf, but who would ſay, that a new man ſhould not propoſe a new mode; and having cut down the preſcriptive barrier of the conſtitution of that Houſe, would he not leave a breach open for every forlorn hope, *qui crumenam perdidit*, to enter and rifle at pleaſure? And the more was this to be feared, as prejudices of the people might join too under the precedent to aid thoſe who, by ſuch ruinous means, would ſeek to puſh him from his ſtool; for it could not be ſaid that the preſent plan came up to the preſent declarations of the reformers. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had ſaid, that leaving the Conſtitution in its preſent ſtate, was tending to weaken the love of the people to their country; a more proper application might be made of thoſe words; to *innovate*, is tending to weaken the love of the People to their country; it was tending to weaken that confidence in that Houſe, in a word, that attachment to the old Britiſh Conſtitution, which aroſe from a preſcriptive veneration, and which could not belong to a new ſyſtem; much of patriotiſm, and its moſt eſſential force, was founded on habitual regard, and local and long prepoſſeſſions; theſe were what gave a force of character, even to thoſe who lived in, and were prejudiced to countries, whether under the phyſical diſadvantages, as the Laplander, or under political, as France, when compared with our clime and Conſtitution. He cloſed with obſerving on an expreſſion of Mr. Powys, tending to give the idea, that the buſineſs was brought forward by Government, and as a miniſterial meaſure. He could not look upon it in that light; he had ſupported, and ſhould continue to ſupport that Adminiſtration, from a juſt ſenſe of the abilities, and a full confidence in the integrity of the Miniſter; an integrity which, even in the ſpeech which he reprobated, gave a more beauteous glow and colour to the very luminous diſplay with which the right honourable gentleman had ornamented

mented his ſubject; but that, if on ſuch a queſtion, ſo touching the deareſt and moſt important intereſt of every Engliſhman, he could ſurrender his conviction even to the tendered influence of the right honourable gentleman's deareſt partiality, or moſt honourable friendſhip, he ſhould eſteem himſelf not only unworthy to ſit in that Houſe, but even in the company of any honourable and good man whatever.

Mr. *Bankes* paid very high compliments to his right honourable friend, but he ſaid he could not accede to the motion. Had it been a motion for a Committee, he would have voted for it, as he had regularly voted for the other queſtions. Mr. Bankes by no means approved of purchaſing the boroughs with the public money. Mr. Bankes.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* cloſed the debate in a few words, in reply to what had fallen from Mr. Bankes, as Mr. Bankes's objection had been ſingly ſtarted by himſelf. Mr. Pitt profeſſed a very ſincere friendſhip for the honourable gentleman, and ſaid, it gave him ſenſible pain to find he differed with him upon ground which he thought ſo extraordinary. Mr. Chancellor Pitt.

At about a quarter before four in the morning, the Houſe divided on the queſtion,

Ayes,	-	-	174
Noes,	-	-	248

Majority againſt the queſtion 74

A correct Liſt of thoſe Members who voted with the Right Honourable William Pitt, on the above Motion for a Parliamentary Reform.

William Charles Sloper, Eſq. St. Alban's, Herefordſhire
Richard Pepper Arden, Eſq. Aldborough, Yorkſhire
Nicholas Bayley, Eſq. Angleſea
Richard Penn, Eſq. Appleby, Weſtmoreland
Richard Beckford, Eſq. Arundel, Suſſex
William Wrightſon, Eſq. Ayleſbury, Bucks
Hon. John Jefferies Pratt, Bath, city of
Samuel Whitbread, Eſq. Bedford, town of
William Colhoun, Eſq. ditto
The Right Hon. Lord Delaval, Berwick, Northumberland
Sir Chriſtopher Sykes, Bart. Beverley, Yorkſhire
John Nicholls, Eſq. Blechingly, Surrey
Charles Morgan, Eſq. Brecon, county of
Iſaac Hawkins Browne, Eſq. Bridgenorth, Shropſhire
Alexander Hood, Eſq. Bridgewater, Somerſetſhire

Charles Sturt, Eſq. Bridport, Dorſetſhire
Henry Cruger, Eſq. Briſtol, city of
John Aubrey, Eſq. Buckinghamſhire
John Call, Eſq. Callington, Cornwall
Paul Orchard, Eſq. ditto
Right Hon. Iſaac Barré, Calne, Wiltſhire
Sir Henry Peyton, Bart. Cambridgeſhire
Right Hon. Earl of Euſton, Cambridge Univerſity
Right Hon. William Pitt, ditto
James Warwood Adeane, Eſq. Cambridge, town of
George Gipps, Eſq. Canterbury, city of
Charles Robinſon, Eſq. ditto
Right Hon. Earl of Surrey, Carliſle, city of
John Parry, Eſq. Caernarvonſhire
Thomas Steel, Eſq. Chicheſter, city of
George White Thomas, Eſq. ditto
Right Hon. Lord Apſley, Cirenceſter, Glouceſterſhire
John Lee, Eſq. Clitheroe, Lancaſhire
John Lowther, Eſq. Cockermouth, Cumberland
Sir William Lemon, Cornwall, county of
J. W. Heneage, Eſq. Cricklade, Wilts
Robert Nicholas, Eſq. ditto
William Lowther, Eſq. Cumberland
Edward Miller Mundy, Eſq. Derbyſhire
Francis John Browne, Eſq. Dorſetſhire
Robert Preſton, Eſq. Dover, Kent
Hon. James Luttrell, ditto
Sir Charles Davers, Bart. St. Edmondſbury, Suffolk
John Bullock, Eſq. Eſſex, county of
Sir John Ruſhout, Bart. Eveſham, Worceſterſhire
Charles William Boughton Rous, Eſq.
Peter Bathurſt, Eſq. Eye, Suffolk
John Grant, Eſq. Fowey, Cornwall
Right Hon. Lord Newhaven, Gatton, Surrey
John James Hamilton, Eſq. St. Germains, Cornwall
John Baynes Garforth, Eſq. Haſlemere, Surrey
Thomas Poſtlethwaite, Eſq. ditto
John Dawes, Eſq. Haſtings, Suſſex
Right Hon. Lord Milford, Haverford Weſt, Pembrokeſhire
John Scudamore, Eſq. Hereford, city of
William Plumer, Eſq. Hertfordſhire
Edward Bearcroft, Eſq. Hindon, Wilts
Right Hon. Sir George Yonge, Bart. Honiton, Devonſhire
Sir George Colebr, Knt. ditto

Right

Right Lon. Earl Ludlow, Huntingdonſhire
Benjamin Bond Hopkins, Eſq. Ilcheſter, Somerſetſhire
William Middleton, Eſq. Ipſwich, Suffolk
Charles Alexander Crickett, Eſq. ditto
Hon. Charles Marſham, Kent
Filmer Honeywood, Eſq. ditto
Samuel Thornton, Eſq. Kingſton-upon-Hull, Yorkſhire
Walter Spencer Stanhope, Eſq. ditto
James Hare, Eſq. Knareſborough, Yorkſhire
Abraham Rawlinſon, Eſq. Lancaſter, town of
Right Hon. Lord Arden, Launceſton, Cornwall
John Peach Hungerford, Eſq. Leiceſterſhire
John Macnamara, Eſq. Leiceſter, town of
Charles Loraine Smith, Eſq. ditto
John Hunter, Eſq. Leominſter, Herefordſhire
Hon. John Elliot, Leſkeard, Cornwall
John Thomas Ellis, Eſq. Leſtwithiel, Cornwall
Thomas Kemp, Eſq. Lewes, Suſſex
Brook Watſon, Eſq. London
Sir Watkin Lewes, Knt. ditto
Nathaniel Newnham, Eſq. ditto
John Sawbridge, Eſq. ditto
Richard Payne Knight, Eſq. Ludlow, Shropſhire
Clement Taylor, Eſq. Maidſtone, Kent
Gerard Noel Edwards, Eſq. ditto
Right Hon. Lord Waltham, Malden, Eſſex
Right Hon. Lord Viſc. Maitland, Malmſbury, Wilts
Sir Thomas Rich, Bart. Marlow, Bucks
Chriſtopher Hawkins, Eſq. St. Michael, Cornwall
Evan Lloyd Vaughan, Eſq. Merionethſhire
John Wilkes, Eſq. Middleſex
William Mainwaring, Eſq. ditto
Right Hon. Lord Muncaſter, Milbourne-Port, Somerſetſhire
John Morgan, Eſq. Monmouthſhire
John Sutton, Eſq. Newark, Nottinghamſhire
Archibald Macdonald, Eſq. Newcaſtle under Lime, Staffordſhire
Charles Brandling, Eſq. Newcaſtle upon Tyne, Northumberland
John Barrington, Eſq. Newton, Hants
Sir Edward Aſtley, Bart. Norfolk
Henry Pierſe, Eſq. Northallerton, Yorkſhire
Sir James Langham, Bart. Northamptonſhire

Right

Right Hon. Lord Compton, Northampton, town of
Charles Meadows, Eſq. Nottinghamſhire
John Luxmore, Eſq. Oakhampton, Devonſhire
Right Hon. Lord Robert Spencer, Oxford, city of
Sir William Dolben, Bart. Oxford, Univerſity of
John Macbride, Eſq. Plymouth, Devonſhire
John Smyth, Eſq. Pontefract, Yorkſhire
Right Hon. John Burgoyne, Preſton, Lancaſhire
George Bowyer, Eſq. Queenſborough, Kent
John Aldridge, Eſq. ditto
Right Hon. Earl of Inchiquin, Richmond, Yorkſhire
Charles Dundas, Eſq. ditto
Sir Charles Middleton, Bart. Rocheſter, Kent
Nathaniel Smith, Eſq. ditto
George Bridges Brudenell, Eſq. Rutlandſhire
William Billingham, Eſq. Ryegate, Surrey
Sir Richard Hill, Bart. Salop, or Shropſhire
Hon. John Villiers, Old Sarum, Wilts
George Hardinge, Eſq. ditto
Right Hon. Earl Tyrconnel, Scarborough, Yorkſhire
Sir John Henderſon, Bart. Seaford, Suſſex
Hans Winrop Mortimer, Eſq. Shafteſbury, Dorſetſhire
Sir Cecil Biſhop, Bart. Shoreham, Suſſex
John Hill, Eſq. Shrewſbury
Edward Phelips, jun. Eſq. Somerſetſhire
James Amyatt, Eſq. Southampton, town of
Henry Thornton, Eſq. Sauthwark, borough of
Paul Le Meſurier, Eſq. ditto
Richard Brinſley Sheridan, Eſq. Stafford, town of
Henry Cecil, Eſq. Stamford, Lincolnſhire
Sir John Honeywood, Bart. Steyning, Suſſex
James Gordon, Eſq. Stockbridge, Hampſhire
William Smith, Eſq. Sudbury, Suffolk
John Langſton, Eſq. ditto.
Joſhua Grigby, Eſq. Suffolk
Sir Joſeph Mawbey, Bart. Surrey
Hon. William Norton, ditto
Right Hon. Lord Henry Lenox, Suſſex
Right Hon. Richard Fitzpatrick, Taviſtock, Devonſhire
Alexander Popham, Eſq. Taunton, Somerſetſhire
James Martin, Eſq. Tewkeſbury, Glouceſterſhire
Sir Philip Jennyngs Clerke, Bart. Totneſs, Devonſhire
Right Hon. Sir Lloyd Kennyon, Bart. Tregony, Cornwall
Robert Kingſmill, Eſq. ditto

Thomas

Thomas Aubrey, Eſq. Wallingford, Berkſhire
Right Hon. Lord Hood, Weſtminſter, city of
Right Hon. Charles James Fox, ditto
Sir Michael Le Fleming, Bart. Weſtmoreland
Right Hon. Lord Viſcount Mahon, Chipping-Wycombe, Buckinghamſhire
Sir John Jervis, K. B. Yarmouth, Norfolk
Henry Beaufoy, Eſq. ditto
Henry Duncombe, Eſq. Yorkſhire
William Wilberforce, Eſq. ditto
Right Hon. Vife. Gallway, York, city of
Richard Slater Milnes, Eſq. ditto
Alexander Gordon, Eſq. Aberdeenſhire
Hugh Montgomerie, Eſq. Airſhire
Patrick Home, Eſq. Berwickſhire
James Campbell, Eſq. Culroſs, Dumfarline, Innerſkeithing, Queenſberry and Stirling
Ilay Campbell, Eſq. Dumbarton, Ruthlergen, Glaſgow, and Renfrew
Sir Robert Laurie, Bart. Dumfriesſhire
Sir James Johnſton, Bart. Dumfries, Sanquhar, Kircudbright, Lochmaben, and Annan
Right Hon. Henry Dundas, Edinburghſhire
Sir Adam Ferguſon, Bart. Edinburgh, city of
Hugh Dalrymple, jun. Eſq. Haddingtonſhire
Sir Charles Preſton, Bart. Kinghorn, Kirkaldy, Bruntiſland, and Dyſart
Sir James Steuart Denham, Bart. Lanerkſhire
Thomas Dundas, Eſq. Orkney and Zetlandſhire
Hon. James Murray, Perthſhire
William Mac Dowall, Eſq. Renfrewſhire
John Moore, Eſq. Selkirk, Lanerk, Peebles, and Linlithgow
Sir Thomas Dundas, Bart. Stirlingſhire
William Dalrymple, Eſq. Stranrawer, Wigtown, Whitehorn, and New Galloway
William Wemys, Eſq. Sutherlandſhire.

TELLERS.

Robert Smith, Eſq. Nottingham
Hon. E. J. Eliot, Leſkeard

PAIRED

PAIRED OFF.

Daniel Pulteney, Eſq. Bramber
Robert Waller, Eſq. Chipping-Wycombe
J. Pollexfen Baſtard, Eſq. Devonſhire
Arthur Holdſworth, Eſq. Dartmouth
John Sinclair, Eſq. Leſtwithiel
John Fenton Cawthorne, Eſq. Lincoln
Sir Harboard Harboard, Norwich
John Stephenſon, Eſq. Plympton
Hon. Edward Norton, Carliſle
Abel Smith, Eſq. St. Germain's
Sir John Rous, Suffolk
Samuel Smith, Eſq. Worceſter
Gabriel Steward, Eſq. Weymouth
William Lygon, Eſq. Worceſterſhire.

Wedneſday, April 20.

Mr. Eden. Mr. *Eden* roſe and ſaid, that as the laſt packet from the Eaſt Indies had brought advices of which he had heard and ſeen enough to know, that they contained ſome moſt intereſting accounts, tending in the moſt pointed manner, either to falſify, or to verify, what had been ſtated by the Directors laſt year, in their eſtimate of effectual relief, on which he had brought a ſpecial Report before the Houſe, he ſhould think it right, when ſufficiently informed, or at ſome future period, to bring thoſe accounts before Parliament, for a fair judgement, and for due conſideration: in the mean time, he muſt ſubmit it to the Directors, to be incumbent on them, both in their official duties, and individual characters, to ſtep forwards ſoon, and to ſtate how far the late accounts had either confirmed or refuted their former eſtimates.

Mr. Dundas. Mr. *Dundas* roſe, juſt to ſignify his deſire that it might not be underſtood, that every particular paper relative to the Eaſt-India Company, that gentlemen choſe to call for, was to be laid before the Houſe, as a matter of courſe. Mr. Dundas ſaid, the affairs of the Company were under arrangement before the Board of Control; and, therefore, it became the leſs eſſential for the Houſe to have papers from time to time, as faſt as it was known that ſuch and ſuch a paper was in exiſtence.

Mr. Burke. Mr. *Burke* reprobated the doctrine delivered by Mr. Dundas, as every way unjuſtifiable. He reminded the gentleman that the Eaſt-India Company had applied to the Houſe for a reframing

reframing bill in the courſe of the laſt ſeſſion, and that they had preſented accounts and papers, declared to be the true ſtate of their affairs, as the grounds on which they prayed relief. The Houſe had proceeded upon thoſe documents, and had paſſed a bill, authoriſing the Company to withhold the payment of bills to a conſiderable amount, for a limited period. The Houſe, therefore, had made themſelves parties, and had become reſponſible for the payment of thoſe bills, when the period that the Company were liable to the payment of the bills ſhould arrive, in caſe the Company ſhould then be in a ſtate of inſolvency. In like manner the Houſe had grounded the bill for the better regulation of the Company's affairs, paſſed laſt ſeſſion, upon the credit they gave to the account of the ſtate of the Company's affairs at that time preſented, in contradiction to a different ſtatement of their affairs made known to the Houſe, upon which a different bill had in a former ſeſſion been brought in and paſſed, but had been thrown out by the Lords. He had reaſon to believe that the ſtatement of their affairs, on which the firſt of the two bills was grounded, was the true ſtatement, and that when the matter could really be developed, it would be found that the affairs of the Company were going down, and unleſs ſome ſudden turn happened, they would ſoon fall to pieces altogether. Mr. Burke added a few more arguments of a ſimilar nature.

Mr. *Baring* ſaid, he preſumed the paper in queſtion had been brought over by the Surprize packet; if ſo, he believed the paper was not in the hands of the Directors. With regard to the ſtatement of the Company's affairs delivered to that Houſe, every ſuch ſtatement was neceſſarily compoſed of two parts, the account of their affairs at home, and an account of their affairs abroad. One part of which was neceſſarily founded in ſome degree on conjecture, the other on authority of greater certainty. If the Directors made any miſtake in that part of the ſtatement which was founded partly on conjecture, they certainly would not be thought to deſerve much blame, though if they wilfully miſrepreſented any particular in the other diviſion, that where they might have been correct if they choſe it, they undoubtedly deſerved cenſure. Now, the fact was, the Directors had fallen into an error, in the account of the caſh they expected by a certain ſtated period; they had computed it at ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, whereas from the partiality of the public for Eaſt-India goods, and the increaſe of the Company's Mr Baring.

cuſtom, their caſh amounted to fourteen hundred thouſand pounds. In the computed produce of their home ſales alſo the Directors had fallen into a like error; for it had amounted to an exceſs of two millions over the ſum which they had ſtated. Mr. Baring added, that the Company's affairs in general were in a moſt proſperous ſtate, and there was not the ſmalleſt doubt but they would maintain their credit in every particular.

Mr. Eden. Mr. *Eden* ſaid, the Directors certainly had the paper, for, to his knowledge, it was in private hands, which could not be the caſe, if it had not come into the Directors' hands firſt.

The order of the day being, upon motion, read, for the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into a Committee on the petitions againſt the tax of laſt year on cottons, cotton ſtuffs, &c. the Speaker left the chair, and Mr. Gilbert took his ſeat at the table.

Mr Chancellor Pitt. Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* ſaid, that it would be neceſſary for him to make a few obſervations on the ſubject before the Committee, in order to explain his motives for the deciſion which he would recommend to them to adopt. He wiſhed firſt to call their attention to ſome circumſtances, that had attended the original introduction of this tax. The cotton manufacture had been found to have been for a conſiderable time in an increaſing ſtate, and this, under the remarkable circumſtance of the firſt coſt on the raw material having conſiderably riſen in its price: from hence it naturally appeared to be a proper object of taxation, without any danger of a material injury to the trade, either with regard to home conſumption or exportation. The firſt conſideration of courſe was how to impoſe this tax; at one time it was ſuggeſted to lay it on the raw material; at another time, on the machinery of the manufacture; and a variety of other modes had preſented themſelves. In the courſe of the ſearches which the Board of Treaſury made, for information on this ſubject, they received from the different claſſes of the manufacturers, different objections to each mode propoſed; and at length, the perſons concerned in the trade, deputed ſome of their own members to negociate their intereſts with Adminiſtration: after ſeveral conferences with theſe delegates, during which various of their objections were conceded to, the preſent mode was, with their acquieſcence, adopted; and in the choice of this mode, the Board of Treaſury certainly could

cellor of the Exchequer, and that he ſucceeded the right honourable gentleman in that office, who had remained in it ſix weeks perfectly inactive, and without doing one thing for the Public in point of finance. Had Lord John continued another year Chancellor of the Exchequer, undoubtedly he would have been prepared with new taxes, to have ſupplied the deficiencies of his own taxes, and with ſome plan for eſtabliſhing a fund to be applied immediately in diminution of the national debt, but what had been the right honourable gentleman's conduct? Who, that had laſt year ſeen him aſſume an air of the utmoſt perſonal importance and gravity, and heard him ardently talk of his determination to encounter loſs of popularity, public clamour, and public odium, rather than not effect ſo neceſſary a purpoſe as applying a fund towards the immediate diminution of the national debt, would have imagined that he would this year have come forward with a ſeries of computations, founded in demonſtrable fallacy and error, in order to ground a pretence for putting off the great work till another ſeſſion? What pledge had the Houſe that he would begin upon it even next ſeſſion? Indeed his words were ſufficiently big with promiſes, but would a Miniſter's promiſe inſure a Miniſter's performance? Laſt year he gave a verbal pledge, and bound himſelf by words as faſt as words could bind him. Maſter as he was of words, Mr. Fox ſaid, he defied the right honourable gentleman to invent expreſſions more binding or more ſtrong than thoſe he had uſed laſt ſeſſion, and yet the Houſe had witneſſed what ſecurity his verbal pledge had proved! Thus might he go on promiſing and promiſing *ad infinitum*, and a work that ought to have been begun before, that would not admit of longer delay, be deferred till we found ourſelves again involved in a war; and he was not yet, Mr. Fox ſaid, brought over to the opinion that war was the fitteſt ſeaſon for the diſcharge of the national debt.

Mr Fox took notice of Mr. Pitt's ſneer at his having argued in ſupport of the impoſition of new taxes on an occaſion, where no taxes were neceſſary to be impoſed In anſwer to this, Mr. Fox ſaid, he conceived the queſtion of the day would decide whether new taxes were neceſſary or not; and therefore it was, of all others, the fitteſt moment for preſſing the argument. Were there no doubt in the caſe, and were it the decided opinion of that Houſe that taxes ought to be laid, any argument of his in ſupport of ſuch an idea, would undoubtedly be ſuperfluous, it could only be of uſe where the queſtion was in conteſt. Mr. Fox, in anſwer to Mr. Pitt's alluſion to the India Bill, ſaid, the very conduct that the

right honourable gentleman had at that time imputed to him, he was now practiſing himſelf,—holding out fallacious accounts and falſe ſtates of the revenue, to miſlead and delude the Public. With regard to India, did any man now believe, that the accounts preſented to that Houſe by the Directors of the Eaſt-India Company laſt year, and upon which they had proceeded to paſs a bill into a law, were not fallacious? After what he had lately ſeen from Bengal, after what the learned gentleman next him knew of the affairs of the Company in India, did the right honourable gentleman think the accounts of the laſt year were to be relied on? He was perſuaded he did not With regard to the putting the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer in commiſſion, he had no ſuch intention, nor if he had, would he have thought of putting the Chancellor of the Exchequer at the head of that commiſſion, any more than he ſhould have thought of putting the office of Maſter General of the Ordnance in commiſſion, and have placed him at the head of a Board of Commiſſioners appointed to control the executive branch of his own department. The ſort of Committee he wiſhed to have inſtituted, might, he ſaid, prove eſſentially ſerviceable, by inveſtigating facts, and reporting them to the Houſe, whence they would have the way cleared, and be enabled to proceed with certainty. To a Committee of the Houſe, be it compoſed of whom it would, Mr Fox ſaid, he was ready to truſt that or any other buſineſs, becauſe he was convinced by the conduct of a Committee laſt year, that however gentlemen, who were choſen in a Committee, might generally differ in their political ſentiments, they would always form ſuch a report as would do them honour, and would prove of eſſential benefit to the public, by affording the Houſe a ſpecies of uſeful and authentic information they could not otherwiſe obtain.

Mr. Fox concluded with declaring that he had no objection to leaving out of his motion the words, "with obſervations thereon." He accordingly moved the omiſſion of thoſe words by way of amendment

The queſtion being put, the amendment was carried, and the motion then ended with the word *Houſe*.

Mr. Burke. Mr. *Burke* roſe, he ſaid, to ſay a few words only. He had liſtened with great attention to the arguments of two gentlemen, whoſe talents he held in high eſtimation. The abilities of his right honourable friend he always admired, and the abilities of the right honourable gentleman, he could not but ſay, he thought worthy of a better conduct. Mr. Burke charged Mr. Pitt with having treated the Houſe with moſt unparallelled

lelled inſolence in having dared to make ſo perſonal a declaration, that if a Committee were choſen, if ſuch a ſet of gentlemen were elected, they would conduct themſelves ſo and ſo; and if another ſet of gentlemen, ſo and ſo; that ſort of parcelling out gentlemen, and prejudging what their opinions and conduct would be, was, he ſaid, ſo unparallelled a piece of inſolence in a Miniſter, that the time was, if the right honourable gentleman had been the greateſt Miniſter the country had ever known, he would not have ſat an hour on the Treaſury Bench after ſuch an inſult to the Houſe. He ſaid, he was the perſon who had called out *Hear! hear!* when the right honourable gentleman had alluded to the India Bill, and had talked of thoſe who had doomed the Company to bankruptcy. He admitted that ſuch interruptions were not decent; but cuſtom had ſanctioned them as modes of expreſſing approbration or reprehenſion, indignation or ſurpriſe. He had not cried *Hear! hear!* becauſe he was ſore, at the mention of the bankruptcy of the India Company, but becauſe he was ſorry, and becauſe he was ſurpriſed the right honourable gentleman ſhould have forgot that the learned gentleman his confidential friend, who ſat next him, was the very perſon who had firſt ſtated the affairs of the Company in India to be ruinous, and had done it with an unuſual degree of authority, in his character of Chairman of a Committee, with which, Mr. Burke ſaid, he had not had the ſmalleſt connection With regard to the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the ſtate of the produce of the taxes, Mr. Burke reminded the Houſe, that there was a precedent for ſuch a Committee, nay, that the right honourable gentleman had himſelf been a member of it, and that ſome of his colleagues upon it had been rewarded with peerages for their pains.

Mr. *Sheridan* roſe next, and deſired that the entry from the Journals of the motion, and order for the inſtitution of a Committee to inquire into the ſtate of the taxes, during the late war, that had been moved in 1782, might be read. It was read accordingly, and it appeared, that Lord John Cavendiſh, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, had moved it, and preſided at it; Mr. William Pitt, the preſent Chancellor of the Exchequer, William Morton Pitt, Eſq. and ſeveral other members, being upon it. Mr. Sheridan.

Mr Sheridan ſaid, when the right honourable gentleman alluded to the idea of putting the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer into commiſſion, he preſumed he had forgot, that he had himſelf ſat upon the commiſſion into which the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer was put, when Lord John Cavendiſh

Cavendiſh was Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Sheridan then went into a defence of Lord John Cavendiſh's budget.

Mr. Steele. Mr. *Steele* roſe to call the attention of the Houſe to the real nature of the queſtion, which, he ſaid, was, whether they would rely on authentic papers, prepared with all poſſible accuracy by the Treaſury, as vouchers that no taxes were neceſſary to be impoſed this year to raiſe a ſum by way of ſinking fund, to be applied in diminution of the national debt; or whether they ſhould appoint a Committee to go into a tedious inveſtigation of thoſe papers, which would defer the neceſſary meaſures of finance, ſuch as moving for a ſmall loan, and propoſing a few trifling taxes to pay the intereſt, providing a fund, and alſo one per cent. additional for that part of the debt which yet remained to be funded, and for which an intereſt of four per cent. was provided laſt year, and ſubſtituting a new tax in the room of that to be repealed on fuſtians, for ſix or ſeven weeks at leaſt, whereas theſe were well known to be meaſures that his right honourable friend would be ready in a very few days to bring forward. Mr. Steele defended Mr Pitt from the attack of Mr. Sherridan and Mr. Fox: he ſaid, on the firſt day the ſubject was referred to by his right honourable friend, his right honourable friend had ſtated various modes of computation for gentlemen to turn in their minds, but had not mentioned any one upon which he himſelf reſted. The queſtion was put, and carried in the negative, without a diviſion.

Mr. Fox. Mr. *Fox* then ſaid, that he had not taken the ſenſe of the Houſe upon it, as he found it would be more agreeable to many gentlemen to ſeek the ſame end in another mode, namely, by bringing before the Houſe the ſeveral papers which the Committee had been propoſed to prepare and ſtate, they would then be open to the conſideration of the Houſe. He accordingly moved,

"That an account of the produce of the ſeveral taxes, "granted ſince the 5th day of January, 1776, for the year "ending the 5th day of April, 1785." And alſo,

"The amount of the public debts, as they ſtood at the "receipt of His Majeſty's Exchequer on the 5th day of "April, 1785, with the annual intereſt and other charges "payable thereon." And farther,

"That the amount of the Exchequer bills, Navy bills, "Ordnance bills, and other unfunded debts, be laid before "this Houſe"

The accounts were ordered.

Monday,

Monday, May 2.

Proceeded to hear evidence on the Iriſh Reſolutions, and Mr. Wedgwood having given his teſtimony,

Mr Chancellor *Pitt* deſired to know, whether any more witneſſes were attending in ſupport of petitions againſt the Iriſh Reſolutions, and being told there were not, he ſaid the evidence ſeemed drawing to a concluſion; he ſhould therefore hope the Houſe would ſoon be able to come to a deciſive vote on the buſineſs. Mr Chancellor Pitt.

Mr. *Fox* ſaid, it did not appear to him that any time of the Houſe would be loſt in waiting to ſee whether more petitions and evidence were not meant to be adduced, as it would be impoſſible to come to a deciſion at all events before the holidays, perhaps not before the Houſe broke up. Mr. Fox.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt*, in anſwer, ſaid, he ſhould be happy to hear as many petitions or witneſſes as choſe to come to the bar, but if no more came before Wedneſday, he ſhould think the ſenſe of the Houſe might be taken before the holidays, as the evidence he had to adduce would not be long, and in order to have a full attendance, he ſhould give a week's notice of the ſpecific day, and move for a call of the Houſe. Mr Chancellor Pitt.

Tueſday, May 3.

Mr. Alderman Sawbridge moved for leave to bring in a bill for the relief of inſolvent debtors.

The Earl of Surrey ſeconded the motion, and leave was given

Mr. Alderman *Sawbridge* next roſe to diſcharge, what he held to be an act of public duty, though he acknowledged he did not flatter himſelf with any great or ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs. Indeed it was, he ſaid, impoſſible for him to entertain any very ſanguine expectations that he ſhould be able to carry a motion for ſhortening the duration of Parliament, after the arguments that he had heard ſtated with ſo much ability, a few days ſince, when the queſtion for a reform of the repreſentation of the people in that Houſe was under conſideration. According to the doctrines then laid down, and which had been ſanctioned for the third or fourth time with the triumph of a conſiderable majority, it had been unanſwerably demonſtrated, as far as the ſort of triumph he alluded to could demonſtrate any propoſition unanſwerably, that the preſent conſtitution of the Houſe of Commons was the right and pure conſtitution, and ſuch as ought to continue untouched by the rude Mr. Ald. Sawbridge.

rude hand of reformation. If, therefore, it was right, that a number of the repreſentatives of the people ſhould continue to be appointed by the Crown, that others ſhould be ſeated there at the will of certain great and noble families, and the reſt be obliged to buy their ſeats, and find their way into the Houſe by bribery and corruption; if it was right, that the Houſe ſhould exiſt principally at the will of the Crown, it certainly would be troubleſome and idle for gentlemen to be frequently ſent back to a freſh election; and it would be much better for them to continue ſitting uninterruptedly, as long as they ſhould, by their conduct, pleaſe the Crown and its Miniſters, becauſe if at any time, by aſſerting the rights of the people, and by maintaining the ſpirit of the conſtitution, they ſhould chance to diſpleaſe the Crown and the favourites of the Crown, it would be a very eaſy matter, by an exertion of the prerogative, to turn them about their buſineſs, as was the caſe laſt year, and call another Parliament more ſubſervient and more pliable Undoubtedly to thoſe, who held ſuch opinions as thoſe he had cited, his motion muſt be diſagreeable; but as there were perſons who entertained very different opinions, and as he, for one, was of opinion that the Houſe of Commons ought to ſpeak the ſenſe of the People, and that, in order to do ſo, they could not be too often ſent back to a new election, he ſhould make his motion for ſhortening the duration of Parliaments, although he made no ſcruple to ſay he entertained no very ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs, and, therefore, he would take up no more of the time of the Houſe. He moved the proper motion in form.

The motion being ſeconded,

Mr Martin Mr. *Martin* ſaid, he was aware of the danger any man encountered, of having what he advanced turned into ridicule, when he roſe to ſay any thing in that Houſe which had the real good of the people for its foundation He was conſcious of his own inability, and never roſe to ſpeak in the Houſe without great awe and embarraſſment, he would nevertheleſs do his duty, not conſidering inability to make fine ſpeeches in that Houſe was an abſolute proof that any man was either a fool or a knave, but in regard to the converſe of the propoſition, he had heard very fine ſpeeches from ſome gentlemen of whoſe honeſty he did not entertain the higheſt opinion. He ſhould, therefore, on the preſent occaſion declare, that he ſteadily adhered to the opinion he had always avowed, and was for ſhortening the duration of Parliaments, as well as for a reform in the repreſentation. He ſaid, he had ſeen wit, ability, buffoonery and diſputation employed, when the latter queſtion

queſtion was under diſcuſſion, to bear down juſtice, reaſon, and common ſenſe; he flattered himſelf, however, the arguments to which he alluded were treated by the people without doors with the contempt and indignation they merited. Much ſtreſs, he obſerved, had been laid on the circumſtance of there not being many petitions on the table, there was, however, one petition which applied as well to the preſent queſtion as to that of parliamentary reform, that petition, the noble Lord in the blue ribband had read with a tone and emphaſis, that he owned deceived him into an opinion for the moment, that the noble Lord, who had proved himſelf to be the ready leader of oppoſition on all occaſions, where any thing like a reform was propoſed, had ſuddenly become a convert, and meant to ſupport the motion of that day; unfortunately, that had not proved to be the caſe; and that, perhaps, becauſe at the head of the ſubſcribers to the petition in queſtion (he meant, he ſaid, the Nottingham petition) was the name of a gentleman, whom the noble Lord poſſibly hated, becauſe he was a man of great political integrity, and a very ſincere friend to the purity of the conſtitution. He deſired to have the Nottingham petition read, as it was ſhort, and applied to the preſent queſtion.

It was read accordingly.

Mr. Martin then proceeded with his argument, and he concluded with reading, as a part of his ſpeech, an extract from a writer of eminence on the conſtitution.

The Earl of *Surrey* ſaid, he did not go ſo far as the honourable gentleman who made the motion, and ſome others did, upon the ſubject. Had the Houſe acceded to the propoſition of a reform in the repreſentation, ſo ably argued by the right honourable gentleman oppoſite to him, he ſhould have thought the preſent motion, in a great meaſure, unneceſſary, becauſe, if the Parliament was made pure, and that Houſe was to be a true repreſentation of the People, as it ought to be, he ſhould think there was not any danger likely to ariſe from its ſitting ſeven, or even more years, but not having been able to obtain a reform, he ſhould vote for the preſent motion, as the improvement to be looked for next, and next to be deſired. The Earl of Surrey.

Sir *Edward Aſtley* declared he ſhould vote for the queſtion, and aſſigned his reaſons for it. He ſaid, that if one Parliament could make ſuch a direct violation of the conſtitution as to paſs a ſeptennial bill, and give themſelves the power of ſitting for a longer period than thoſe they repreſented choſe them for, another Parliament might paſs a bill authoriſing Sir Edward Aſtley.

themſelves to ſit twenty or twenty-one years, in which caſe the Crown might get the Houſe of Commons entirely into its own hands, and thus effectually deſtroy the conſtitution.

The queſtion was put, and the Houſe divided,

Ayes,	-	58
Noes,	-	142

Wedneſday, May 4.

Proceeded to hear evidence in the Iriſh Reſolutions.

Thurſday, May 5.

Lord Penrhyn.

Lord *Penrhyn* ſaid, he had a petition in his hand from Stephen Fuller, Eſq the agent for the iſland of Jamaica, which he ſhould move to bring up, but he would previouſly read the petition to the Houſe. His Lordſhip read it accordingly, and it alledged, that the reſidents of the iſland felt great inconveniencies in conſequence of their being deprived of the intercourſe they had carried on with America previous to the laſt war, it ſtated in what particulars theſe inconveniencies preſſed moſt, and prayed the Houſe to grant ſuch relief as to their wiſdom ſhould in the nature of the caſe appear proper.

The petition was brought up and read, when it was ordered to lie on the table

Mr M. A. Taylor.

Mr. *M. A. Taylor* roſe to move for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of courts of conſcience for rendering their ſentences more equal, and for aboliſhing certain fees now payable to jailers by thoſe who are impriſoned in conſequence of not having complied with the awards of ſuch courts. Mr. Taylor ſaid, it would be neceſſary for him to ſtate the objects of the bill he intended to bring in, the better to enable the Houſe to judge of the propriety of granting the leave he meant to move for, and he would do it in one or two minutes He then gave a ſhort hiſtory of the origin and increaſe of courts of conſciences, tracing them down from the reign of Harry the Eighth to the preſent time. He ſaid, the grounds on which he reſted the neceſſity for ſuch a bill as he ſhould propoſe, were the very unequal puniſhments ſuffered in conſequence of not complying with the awards of the different courts of conſcience, and the extravagant fees taken by the jailers. Perſons who were ordered to pay from ten ſhillings and ſix pence up to forty, ſuffered as long impriſonment, and paid as large fees as thoſe who owed four times the ſum. Fifteen ſhillings and eight pence, he ſaid, was frequently taken by jailers of perſons whoſe debt was no more than twelve ſhillings,

ſhillings, a cuſtom obviouſly oppreſſive and unjuſt, and which he would venture to ſay, was unwarranted by any ſtatute now in exiſtence, and depended altogether on what the judges termed, preſcriptive right. In conſequence of the ſeverity and inequality of the puniſhments ſuffered under awards of courts of conſcience many thouſands of his Majeſty's ſubjects, he ſaid, had lingered a long time in priſon for debts of a trifling amount, and would have done ſo to this day, but for the inſtitution of a benevolent ſociety, who had adminiſtered relief to numbers of debtors of the deſcription he alluded to Mr. Taylor concluded with making the proper motion for leave to bring it in.

Lord Beauchamp ſeconded the motion

Sir *Joſeph Mawbey* expreſſed his concurrence with the motion, and ſtated what was the cuſtom of the Court of Conſcience in the Borough, and the regulations that he had moved to have eſtabliſhed by a bill, while he had the honour to repreſent Southwark. Sir Joſeph Mawbey.

Leave was given

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* gave notice, that as there remained only one more petition (that from Stafford) to be heard, and as the evidence thus far taken was nearly printed and ready to be diſtributed, he conceived that he ſhould be able to bring this buſineſs to a queſtion on Thurſday next. Unleſs more petitions were deſigned to be preſented from perſons praying to be heard againſt the Propoſitions, and the only one he had heard the ſmalleſt mention of, was a petition from Liverpool; but of that, perhaps, the noble Lord oppoſite to him could give the Houſe ſome information. Mr Chancellor Pitt.

Lord *Penrhyn* ſaid, he expected a petition from Liverpool every day. He knew there was one coming, and that the prayer of it was, that the petitioners might be heard by themſelves and counſel againſt the propoſitions Lord Penrhyn.

Mr. *Eden* ſaid, he would take this occaſion to appriſe the Houſe of his intention in a day or two to move for an account of all articles of Iriſh conſumption charged in Ireland with an internal duty on the manufacture, or a duty on the material: he thought it candid to make a previous mention of this, as it involved a conſideration of ſome little intricacy, and of great importance. If gentlemen would take the trouble to advert to the fifth propoſition of the Iriſh Parliament, they would find that the Britiſh manufactures imported into Ireland, after adopting that propoſition, would be obliged not only to pay the preſent duties charged in Ireland on Britiſh manufactures, but additional duties adequate to the duty on the material uſed Mr. Eden.

in the ſimilar Iriſh manufacture. For example, Britiſh manufactured ſilks, which now pay 7s. 10d. per pound as a port duty, would, after paſſing the propoſitions, be liable to pay a farther duty adequate to whatever is at preſent charged in Ireland on raw ſilk and thrown ſilk. This, at leaſt, was his conſtruction of that propoſition; and he muſt confeſs that he had never adverted to it till lately; nor did he believe, if it ſhould prove well founded, that it had yet occurred to any of the manufacturers, becauſe they had not ſtated it in any of their examinations or petitions. If it was an accurate interpretation of the article, it was impoſſible that it ſhould paſs in its preſent form how it could be qualified, or by what exceptions it could be guarded, he was not at preſent prepared to ſtate he only wiſhed at preſent to aſcertain the ſeveral articles of Britiſh manufacture which might ſuffer from it, and hoped that the neceſſary information might be obtained, without occaſioning any delay in the conſideration of the buſineſs, which he earneſtly hoped might be brought forward on the day mentioned by the right honourable gentleman, as it muſt be wiſhed to have it diſcuſſed and decided in a full Houſe

Mr. Fox. Mr. *Fox* expreſſed ſome doubts, whether ſo voluminous an inquiry, not yet printed and circulated, could be ſufficiently examined by the members, who had not attended it, ſo as to enable them to give an opinion, in the courſe of next week: that nothing, however, might be wanting on his part, he would move the call of the Houſe for Wedneſday next, and would certainly enforce it, as far as the Houſe and the forms of the Houſe would permit

Mr Chancellor Pitt Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* declared, he was extremely glad to hear the motion for a call of the Houſe on Wedneſday, becauſe it was undoubtedly of infinite importance that there ſhould be as full an attendance as could be procured. With regard to the obſervation of the right honourable gentleman, that poſſibly there might not be time for the evidence to be printed and diſtributed, ſo that gentlemen might read it between this and Thurſday next, it became neceſſary to ſay, that the evidence, at leaſt the greateſt part of it, was printed already, and might be diſtributed the next day; gentlemen, therefore, would have full time to examine and make themſelves maſters of it by Thurſday. If any other witneſſes were brought to be examined, their evidence could not be very voluminous, and might be printed in time to be peruſed between Monday next and Thurſday, he ſaw no reaſon, therefore, to alter the day he had already named for bringing the matter to a deciſion,

Mr.

Mr. *Francis* ſaid, he roſe to ſubmit to the Houſe the reſult of his examination of the ſeveral accounts of the Eaſt-India Company's eſtabliſhments abroad, which had been laid before them in the courſe of the laſt twelve months, ſome of them in obedience to the late act of Parliament, and others by order of the Houſe. that he meant to ſtate facts as he found them, with very little obſervation upon them; becauſe he believed the facts would appear not only perfectly intelligible of themſelves, but that they would lead the Houſe at once to every concluſion that he could propoſe to draw from them, and make their own impreſſion ſufficiently deep, without the aſſiſtance of any arguments of his one preliminary obſervation only was neceſſary, that, for want of materials reſpecting Madras and Bombay, what he was going to ſtate would be for the moſt part confined to the eſtabliſhments in Bengal, and to the reſources or difficulties of the Company's affairs in that quarter. It was the only part of India in which a reſource exiſted, or from which the moſt diſtant hope of retrieving their affairs could be formed. In every other quarter the diſtreſs exiſted without the reſource: Fort St. George and Bombay hung upon Bengal for their daily exiſtence, their eſtabliſhments would exhauſt a great revenue, and they had none: they were overwhelmed with enormous debts, which increaſed every day, and they had not a rupee of their own to pay either principal or intereſt. It followed then, that in confining himſelf at preſent to the ſtate of Bengal, he looked at the Company's affairs abroad in the moſt favourable point of view. If in that quarter their diſtreſſes were great and increaſing, if in that quarter their reſources were declining and their debts accumulating every day, the Houſe might judge from thence what their ſituation muſt be at Fort St. George and at Bombay. The act of Parliament required, that a perfect liſt of all civil and military eſtabliſhments ſhould be produced, whereas he undertook to ſhew, that the various accounts which had been lately laid before the Houſe, of the Company's eſtabliſhments in Bengal, were defective, contradictory, and fallacious. In this place Mr. Francis ſtated a variety of omiſſions in the account of the civil eſtabliſhment of Bengal, and obſerved, that although the whole civil eſtabliſhment was ſtated in one account at the enormous amount of 927,945l. and although this account profeſſed to include, as it ought to do, and as the Houſe undoubtedly expected it would do, every expence in the civil department many articles or heads of expence were left blank, that is, with nothing ſtated but profits unknown, which he computed moderately

Mr. Francis

derately at 100,000l. a year. One eſtabliſhment, the marine, he ſaid, was completely omitted; yet it ſtood in the Bengal eſtimates for 1783 and 1784, at above 80,000l. a year. What ſort of information was this to be given to Parliament, if the purpoſe of calling for it was to know the real expence; to compare the expence with the ſervice, and from thence to proceed to reformation and retrenchment? How were they to retrench, or what were they to leave, when in ſome inſtances, they only knew the employment and office, without the ſalary and emoluments, and when, in others, the whole eſtabliſhment was completely kept out of ſight. So much for defects and omiſſions.

He then proceeded to the head of contradictions — That there were on the table three ſtatements of one and the ſame eſtabliſhment, viz. the civil eſtabliſhment of Bengal. the firſt was, an eſtimate made by the Directors on the 14th of February 1784, 350,000l. On this eſtimate they founded ſome very important concluſions with reſpect to the ſtate of their finances, the annual proviſion of an inveſtment, and to the ſurplus which their revenues in Bengal were to exhibit, and which they depended on as a ſinking fund for the diſcharge of their debts. The ſecond account, containing the particulars of the ſame eſtabliſhment, was laid before the Houſe on the 7th of February laſt, and this made it, 927,945l. The third account, which was produced the 11th of laſt month, ſtated it at 616,556l, and he informed the Houſe, that a fourth account of the ſame eſtabliſhment exiſted, which was made out in November laſt for the uſe of the Directors, and which differed from all the reſt; that made it 764,451l — That gentlemen ſhould obſerve how theſe various accounts tallied, the Directors in February 1784, eſtimate their civil eſtabliſhment at 350,000l and at that moment a material purpoſe was to be anſwered by it. In November following, their accountant made out an account of particulars, which more than doubled that eſtimate. Another account was produced in February laſt, which almoſt trebled that eſtimate; and, finally, a fourth account was produced laſt month, which differed from all the reſt, and which reduced the amount to 616,556l. On theſe facts, he aſked, whether any confidence was to be placed in ſuch contradictory accounts? What real information did they give; what proceeding could be ſafely founded upon them? It would be ſaid, perhaps, that ſome charges had been erroneouſly carried to the civil account, which ought to have been placed to the military. If ſo, as much muſt be added to the one ſide as was deducted

from

from the other. But he did not believe that to be the caſe; and, if it were, it only followed, that both accounts were erroneous. The Governor's body guard made part of the ſtate of the government. It never took the field, and, he believed, had always been conſidered as belonging to the civil eſtabliſhment of the Preſidency. That this, however, was but a petty article in ſuch a total.

Mr Francis then proceeded to the military eſtabliſhment. The account laid before the Houſe on the 7th of February laſt, ſtated the annual exiſting charge at 1,078,510l. which, he affirmed, was not half the real expence. as ſoon as he ſaw it, he had expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at ſo ſudden and ſo great a reduction of the military expence, which in the laſt Bengal eſtimate ſtood at 268 lacks and a half, that is very little ſhort of three millions, beſides an arrear of ſeventy-two lacks, making in all above three millions and half, was now ſuddenly reduced to one million. On that occaſion the Houſe were told that reductions had actually taken place which would account for the difference. He aſked what authority there was from Bengal to vouch for ſuch reductions, and found there was none. The eſtimate of the year 1784-5 was not received; conſequently the account muſt have been made up by mere conjecture and ſpeculation at the India Houſe. An honourable gentleman, who was always very good to him, profeſſed to wonder how he in particular could have a doubt upon the ſubject. He allowed him, Mr. Francis ſaid, even more knowledge of the ſubject than he pretended to poſſeſs, for the charitable purpoſe of leading the Houſe to this inference, and of leaving this impreſſion on their mind, that he was ſpeaking againſt his better knowledge, and acting againſt his conviction. That the eſtimate of 1784-5 was at laſt arrived, and the Houſe had now got poſſeſſion of it That it ought to have been made up ſooner, and to have been in England many months ago, it was dated the 22d of November laſt. That it ought to confirm the account of exiſting military charges delivered in by the Court of Directors, and vouched for by the right honourable gentleman, that the Houſe would find that juſt the contrary was true. The eſtimate for the year ending the firſt of May 1785, that is, for a complete year of peace, was at 2,320,149l. 12s. excluſive of an arrear of 578,124l. which made the whole military charge of the year 2,898,273l. 12s. Inſtead of this ſum, which was the true one, the Directors tell the Houſe of Commons, that the charge of the Bengal army is only 1,078,510l.

Was

Was this a fact or not? Was he juſtified in ſaying that the account was groſſly fallacious.

From theſe falſe contradictory accounts, Mr. Francis turned to the real ſtate of their finances in Bengal, as he found it exhibited in the eſtimate drawn up by that government in November laſt. It was not likely that they ſhould undervalue their reſources, or over-rate their diſtreſſes. He reminded the Houſe, that the eſtimate of the preceding year, that is, of the year ending in May 1784, ſhewed a deficiency of fifty-ſix lacks, or about 600,000l, that he had ſpoken of this as a moſt alarming circumſtance. By way of ſatisfaction it had been then ſaid, that that eſtimate did in effect provide for a war eſtabliſhment; that it included all the arrears and windings up of the war, and that the deficiency of fifty-ſix lacks would be made good in the ſucceeding year. That the Houſe now had the eſtimate of the ſucceeding year, and this certainly ought to be conſidered as a year of peace. But this year, inſtead of making good former deficiences, outran all former extravagance The reſources were ſtated at about ſix hundred and twelve lacks, or above ſix millions and a half; the expences are ſeven hundred and ſixty-one lacks, or about eight millions; conſequently the deficiency of this ſingle year of peace, of œconomy, of ſaving, of retrenchment, of ſurplus, was no leſs than a million and a half ſterling.

Above fourteen months ago, the Directors told the Houſe, that in the eſtimate of 1783-4, the Bengal government "had charged every debt due by the Company in Bengal, "the principal of the bond debt excepted, and had ſtated all "their civil and military expences, including thoſe of the de-"tachments ſerving in the other Preſidencies, according to "their higheſt war eſtabliſhments, up to the 1ſt of May "1784, although reductions had been made in thoſe eſta-"bliſhments, which, within that period, would begin to "operate conſiderably" The Directors farther aſſured the Houſe, that "they did not ſee any reaſon to doubt, but in the year ending the 1ſt of May 1785, the commercial profit on ſalt and opium, and the money received for certificates payable in England, would be applicable to commercial purpoſes, and a very conſiderable ſurplus of revenue remain to be applied in aid of the other ſettlements, ſhould they ſtill need ſuch aid, or in diſcharge of the bond debt." They ſaid, that the reſources, derived from the revenues in India, were now in a train of conſiderable improvement — Notwithſtanding all theſe promiſes, the fact was, that in this

boaſted year of peace and proſperity, the expences of Bengal appeared on the face of the two eſtimates to fall ſhort of the preceding year by only twenty-eight lacks, but that in 1783 a hundred lacks were allotted to the inveſtment, whereas in 1784-5, anly forty-five lacks were ſo allotted. If, therefore, the inveſtment was deducted out of both eſtimates, it would appear, on a compariſon of the remaining expences of the two years, that thoſe of the laſt year exceed thoſe of the former by twenty-ſeven lacks. That the Directors, in their eſtimate of the 14th of February 1784, had promiſed and engaged to the Houſe, that there would be in the enſuing year (that is from the 30th of April 1784, to the firſt of May, 1785) a net ſurplus of revenue in Bengal, to the amount of 1,194,689l. excluſive of the net produce of ſalt and opium which they ſtated at 450,000l, theſe two ſums, amounting to 1,644,689l. made the net ſurplus of the year, according to the Directors. The real deficiency turned out to be 1,676,411l, which, added to the ſuppoſed ſurplus, convicted the Directors of a miſcalculation in the reſources and diſburſements of one year, and in one of their governments only, to the amount of 3,321,100l. The Houſe now ſaw the event of theſe fallacious promiſes, in a year of peace, their expences in Bengal exceeded their reſources by a million and a half, the bonded debt in Bengal amounted to two millions, and theſe were at thirty per cent. diſcount. The orders on the Treaſury unpaid amounted to 144 lacks of current rupees, including the intereſt due on the bonds, which made about a million and a half, and theſe Treaſury orders were at fifteen per cent. diſcount. Every ſervice, civil and military, was enormouſly in arrear in fact, there was no circulation of ſpecie in Bengal. With reſpect to the promiſed improvement of the reſources of Bengal within itſelf, the true way to try that queſtion would be, to deduct all draughts on the Directors out of both eſtimates, and then compare the remaining reſources of the two years. By this operation, it would appear, that the reſources of the laſt year fall ſhort of thoſe of the preceding, to the amount of current rupees 3,252,705, or about 350,000l. ſterling When the Houſe heard that the expences of the year were charged at 761 lacks of rupees, they would conclude of courſe, that a conſiderable ſum was allotted to the inveſtment, yet no more than forty five lacks was ſo allotted, twenty-two lacks of which were replaced by bills on the Directors the Houſe would conclude, that at leaſt a proviſion was made for a remittance to China.

The Court of Directors in their ſix-years eſtimate, reckoned upon 250,000l. a year from Bengal to China: the fact was, there was not a ſingle rupee provided or appropriated to that ſervice: that the produce of ſalt this year was taken only at thirty lacks, whereas in the preceding year it ſtood at fifty-two; and that the opium produced only three lacks, (ſeventy-ſix thouſand rupees) inſtead of ſeven lacks, at which it ſtood in 1783. What the cauſe might be of this ſudden and extraordinary diminution in the produce of ſalt and opium, which they had ſpoken of with ſo much oſtentation he did not know; but it was a very material circumſtance. The Court of Directors, in their ſix years eſtimate, had taken credit annually for 450,000l. as the produce of theſe monopolies, and had appropriated it to their commercial fund. In the firſt place, the produce fell ſhort by one half of what they expected, and whatever it might be, the whole was thrown into the general fund, out of which it neither was nor could be ſeparated for any ſpecial ſervice. To that amount, therefore, the ſix-years eſtimate was annually defective. On the ſubject of the China inveſtment he had a queſtion to aſk, which was naturally ſuggeſted by the mention of the ſalt monopoly. The Bengal eſtimate made no proviſion for China, but the Directors calculate on 250,000l. for that ſervice, to be remitted by Bengal. The queſtion therefore was, by what means the China inveſtment of this year was to be provided? The Company had ſent out eighteen ſhips, whoſe cargoes of tea only, ſuppoſing no inveſtment of raw ſilk, would come to 540,000l. at 30,000l. per ſhip. Towards this ſum the lead and woollens ſent from England went but a little way, and the Company had ſent little or no bullion. How was the difference to be provided? Mr. Francis concluded, recapitulating the principal facts on which the motion he propoſed to offer to the Houſe was founded. That he had ſaid, that the eſtimates and accounts on the table were defective, contradictory, and fallacious; he had ſhewn, that in ſome inſtances, they ſtated officers and employments without ſalaries, and in others omitted the eſtabliſhment entirely: that there were four different accounts made up in one year of the ſame eſtabliſhment; that they had ſtated the eſtabliſhment of the army at much leſs than half the real expence; and finally, that the Directors had taken credit for a ſurplus of revenue to the amount of a million and a half, when in fact there was a deficiency to that amount, which proved an error of three

millions

millions in one year's revenue in Bengal; that falſe information was worſe than none. In abſolute darkneſs there was a ſort of ſecurity in ſtanding ſtill, but by falſe lights men were led to deſtruction; that Parliament and the nation had been groſſly deceived; that the deception ought to be cleared up. There was one way of tracing it to its ſource, which he meant to propoſe; and that in purſuing this inquiry, he did not doubt that he ſhould have the ſupport of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had very lately declared, that, in matters of public account every idea of concealment and diſguiſe was pernicious and diſgraceful. His intention was to move for a committee to inveſtigate and to ſtate errors, omiſſions, and contradictons, which appeared upon the face of the accounts. That inquiry would throw a new light upon the real ſtate of the Company's affairs; the Houſe would then ſee whether the hopes, the promiſes, and the aſſertions, which had been boldly held out to Parliament, concerning the proſperous ſtate of the Company's affairs, had any foundation or not; and when they knew the truth, the Houſe would know how to act: He therefore moved,

"That a Committee be appointed to take into coſidera-
"tion the ſeveral liſts and ſtatements of the expence of the
"Eaſt-India Company's eſtabliſhments in India, which have
"been laid before this Houſe in the courſe of the preſent
"year 1785, by the Court of Directors of the ſaid Com-
"pany; and alſo the eſtimate of the probable receipts and
"diſburſements of the Bengal government for the year end-
"ing the firſt of May 1785, which has ſince been received
"and laid before this Houſe, and to compare the ſaid ſeve-
"ral papers with each other, and alſo with the eſtimates and
"ſtatements laid before this Houſe by the ſaid Court of
"Directors in the courſe of the laſt year 1784, and to report
"to this Houſe the reſult of ſuch compariſons, with their
"obſervations thereupon."

Mr. *Nathaniel Smith* (Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors) roſe to controvert the facts alledged by Mr. Francis, which, if true, he ſaid, would amount to accuſations of a deep and criminal nature againſt the Court of Directors and himſelf, but he truſted their conduct would be found clear and proper. With regard to the eſtimates that had at different periods been preſented by the Directors to that Houſe, great pains had been taken to make them with all poſſible preciſion and accuracy. It was true, that the preſent eſtimate of the probable reſources and diſburſements

Mr Nath. Smith.

of the Bengal government, exceeded the eſtimates preſented laſt year, and the reaſon was this. the peace was not concluded ſo early in India as was expected, and the eſtimates of laſt year were made out upon an idea, that every thing could by that time have been put upon a peace eſtabliſhment; whereas in fact the full war eſtabliſhment was continued for a conſiderable part of the year, which of courſe cauſed a great exceſs of diſburſements. Excluſive of that circumſtance, Mr. Smith ſaid, there was no other error in the preſent eſtimates, but a ſingle miſtake, which was, that ſeveral articles were put under the head of civil department, that ſhould properly have been ranged under the head of general department. — When the eſtimates were looked to, that would appear, and then it would be ſeen that the arrears of the army were among the diſburſements, from the 1ſt of May 1784, to the 1ſt of May 1785 In anſwer to the remarks of Mr. Francis, that the Directors had not given an account of all the emoluments of certain officers of the Company in India; he begged the honourable gentleman to recollect, that the eſtimate on the table was an eſtimate delivered for the firſt time to that Houſe, in compliance with the direction of an act of Parliament paſſed only laſt ſeſſion The making it out, therefore, was a new matter, and attended with ſome difficulty; he could aſſure the Houſe, however, he had done every thing in his power to have it correct, but the Directors were neceſſarily obliged to ground it on the information they received from Bengal, and there were ſeveral officers whoſe emoluments they had not received accounts of yet from India. Mr Smith ſaid, the eſtimate of the next year, he doubted not, would wear a different aſpect, as the whole of the army, &c would be upon peace eſtabliſhment, and the Directors had ſent out the moſt direct and poſitive orders, to have the reductions carried ſo low, as from 200 lacks to 120 lacks What alſo induced him to think flatteringly of the growing proſperity of the Company, was, the great increaſe in the produce of their ſales at home, eſpecially of teas, which had put them ſo much in caſh, that the warrants were already ſigned for the payment of 500,000l in part of the ſum due to government for duties, which debt they were not obliged to pay yet unleſs they choſe it. Mr Smith ſpoke in ſanguine hopes of the growing proſperity of the Company.

Mr. Francis Mr. *Francis* in reply ſaid, he had only received what he in a particular manner had deprecated, and deſired might not be urged in reply to him, viz. looſe and general reaſonings, founded

founded on promiſes for the future, and not an attempt even to account for the facts that were paſt. Mr. Francis curſorily touched upon the principal charges, to which he had pledged himſelf, and ſaid, he conſidered the ſpeech of the honourable Deputy Chairman of the Company, as an admiſſion of their validity, ſince he had not replied to one of them, but had gone into a ſtatement of the ſituation of the Company at home, of which he had expreſſly declared he would make no mention

Mr. *Baring* contended, that the arrears of the army made a great part of the diſburſements in the preſent eſtimates. The deficiency in the reſources was, he obſerved, 149 lacks, whereas the arrears and other articles, which he enumerated, to the amount of 190 lacks, were among the diſburſements over and above the annual expenditure. This it was neceſſary to remark, he ſaid, leſt gentlemen ſhould entertain an impreſſion that the preſent exceſs in the diſburſements was an annual exceſs, whereas it was merely an incidental one, and ſuch as would not again occur, provided peace continued in India. Mr. Baring repeated what he had ſaid, a few days ſince, relative to the increaſed proſperity of the Company at home, declaring, that though in their eſtimate laſt year, the Directors had given themſelves credit for three millions and a half only, as the probable produce of their ſales, they had actually produced conſiderably more than four millions He ſtated alſo, that they had bonds to the amount of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds locked up in their cheſt, beſides the 500,000l. that they were about to pay to the public. As they were not by law obliged to pay this latter ſum immediately, their paying it was a proof in their favour, becauſe it ſhewed, that although they were not under any obligation to pay off any part of the ſum they ſtood in debt to the public for duties, yet, they were ready, as ſoon as they came into caſh, to act fairly by the public, and diminiſh their debt Mr Baring took notice of what Mr. Francis had ſaid, of the Preſidency of Bombay and Fort St. George having no reſources, a poſition which he ſtrenuouſly controverted. Mr. Baring.

Mr. *Huſſey* ſaid, he attended at a General Court lately, for the purpoſe of informing himſelf upon the ſtate of the Company's affairs, and he gave an account of what paſſed at the meeting, where he had a particular paper read at his inſtance, which threw great light upon the ſubject. From this he went back to the ſtate of the Company's affairs in 1772, (when Mr. Jenkinſon took ſo much pains to inveſtigate them) and again in 1780, declaring the deficiencies at each of thoſe periods, and Mr. Huſſey

and comparing their ſituation then with their ſituation at preſent. Mr. Huſſey alſo ſtated, that according to the eſtimate of the laſt year, the Directors had led the Houſe to imagine, that their reſources in India would exceed their diſburſements there, in the ſum of one million five hundred thouſand pounds, whereas it was now evident, that the diſburſements in India exceeded the reſources in the ſum of one million two hundred thouſand pounds, a contradiction which, in his opinion, made it highly neceſſary that a Committee ſhould be appointed to inquire into the cauſe of it, for nothing was more clear and evident, than that Parliament had been deceived by the reports and eſtimates laid before them by the Company.

Mr Vanſittart. Mr. *Vanſittart* ſaid, he ſuſpected there was ſome miſtake in the entry relative to opium. Mr. Vanſittart anſwered that part of Mr Francis's ſpeech, relative to the Preſidency of Bombay and Fort St George having no reſources.

Major Scott. Major *Scott* ſpoke to the following effect:

I riſe, Mr. Speaker, to reply to a few of thoſe obſervations which fell from the honourable gentleman over the way (Mr Francis) which I think were particularly pointed at me. The honourable gentleman and myſelf have been in the habit of ſending to the preſs whatever falls from us in this Houſe. If, therefore, I have miſ-ſtated any thing, my ſtatement of laſt year, which I now hold in my hand, will riſe up in judgement againſt me; and by that ſtatement I deſire to be tried by this Houſe and the Public. The honourable gentleman appeals with apparent triumph to the eſtimate lately received from Bengal, to prove that I, and thoſe who agreed with me, have held out hopes to the Public which never could be realiſed; that we foretold it laſt year, and now we muſt confeſs it. But the fact is ſimply—All my calculations went upon a ſuppoſition that peace would be concluded ten months earlier than it was, and that the various retrenchments in conſequence of that peace would take place ten months ſooner than they did. The peace with Tippo Sultaun was not ſigned till the 11th of March, 1784. A very conſiderable detachment ſerving from Bengal, upon the coaſt, could not therefore return before the rains ſet in, and were obliged to canton for the monſoon in the northern Circars. Other military reductions in Bengal were conſequently poſtponed for ſome months, and the eſtimate ſtates, that the military expences from the 30th of April, 1784, to the 1ſt of May, 1785, would be 206 lacks of current rupees, buildings and fortifications included. But, Sir, if we look forward to the next year, you will find, that the Government of Bengal takes credit

credit for a larger ſurplus than I took credit for on the 28 of July laſt. I then ſtated, "that from the net revenues of "Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, Benares, Vizier's ſubſidy, and "the profit upon ſalt and opium, including alſo the ſale of "our impoſts, there will remain a ſurplus of one hundred "and fifty-ſeven lacks of rupees for the purchaſe of future in-"veſtments; for paying the intereſt of the bonded debts of "India, and for a gradual liquidation of the principal." I took the revenues at the average of former years, after deducting charges of collections. I allowed 130 lacks for the military and contingencies, fifty for civil and marine, and twenty for Durbar and ſtipends.

Now, Sir, the Court of Directors have received, by the Surpriſe, an official eſtimate from Bengal, which I moved for two days ago, but by miſtaking the title of it, a wrong paper has been laid upon your table. I will, however, read that eſtimate to you.

An eſtimate of the ſum which it is ſuppoſed may be annually applied in Bengal to the diſcharge of the honourable Company's debts in India, after the end of April, 1785, by which time it is ſuppoſed that the reductions required to produce it may take place:

	rupees.
Total revenues taken at a medium of the groſs collections of 1781-2, and 1782-3, - -	459,74,000
EXPENCES.	
Civil - - - -	40,00,000
Military - - - -	120,00,000
Marine - - - -	6,00,000
Charges of collections, ſtipends to the Nabob, &c. &c. - - - -	95,00,000
	261,00,000

Which leaves a ſurplus of one hundred and ninety-eight lacks, ſeventy-four thouſand rupees, for liquidation of debts, and the purchaſe of inveſtments; inſtead of one hundred and fifty-ſeven lacks, as I ſtated laſt year.

The honourable gentleman muſt recollect, that all my calculations went upon a ſuppoſition that peace would be concluded within a certain period: that period was ſeveral months later than I had hoped it would have been. But if I was miſtaken in this point, I hope the Houſe will recollect that I ſtated the reſources of Bengal, after all expences paid, forty-one lacks of rupees leſs than the Governor General and Council ſay they will be for the preſent year.

Added

Added to an unexpected protraction of the war, the honourable gentleman will conſider that ſeveral unexpected demands have been made upon the Bengal Treaſury for laſt year.

The troops captured by Hyder Ally and Tippoo Sultaun, during the war, amounting to twelve hundred Europeans, and ſeveral thouſand ſepoys, had great arrears to receive, ſome of them two years at leaſt, but theſe arrears once paid, the charge is at an end.

I entirely agree with the honourable gentleman, that Bombay muſt depend upon Bengal for every thing, but that Madras has no reſource, I deny. Lord Macartney ſtates, that for this year, that is, from the 1ſt of July, 1784, to the 1ſt of July, 1785, its reſources will exceed its charges 33 lacks of rupees and upwards, and that in future this ſum will be increaſed. In ſhort, Sir, there has been no deception in any fact, on the part of the Directors.—We had reaſon to ſuppoſe peace would be concluded ſeveral months before it was, and that the arrears would have been paid off ſooner than they will be. I always ſtated the debts of India, in conſequence of the war, at ſix millions, or ſix crores of rupees. They are now ſtated by the Governor General and Council at ſeven crores one hundred thouſand rupees, of which not more than five crores and an half is upon bond, and bears intereſt. Upon the ſubject of our reſources in India, I beg, with the indulgence of the Houſe, to read the following extracts of two letters from Mr. Haſtings to me, dated in October and November laſt, many months ſubſequent to the period when the eſtimate commences.

"In a letter which I wrote laſt year to the Court of Directors, dated the 16th of December, and ſent by a new route over land, I promiſed, or rather declared, my own firm belief, that we ſhould be able before the end of this to begin upon the diſcharge of thoſe debts at intereſt. I repeat the ſame conviction by theſe diſpatches, and what is the debt? Not half their annual income, but becauſe there are no lenders, the knowledge and circulation of the Company's bonds being confined to the narrow precincts of Calcutta, people haſtily ſuppoſed that our credit was loſt. The following extract of a letter, which I have lately received from Mr Croftes, is ſo much in point that I add it for a corroboration of the opinion which I have given above, viz. The ſtate of our treaſury here is certainly mending. During the ſcarce months of the year we contrived not to increaſe our debt; and now that the revenue is coming in,

"It

" it is certainly decreasing, and the heavy demands from Ma-
" dras will, I hope, cease very soon. Colonel Pearse's de-
" tachment will arrive, and a farther reduction of military
" expence may be made; all which will, I am convinced,
" enable Government to wipe off all incumbrances very
" shortly, except the bonded debt, which is so very trifling
" that it ought never to be considered as an incumbrance.
" Your last remittances will assist very much; and had it
" not been for the drafts from Madras and Bombay, which
" have been beyond all bounds of estimate, Bengal would not
" at this moment owe a rupee, except its bond. This is a
" great deal to say the year after the close of a war with all
" India, and all Europe into the bargain, and withal cargoes
" of an astonishing value sent home every year during this
" expensive war."

In November Mr. Hastings says, " In a letter written to
" the Court of Directors last year, I gave them hopes that all
" our treasury orders would be discharged, and that we should
" begin upon the payment of the bonded debt by this De-
" cember—In no other payments had been made than such as
" I had a right to estimate, the event would have come to
" pass—I should reluctantly have consented to allow Fort
" St George ten lacks in the whole year—they have drawn
" since December near sixty-nine, and I suppose the remit-
" tances on this month and the next will make the amount
" seventy-five, which is an excess of - - 65
" The Bombay remittance was in the same period
" thirty-three, and may be thirty-five. I state
" the excess at - - - 15
" Six regiments of sepoys, which ought to have
" been disbanded in March, but were not - 5
" General letter of 15th of June, throwing on the
" Treasury a debt of - - - 40

Total excess 125 lacks

" Our bonded debt, including interest, is 169 00 000
" Demands on the Treasury - - 115 00 000

284 00 000

" Our annual income - - - 459 74 000

After having read these extracts, I shall now, Sir, beg leave to say a few words upon the accounts of the civil and military expences in Bengal, and as often as the honourable gentleman states that the civil expences amount to the enormous sum of 927,000l. so often shall I tell him that he mis-

leads the Houſe intentionally. He knows, and the honourable Director under the gallery has told him, that the account ſhould have been called a general account, for it includes civil, revenue, commercial, and military. This the honourable gentleman knows at the time he accuſes the Directors of fallacy and ignorance, for ſtating in one account that the civil expences are 380,000l. and in another, that they are 927,000l. But, Sir, we may now have actual accounts before us that no one can diſpute; for by the laſt packet an account has been received of the ſalaries and emoluments of all the Company's ſervants, in the civil, revenue, and commercial departments, beginning with the Governor General, and concluding with the youngeſt writer—including alſo the commiſſion upon the revenues, upon ſalt, and every other emolument. The total amount in current rupees is fifty-five lacks, fifty-five thouſand three hundred and ninety-two and five annas, which at the rate of exchange at which bills are granted in Bengal is five hundred and fifty-five thouſand five hundred and thirty-nine pounds four ſhillings and three pence. I hope the honourable gentleman will now reſort to an actual account, from which many retrenchments have ſince been made. There is one other circumſtance which I muſt beg to take notice of. The honourable gentleman, after ſtating againſt his conviction that the civil expences of Bengal amounted to 927,000l. ſays, that enormous as this charge is, ſeveral offices he left out; and are inſtances four, the contract for draft and carriage bullocks for the army, that for elephants and camp equipage, the manufacture of gunpowder, and the victualling Fort William. Why, Sir, did ever any body hear of theſe charges being claſſed under the head of civil charges? They are military [Mr. Francis called out *No* acroſs the Houſe] I repeat, Sir, they are, and ever were. What, the expence of the bullocks employed in drawing your artillery, and of the elephants uſed for carrying the camp equipage, not military charges! But if the honourable gentleman will not believe me, let him look to the eſtimate that he has ſaid ſo much upon. He will there ſee that in the 206 lacks of military charges, are included all theſe heads of expence, and ever have been included —One word more, Sir, relative to our military eſtabliſhment. A ſhort time ago I ſtated, that I believed in my conſcience our army expences were reduced to 120 lacks—the honourable gentleman knows that is an ample allowance for a peace eſtabliſhment in Bengal. The official accounts at the India-Houſe ſtate, that from April laſt it would be reduced to 120 lacks, and I repeat again, that the accounts now received more than juſtify every thing

thing that I have ſaid of the ability of Bengal to pay off all its debts, and to ſupport Bombay. That we have ſuffered by the war is true, and I lament it. The honourable gentleman ſays, our circumſtances are woefully altered. that in 1776, for to that he alluded, we had a large balance in the Treaſury in Bengal, and are now deeply in debt. This nation, Sir, owed not more than 140 millions before the war, and at preſent I am afraid it owes above 250 millions. I repeat again there has been no miſrepreſentation; the war in India was protracted ſome months beyond the period at which we hoped it would have been cloſed; and the arrears at Madras and Bombay exceed what they were eſtimated at; but to ſet againſt this the aſſets to clear theſe incumbrances, exceed the ſum I ſtated them at forty-one lacks and twenty-four thouſand rupees.

Mr *Burke* deſired to put a queſtion to the Deputy Chairman of the Company. He wiſhed to know of the honourable gentleman, from what reſources the inveſtments of the ſixteen or eighteen ſhips that had been ſent out to China, had been provided for. Mr. Burke.

Mr. *N Smith*, after a pauſe, got up and ſaid, there were certain points to which it would be highly imprudent for him to give any reply. We had a monopoly of the trade to India, but though that prevented any attempt to cope with the Company on our part, it did not preclude foreign rivals from coping with them; and any thing that could give them an inſight into the credit of the Company would be wrong, and what he ſhould imagine that Houſe would not preſs for The firſt merchant upon the Exchange of London, Mr. Smith ſaid, if aſked of what his credit conſiſted, would not ſtate it; in like manner it would be highly imprudent for him to ſtate in that Houſe of what the credit of the Company conſiſted, in the moment that the Company was about to make uſe of its credit; thus much he would ſay, by way of general explanation, that the inveſtments of the China ſhips were provided, and that he had no doubt but the Company would maintain its credit both at home and abroad in all reſpects. Mr. N. Smith.

Mr. *Burke* ſaid, he ſhould be the moſt importunate man alive, if he were not perfectly ſatisfied with the anſwer he had received The amount of it was, that the ſixteen ſhips were ſent to China on credit. This was, he obſerved, a curious reverſe of the ſtatement of laſt year's eſtimate. In that they would find certain funds eſtimated as thoſe that were to pay for the China inveſtments, funds, which now no longer exiſted. Mr. Burke reprobated the conduct of the Directors, Mr. Burke.

and commented on Mr. Smith's having ſaid, when they came to make out the eſtimates ordered by the act of the laſt year, that it was a new matter, a matter to which they were ſtrangers, and a matter of ſome difficulty. He ſaid of Mr. Smith's ſpeech, that it was an attempt to make up the deficiencies in the fund of performance, by having recourſe to the fund of promiſe, a fund which the Directors of the Eaſt-India Company had at their command. He ſaid, if the Company were to be retrieved at all, it muſt be by their revenue in Bengal anſwering their diſburſements; a circumſtance, of which the preſent eſtimate afforded no hopes, much leſs was there any hope of the Bombay and Madras Preſidencies producing reſources equal to their expenditure. He took notice of Major Scott's quotation from the Governor General's letter, in which it was ſtated, that Lord Macartney had written to Bengal, that the reſources of the Madras Government would be more than equal to the diſburſements. His own opinion had always been, that, ſo far from expecting to derive reſources from that raviſhed and ravaged country, the Carnatic, ſupplies muſt be ſent out there from Great Britain, or that the country would be loſt. Mr Burke ſaid, this had uniformly been his language upon the ſubject.

Mr Dyſell Mr *Dayrell* enumerated the various ſavings that would be made in India, and endeavoured to prove that there were reſources in Madras and Bombay, nearly equal to the expenditure in each.

The queſtion was afterwards called; and before it was put, a few members calling out to the ſtrangers to withdraw,

Mr. Fox Mr. *Fox* roſe and ſaid, from the word *withdraw*, he ſaw, what he could not have imagined before, viz. that there was a deſign to divide upon the motion. He owned his aſtoniſhment at this, ſince not one word had been ſaid in reply to any one of his honourable friend's facts. How the Houſe, therefore, or rather how any part of the Houſe could reconcile it to themſelves to divide againſt the appointment of a Committee, he was at a loſs to imagine; but thoſe gentlemen who were Directors of the Eaſt India Company, he preſumed, did not mean to divide, becauſe if they did, they pleaded guilty to the charge alledged againſt them, and confeſſed the whole of it to be true. The charge was, that the accounts that had been at different times preſented by the Directors of the Eaſt-India Company, were fraudulent, fallacious, and deluſive. Were the Directors who had ſeats in that Houſe willing to admit that they were ſo? Mr. Fox cenſured the conduct of the Directors in terms of great warmth, he ſaid, their con-

duct had uniformly been calculated to deceive the Public and delude that Houſe. They had always faſhioned the eſtimates of their affairs to meet the moment, and totally diſregarded whether they were founded or not. Thus the eſtimate of the laſt year had been, as it was now, confeſſed and admitted to be groſſly incorrect; again, the eſtimate upon the table was ſtated to be incorrect even by the Deputy Chairman himſelf, who had given another ſtatement of his own, which he had aſſerted to be the true one. Thus had the Houſe been led on from fallacy to fallacy, and from fraud to fraud, and as ſoon as either was detected, reſort was had—not to defence, not to argument, but to new promiſes. Thus criminal neglect was made the ground of future confidence. And as faſt as one ſet of promiſes were violated, a new ſet were held forth, and the Houſe was called upon to become again the dupes of thoſe who had before deceived them. It had been urged, that the ſtate of the Company's affairs at home were in a flouriſhing way. Thus, whenever the Company were attacked upon the ſtate of their affairs in India, the Directors immediately talked of the ſtate of their affairs at home; and when the ſtate of their affairs at home was the ſubject, then the ſtate of their affairs in India was urged. This was of a piece with the whole conduct of thoſe in office; it was like their coming down and boaſting of the proſperous ſtate of the finances upon the ground of multiplying the produce of a quarter four times, and ſelecting a quarter ſo to multiply that had eleven days too much in it. Or a Miniſter's taking the beſt of all poſſible quarters, and comparing it with the worſt of all the quarters of the preceding year. [Mr. Pitt and the Maſter of the Rolls laughed.] Mr. Fox ſaid, with ſome warmth, he ſaw he was treated with perſonal indecency by the right honourable gentleman, and by another honourable gentleman, whoſe indecency was a matter of mere indifference to him. He diſregarded the incivility of ſuch conduct, and held it in contempt. It was ſufficient for him to be convinced he was completely in the right on the queſtion of finance diſcuſſed the other day. So convinced was he of this, that he would riſque his reputation on the two ſtatements; and he thanked God a time would come when they ſhould have an opportunity of knowing who was in the right, and who was in the wrong in that matter, in like manner as they had that day had an opportunity of detecting the fallacies and falſehoods of the former eſtimates of the Directors of the Eaſt-India Company. Mr. Fox reaſoned on the exceſs of the diſburſements,

and

and upon the reſources being *minus* three millions. He declared he coincided with his honourable friend behind him, in thinking that Lord Macartney had not authoriſed any perſon to declare it as his opinion, that the reſources of the Madras Government were equal to the expenditure. He ſaid, he had reaſon to believe that the noble Lord's private opinion was different. He repeated his argument, that to vote againſt the appointment of a Committee, would be directly to ſay to that Houſe, and to all the world, that the charges that were ſtated againſt the Directors were all true, and therefore they dared not face an inquiry. He reminded the Houſe of the Committee that had ſat laſt year, all of whom, excepting only two gentlemen, were men of known attachment to the Miniſter, and yet that Committee had made a report full of uſeful information and judicious remark. He reaſoned upon this, to ſhew that a Committee of that Houſe, let them be nominated by whom they would, might always be depended upon for an impartial report, becauſe men of honour, be their political attachments what they might, would not act upon principles that were diſgraceful. He urged the Houſe, therefore, for its own character and credit, to accede to the motion; at any rate he truſted that the Directors would vote for it, as it was grounded on their own ſtatements.

Mr Chancellor Pitt. Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* roſe, and began his ſpeech by replying to that part of Mr. Fox's in which he had complained of being treated with indecency. He obſerved, that conſidering the extreme decorum which at all times diſtinguiſhed the arguments of the right honourable gentleman, conſidering the coolneſs and moderation of his language, together with the meaſured propriety of his manner, he had certainly a very ſubſtantial ground of complaint, if any thing like diſreſpect and indecency were offered to him. For his own part, as it was far from his intention to be guilty of ſuch a breach of good breeding, he was ready to do on that occaſion what he had ſeldom done before, and what he believed he ſhould ſeldom do in future, namely, to make him an apology. This he was the more willing to do, as it would afford him an opportunity of explaining to the Houſe the nature of the alledged offence and the cauſe which had given riſe to it — He had long, he ſaid, admired the great abilities, and the ſurpriſing powers of argument and eloquence with which the right honourable gentleman was ſo eminently endowed; but there were alſo other qualifications belonging to him which had not eſcaped his wonder, in the general view and contemplation of his character. It was, he ſaid, the diſplay of ſome

of

of thoſe qualifications during his late ſpeech that had given occaſion to that conduct for which the Houſe had juſt then heard him ſo ſeverely cenſured. The right honourable gentleman finding the preſent queſtion not applicable to any of his favourite purpoſes, had, with his uſual ingenuity, and agreeable to his uſual practice, contrived to introduce another ſubject, better calculated to afford him an opportunity of gratifying his paſſions and reſentments, and of giving vent to thoſe violent and ſplenetic emotions to which his preſent ſituation ſo naturally gave birth, a ſituation, in which, to the torments of baffled hope, of wounded pride, and diſappointed ambition, was added the mortifying reflection, that to the improvident and intemperate uſe he had made of his power and influence, while they laſted, he could alone attribute the cauſe of all thoſe misfortunes to which he was uſed ſo conſtantly, ſo pathetically, but ſo unſucceſsfully, to ſolicit the compaſſion of the Houſe. Feeling as he did for the right honourable gentleman, he declared, that he ſhould think it highly unbecoming in him to conſider any of his tranſports, any of thoſe ecſtaſies of a mind labouring under the aggravated load of diſappointment and ſelf-upbraiding which at preſent were his lot, as objects of any other emotion in his breaſt than that of pity, certainly not of reſentment, nor even of contempt. What the particular action or expreſſion of countenence was that had given ſuch uneaſineſs to the right honourable gentleman, he could not well explain to the Houſe, but he remembered that, at the time, it proceeded from no other impulſe of his mind, than that of ſurpriſe at the ſingular adroitneſs with which he found a dry and inſipid queſtion of account converted into a ſubject for ſuch ſublime and ſpirited declamation as that with which the Houſe had juſt then been entertained; and he could not but think that, conſidering all circumſtances, there was great judgement in the change which the right honourable gentleman had made, as ſo much better adapted to his purpoſes, his talents, and his information. But though the right honourable gentleman had been ſo fortunate as to introduce a variety into the debate, well calculated to diſplay the luſtre of his oratorical capacity, he had unluckily hit upon a ſubject that in other reſpects did him but little credit. He wondered that the right honourable gentleman did not conſider, that in bringing back the recollection of the Houſe to the object, on which he had ſome few days ago engaged their attention; he had forgot, that in ſo doing he muſt alſo remind them of the event of that day's debate, and ſerve to imprint more laſtingly on their minds the ſituation

ſituation to which he had reduced himſelf by his conduct on that occaſion; a ſituation which, were it his caſe, he confeſſed he ſhould himſelf look back to rather with humiliation and ſelf-reproach, than with pride and exultation; but he admired the fortitude and philoſophy with which the right honourable gentleman perſiſted in his favourite purpoſe, be it what it might, even though ſhame and diſgrace ſtood in his way: he drew, however, a happy omen from the warmth with which he eſpouſed the preſent motion, and from the affinity which was endeavoured to be eſtabliſhed between it and the former motion, which had been thus irregularly alluded to, wiſhing that the conſequence attending this attack on the credit of the Eaſt-India Company, might be ſimilar to that which had already followed the ſeveral reiterated attacks on the public credit of the nation, viz. a great and rapid increaſe in the value of the ſtocks. He lamented, therefore, that the argument of this day could not be known in India as ſpeedily as that of the former was in England, becauſe by that means the happy effects of it would in that quarter be no longer delayed. When he conſidered the latitude which the right honourable gentleman had given himſelf in the uſe of his expreſſions, and compared it with his extraordinary ſenſibility, to a ſilent and almoſt imperceptible relaxation of features, he was inclined to ſuppoſe that the doctrine of the right honourable gentleman was, that a ſilent ſpectator ought to endeavour, by all poſſible means, to avoid even a look that might give offence, while he that was ſpeaking had a right to conſider himſelf as abſolved from all the reſtraints of moderation, good manners, or even common decency. He was perſuaded that there would always be found courage in that Houſe to act right. [Mr. Pitt was proceeding in this ſtrain, when there was a cry of *Hear him*, from the other ſide; and for a ſhort time there was ſome diſorder, until Mr. Pitt turned to the queſtion.] He was ſurpriſed to hear from the right honourable gentleman, that he had not expected any oppoſition to the motion before him, until he had heard an order for ſtrangers to withdraw; for if he had liſtened to the arguments of a right honourable friend of his behind him (Mr. Burke) he would have ſeen that they were all founded on an idea that ſuch an oppoſition was intended; and he would take upon him to ſay, that there never was a motion which merited an oppoſition more ſtrongly than the preſent. The two moſt obvious grounds for ſuch a Committee as was required, were either to ground on their report a charge of criminality againſt

againſt the Court of Directors, (and a very high degree of criminality it would be, if they ſhould be found to have wilfully attempted to deceive the Houſe in their ſtatement of the reſources and diſburſements of the Company,) or elſe to gratify an idle curioſity by an inquiry which, when finiſhed, would be wholly uſeleſs, and inapplicable to any deſirable purpoſe. With reſpect to the Directors being liable to any charge for an intentional miſtatement to the Houſe, that, he obſerved, was entirely out of the queſtion, as the ſtatement, which was alledged to be fallacious, was not a poſitive account of diſburſements already made, and reſources at the time in being, but of what was expected to be the amount of both, in caſe a circumſtance, which was at the time ſhortly to have been looked for, ſhould take place, namely, the concluſion of a peace: that peace having been deferred for near a year beyond the period when it was expected to have taken place, had of courſe made a material difference between the fact and the hopes of the Directors, by conſiderably increaſing their diſburſements, and diminiſhing their reſources. From hence the inaccuracy of the account, and the innocence of the Directors, were perfectly reconcileable to each other; for he preſumed there was no gentleman would contend, that in a ſpeculation of ſo uncertain and diſtant a nature as the affairs of the Eaſt-India Company, there could be any criminality in being unable to foreſee ſuch accidental events as might naturally take place to derange an eſtimate calculated without any view or proſpect of ſuch accidents. This being the caſe, he muſt conclude, that the other motive (that of curioſity) was that to which the Houſe were indebted for the preſent motion—ſuch a motive as this he would by no means give way to, when by ſo doing he ſhould involve any number of gentlemen in an unneceſſary and troubleſome inquiry. Such a curioſity as this, if once indulged, would ſtill continue to gain ground, and to increaſe, and at length, perhaps, the Houſe would be applied to, to appoint a Committee to conſider and make their obſervations on every ſingle diſpatch that ſhould arrive from India. Indeed, if this principle of curioſity formed any part of the ſyſtem of parliamentary proceedings, he remembered a time when it might have been applied with peculiar propriety: he thought there could not have offered a more intereſting, nor a more curious object of ſuch an inquiry, than "what were the motives upon which the right honourable gentleman and his friends had framed their celebrated plan of Eaſt-India regulation laſt year,

and what might have been the effects naturally to be expected from thence, had it been carried into execution?" When it was conſidered to what a ſurpriſing extent the bold and aſpiring authors of that plan had endeavoured to carry it; that it embraced the whole of the executive government, the whole of the patronage, and, in ſhort, every political function of the Company, and transferred them all to the right honourable gentleman in ſuch a manner, as to have ſecured to himſelf and his friends a power over this country, as well as that, which ſhould have continued to laſt until, by a few more ſuch experiments on both, they had rendered either no longer worth the holding; when it was conſidered that it had been complained of, that one ſource of the calamities of the Company proceeded from the too great influence of patronage, and the abuſes to which it had been made inſtrumental; and yet, that, to cure theſe abuſes, that very influence from which they ſprung, was to be increaſed to ſuch an extent, and modelled in ſuch a manner, as to leave no hope of its not being uſed to much more dangerous purpoſes than any yet known, except from the acknowledged immaculacy of the hallowed hands in which it was to be placed. He had, he ſaid, in his hand a liſt of the officers which that famous bill made removable at pleaſure, a few of which he would mention to the Houſe, in order that they might judge whether the univerſal opinion which that buſineſs had given riſe to, of the evils likely to reſult from the increaſe of patronage, and the placing that patronage in dangerous hands, could be called, with any regard to the meaning of the word, a deluſion—here he read, beſides the Governors and Council, one place of 25,000l. per annum; one of 15,000, five of 10,000, five of 9,000, one of 7,500, four of 5,000, twenty-three of 3,000, and ſo on till he came to places of one thouſand, which, he obſerved, were in compariſon with the others ſo trifling, as hardly to be worth his mentioning. There could, he ſaid, be but one other motive for appointing the Committee, and that was, to diſcover the true ſtate of the Company's affairs, in order to give them ſuch relief as they might appear to be in need of; if this was the idea on which it was ſuggeſted, he was ſurpriſed to find in the right honourable gentleman ſo very forward and unuſual a liberality towards the Company; for, ſetting aſide the deſperate attempts which he already had alluded to on their intereſts, he had ſince that period made a moſt violent oppoſition to the granting of them that relief which they applied for in the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament;

ment; and now, when they demanded no ſuch aſſiſtance, was he deſirous of impoſing it upon them againſt their conſent, though he had ſo recently endeavoured to withhold it from them when they thought it neceſſary? Upon the whole, he concluded with ſaying, that if he had come down to the Houſe perfectly uninformed on the ſubject, he ſhould, notwithſtanding, have learned enough from what he had already heard in the courſe of the debate, to be able to make up his mind as to the impropriety of appointing the Committee, a meaſure that ſhould therefore meet his moſt hearty negative.

Mr. *Fox* roſe to explain. He ſaid, the right honourable gentleman had ſtrangely miſconceived him, if he imagined that he had argued the motion, with a view to prove that the Eaſt-India Company ſtood in need of farther relief. He had entertained no ſuch idea. He had contended, that a Committee ought to be appointed; and that becauſe the Houſe had been preſented with accounts of the ſtate of the Company's affairs, delivered in by the Directors themſelves, each groſſly and flagrantly contradicting the other in eſſentials. With regard to his perſonal diſappointment, which the right honourable gentleman thought proper to aſſert, he begged to know of him what there was mortifying in his ſituation, that ſhould make him feel himſelf to be a diſappointed man? Had any thing happened in the courſe of the preſent ſeſſion, that favoured ſuch a ſuppoſition? Was it the failure of the different ſchemes to harraſs and oppreſs him, in which the right honourable gentleman was ſuſpected to have been a principal actor behind the ſcenes, that indicated his mortification or diſappointment? Till ſomething did appear to warrant a reaſonable ſuſpicion of his feeling like a diſappointed man, perhaps it might be as well for the right honourable gentleman not to waſte his ſarcaſms. Mr Fox.

Lord *North* ſaid, he thought the queſtion ought to be carried, for the beſt of all reaſons, viz. becauſe no honourable gentleman had made a ſingle objection to it. The right honourable gentleman had urged a conſiderable ſhare of argument, a conſiderable ſhare of invective, of praiſe of himſelf, and of inſinuation againſt others; but he had not advanced one ſound reaſon why a Committee ſhould not be inſtituted to inveſtigate the cauſe of the contradictions to be met with in the very contradictory papers that had been preſented under the name of Eſtimates by the Directors of the Eaſt-India Company. Inſtead of anſwering the argument of his right honourable friend, inſtead of overthrowing the ſtatements of Lord North.

the honourable gentleman who made the motion, inſtead of diſproving any of the facts he had alledged, the right honourable gentleman had recommended to the Houſe, not candour nor fairneſs, but what muſt indeed be deemed a nobler virtue; he had recommended *courage*; and in ſuch a recommendation he had acted wiſely; for if ever courage was particularly neceſſary, it was when an aſſembly was called upon to act in defiance of conviction, and to vote againſt a motion, in ſupport of which many ſtrong reaſons had been aſſigned, and againſt which no one reaſon whatever had been attempted to be advanced. To act under ſuch circumſtances, and in ſuch a manner, gentlemen muſt be courageous; for without arming themſelves with more than an ordinary ſhare of parliamentary courage and parliamentary fortitude, it would be impoſſible for them to deny, what there was no parliamentary precedent for refuſing. As the better ſort of valour was diſcretion, his Lordſhip adviſed the Houſe to inquire before they decided, and to take proper means of being ſure they were in the right, prior to their giving a vote that they might afterwards ſee cauſe to believe had been wrong. The right honourable gentleman had declared that he underſtood the meaning of the contradictions in the different eſtimates. Perhaps he did, but in order that he might underſtand them too, his Lordſhip ſaid, he wiſhed a Committee to be appointed. Inſtead of allowing that meaſure, the right honourable gentleman had offered himſelf in lieu of a Committee, and deſired the Houſe to be content with his obſervations upon the eſtimates. His Lordſhip defended the Eaſt-India bill that had been brought in during the Duke of Portland's adminiſtration, and ſtated the places which Mr. Pitt had alluded to, one of 25,000l. a year, two of 10,000l. a year, &c. &c. as the abuſes which that bill was calculated to correct, by removing the patronage from the hands of the Governor General in India, and placing it in the hands of a Committee here at home, ſubject to the control and under the immediate eye of Parliament. He mentioned the ordering the doubtful claims of the Nabob of Arcot's creditors to be paid, as an inſtance in which the right honourable gentleman's Board of Control had ſhewn ſome of that *courage* which he had doubtleſſly infuſed into them, where the Houſe had heſitated again and again, although it had a *month's mind* to go that length. His Lordſhip took notice of the manner in which Mr. Pitt had attacked his right honourable friend, and ſaid, though the right honourable gentleman could not

bear the leaſt alluſion to his own conduct in the late debates on finance, the right honourable gentleman rarely ever roſe without taking occaſion to come houſe upon him with ſome ſeverity on the ſubject of the American war; a ſeverity, however, which he owned he felt the leſs, from knowing that there were thoſe near the right honourable gentleman full as reſponſible for that meaſure as he was, and from feeling that he had no ſort of right to complain of the right honourable gentleman's uſing him worſe than he treated his friends. His Lordſhip took notice of the arguments that had been urged on the ſcore of the Company's growing proſperity, and adverted to the Relief bill of the laſt year, in which the Company, who had come to Parliament *in forma pauperis*, were at once deemed both rich and poor, and treated accordingly, being as beggars relieved from their pretended diſtreſs, and allowed as wealthy men to make a larger dividend than they had ever been allowed by Parliament to make in their moſt flouriſhing ſituation. The right honourable gentleman, he obſerved, had ſaid, he wiſhed the Eaſt-India Company well. So he did. He had more than once declared the intereſts of the Company were ſo involved and wrapped up in the intereſts of the country, that it ought to be relieved when really diſtreſſed, and it muſt be a matter of general joy when its affairs proſpered. The right honourable gentleman had ſaid, that the Company's affairs did proſper, and that they would continue to proſper. He owned, his Lordſhip ſaid, the right honourable gentleman had furniſhed him with one reaſon for thinking that they would continue to proſper. He had made the Houſe no *promiſe* that they would, which he conſidered as a good ground to rely on.

Major *Scott* deſired to explain what he had ſaid relative to Lord Macartney's ideas of what might be done at Madras, by reading an extract of a letter from his Lordſhip to Bengal, in which he ſtated that the revenues from July 1784, to July 1785, would exceed the charges thirty-three lacks of rupees, and in future years would increaſe. Major Scott

Sir *James Johnſtone* roſe, he ſaid, to give a reaſon againſt the appointment of a Committee, which had not occurred to any gentleman. The moſt pleaſing paſſion of the human mind was illuſion; now if a Committee were appointed, the illuſion that thoſe gentlemen were wrapped in, who had been promiſed the different places, from twenty-five thouſand a year to fifteen hundred a year, would be broken through, Sir James Johnſtone.

through, their names would be diſcovered, and they would not only have the mortification of having their hopes diſſipated, but they would be laughed at into the bargain.

When the queſtion was put, Mr. Francis and his friends acquieſced in the deciſion of the chair, that it was negatived, and roſe to give notice that he ſhould bring forward the ſame buſineſs next week in another ſhape. There was a cry, however, of "divide" The Houſe accordingly divided,

Ayes,	-	-	-	45
Noes,	-	-	-	161

Afterwards, when the Members were declared, Mr. Sawbridge complimented the Scotch Baronet who had evidently done ſome violence to his own feelings and conſiſtency, in order to complete the auſpicious number, *Forty five*.

Friday, May 6.

Mr. Eden. Mr. *Eden* moved, "That an humble addreſs be preſented "to His Majeſty, that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to give "directions, that there be laid before this Houſe an account "of all articles of Iriſh conſumption, charged in Ireland, "with an internal duty on the manufactory, or a duty on the "materials, ſtating and diſtinguiſhing the ſeveral duties." And as he ſhould hereafter have occaſion to contend, that this account would involve ſome conſiderations of extreme importance and difficulty in the propoſed arrangement with Ireland, he might reaſonably be aſked why he had not called for it ſooner he would fairly then acknowledge that though he had given an unremitted attention to the Iriſh buſineſs during many weeks, and though he had entered upon the inquiry with the advantage of ſome experience in the ſubject, he had not adverted, till within the laſt week, to the particular point which was now the object of his inquiry, and which the preſent motion would elucidate. He was even willing to doubt whether he was right in his conception reſpecting it; becauſe, if he was right, it would infallibly place the manufacturers of this kingdom in a ſituation infinitely worſe even than their preſent fears it would make an immediate change in the duties on Britiſh imports into Ireland, to the diſadvantage of the Britiſh manufacturer in moſt articles, and in ſome inſtances to a degree which would operate as a prohibition. And yet ſuch a change did not ſeem to be apprehended by any of the numerous petitioners, who both in their petitions and examinations ſeemed to ſuppoſe that their manufactures were to continue importable into Ireland upon the preſent duties. the

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ſame idea ſeemed to have prevailed at the Committee of the Privy Council in all their examinations. and even that day he had aſked ſeveral gentlemen then preſent. whether they had not ſuppoſed that the duties on Britiſh manufactures, importable into Ireland, were to remain without alteration, and ſuch had been the general opinion. He ſhould have been tempted, therefore, to diſbelieve the contrary inference which he had now formed, if a repeated conſideration of the propoſitions had not convinced him of its accuracy. It would be found in the fourth propoſition, that the loweſt duty payable at preſent upon the importation of any article of either kingdom into the other, was hereafter to be the duty payable in each kingdom, and in the nature of a port duty. in addition to this, by the fifth propoſition, a farther duty might be charged in each kingdom, to countervail the internal duty on the manufacture, or the duty on the material What then muſt be the conſequence? He would illuſtrate it by a particular inſtance, and would leave others to apply a ſimilar reaſoning to all the articles of ſilk manufacture, mixed ſilk, linen wares, &c. At preſent the duty payable in Ireland on a barrel of imported Engliſh ale or porter, was about four ſhillings, and the duty on Iriſh ale or porter imported into England was much higher, the duty, therefore, of four ſhillings was hereafter to be the port duty on that article in each country: but the internal duty in Ireland on ale and beer happened to be high, and, under the fifth propoſition, might be charged alſo on the Engliſh article. Eſtimating, therefore, this additional duty at five ſhillings, the articles of Engliſh brewery, which formed an annual export at preſent of about 80,000l. a year to Ireland, would be charged with more than double their preſent duty, or, in other words, would be prohibited. The ſame reaſoning would extend, in different degrees, to a great variety of articles. If it ſhould be anſwered, that this was meant, and underſtood, he would only ſay, that it had never been ſo underſtood by the manufacturers, and would be attended, in many inſtances, with ſerious conſequences. If, on the contrary, it ſhould be ſaid that it was not meant, he muſt aſſert, that the reſolutions, as at preſent expreſſed, ſpecifically ſtated it; and it would be difficult to ſupport a different inference, otherwiſe than by introducing a different plan. He would not preſs the conſideration farther at preſent, though not unprepared to go into the detail of its conſequences reſpecting many articles of Britiſh trade. He had now twice endeavoured to give a general view of it, and had no doubt that it would be properly and fairly conſidered

Mr.

Mr. Fox ſeconded the motion; and the addreſs was voted without farther remark.

Mr. Beaufoy

Mr. Beaufoy moved for leave to bring in a bill, to explain and amend the exciſe laws, and to extend the right of trial by jury. He introduced his motion in the following manner

I gave notice to the Houſe yeſterday evening, that on this day I would aſk their permiſſion to bring in a bill for the purpoſe of correcting and defining the juriſdiction of the commiſſioners of exciſe, and for extending the right of trial by jury.

My attention to this ſubject has been ſtrongly excited by obſerving, that if an Engliſhman be aſked what is the privilege that chiefly conſtitutes his civil freedom? his anſwer is, "the right of trial by jury." If he be aſked, on what he chiefly relies for the continuance of his *political* liberty? his anſwer is ſtill the ſame, "on the right of trial by jury," for he thinks this privilege a more certain protection from arbitrary power, than that which ariſes from a branch of the Legiſlature being appointed by the People. Yet this eſſential privilege, the object of his paſſionate attachment, is often denied him in queſtions of revenue, it is denied him in all caſes that are determined by juſtices of the peace, or by the commiſſioners of exciſe.

In ſuggeſting a remedy for this defect in our laws, I think myſelf fortunate in being able to ſay, that the evils which the bill propoſes to reform, are marked out as objects of juſt uneaſineſs, and of well-founded national alarm, in the writings of great man, from whoſe Commentaries the legiſlators of this kingdom, generally ſpeaking, derive their knowledge of the laws.

"The proceedings of the exciſe," ſays Blackſtone, "are "ſo ſummary and ſudden, that a man may be convicted in "two days time, in the penalty of many thouſand pounds, by "three commiſſioners, or two juſtices of the peace, to the "total excluſion of the trial by jury, and diſregard of the "common law."

The proceedings *are* ſudden and ſummary indeed. In eight and forty hours the ſubject may be convicted in penalties that ſhall devour his whole fortune, that ſhall ſtrip him of the means of life, and reduce him at once from affluence to beggary. If the penalty is greater than he is able to diſcharge, impriſonment inevitably follows, and that too, of a duration to which the law has aſſigned no limit. And what, Sir, is the ſort of evidence that is required to bring this ruinous conviction on the ſubject? The evidence of a *ſingle* witneſ

witneſs is ſufficient—Of a witneſs under the ſtrongeſt temptation to perjury, for if he eſtabliſhes his charge, he is entitled to one half of the goods that are forfeited, together with one half of the penalties that are levied, as a reward for his induſtry, as a premium for his accuſation. And who are the judges that are to decide the cauſe, under circumſtances ſo perilous to the ſubject? Two juſtices of the peace, or three commiſſioners of exciſe, men, who in no reſpect are the peers of the accuſed: for where is the tie that connects their ſituation with his? What have they in common with him, that can lead them to dread that his caſe may hereafter be their own? *His* intereſts are not *their* intereſts, nor *his* feelings *their* feelings. If they extend the burden of the law beyond the reaſon of the law, they themſelves cannot feel the weight of its oppreſſion Let it be remembered too, that the commiſſioners of exciſe are removable at the pleaſure of the Crown. As dependent officers of the revenue, they are in ſome meaſure parties to the cauſe; and ſhould their deciſion be unjuſt, to whom ſhall the ſufferer complain? who ſhall receive his appeal? I hear it ſaid, "the Commiſſioners of Appeals"—Sir, there is no ſuch tribunal From the firſt eſtabliſhment of the Court, in the reign of Charles the Second, they are ſaid to have met but once, and for the laſt thirty years they have not met at all: they exiſt only as penſioners to the Crown. Now, except to this ſhadowy court, which in practice has not, and from the nature of its inſtitution never can have, any real exiſtence, there is no tribunal to which the ſubject, if aggrieved by the judgement of the Commiſſioners, can poſſibly appeal.

You, Mr. Speaker, well know, that if any of the ſuperior courts pronounce an unjuſt deciſion, a writ of error gives relief to the ſubject. If the judge miſleads the jury on a point of law, a new trial, grounded on the miſdirection of the judge, opens again the avenues to juſtice. In a variety of caſes, an appeal to the Houſe of Lords reſcues the cauſe from the juriſdiction in which it was firſt decided, and brings its merits to a new diſcuſſion before the moſt auguſt tribunal at this time exiſting in the world. But the Commiſſioners of exciſe acknowledge no ſuperior juriſdiction; they contend, that if they pronounce an unjuſt deciſion on the accuſed, every avenue to juſtice is barred againſt him.—Such are the courts of ſummary and ſudden juriſdiction, whoſe proceedings Blackſtone repreſents as abhorrent to the general law of the land.

But while I deſcribe in their full magnitude the objections to the courts of ſummary procedure, I am perfectly

aware that they have alſo their advantages, and that thoſe advantages are of the higheſt importance to the eaſe and convenience of the ſubject, as well as to the intereſts of the revenue. To the ſubject they are obviouſly beneficial in all thoſe caſes in which the value in queſtion is too ſmall to ſuſtain the expence of a trial by jury. To the intereſts of the revenue they are eſſential in all thoſe caſes in which the procedure of the ordinary courts would be too ſlow to arreſt the progreſs of fraud, till loſſes of a dangerous magnitude have been incurred

If, for example, a diſtiller ſhould refuſe to pay the duty with which he is charged, and on that account ſhould be ſued, as the law directs he ſhall, for double the amount of the duty he ſo withholds, it would be dangerous, indeed, to proceed againſt him in any court that has not a ſummary procedure, for as the ſum which a diſtiller pays is often from twelve to fifteen hundred pounds a week, it is evident, that before the ſlow proceſs of a trial by jury could give effect to the law, the diſtiller would have acquired a vaſt fortune, and have removed with his wealth to another kingdom.

But though it be obvious, that the ſummary courts are neceſſary in ſome caſes, for the ſecurity of the revenue, and expedient in others, for the convenience of the ſubject, yet it is equally evident, that the ſubject ought not to be deprived of his trial by jury, in caſes in which no advantage can follow either to the revenue or himſelf.

There ought to be but two intereſts in queſtion, the intereſt of the revenue, and the intereſt of the ſubject but, unfortunately, a third interferes, the intereſt of the officer I do not mean that ſort of intereſt which is connected with the intereſt of the revenue, and which ariſes from the officer's being in ſome meaſure the aſſociate of Government; for the intereſt I mean is purely ſelfiſh, and is founded on conſiderations of private animoſity and perſonal hatred towards the accuſed; or on conſiderations pecuniary and ſordid

To the malignant effects of this private intereſt in the officer, it is owing, that in cauſes of the greateſt magnitude the benefit of a trial by jury is frequently withheld; and the ſubject, in caſes in which his all is at ſtake, is confined to the ſudden and ſummary juriſdiction of the arbitrary court.

To remove this obvious hardſhip, which brings with it no benefit to the revenue, while it oppreſſes and irritates the ſubject, is the chief purpoſe of the bill that I wiſh to have the honour of preſenting to the Houſe.

The

The bill propoſes to give to the ſubject, with certain exceptions, and on certain conditions that are neceſſary for the ſecurity of the revenue, an optional right to a trial by jury in all queſtions of exciſe. In all caſes, whatever be the magnitude of the cauſe, the ſubject will eſteem this option an ineſtimable privilege. Should the value in diſpute be ſmall, the ſubject, if I know the ſpirit of my countrymen, will often ſay, "'Tis true the worth of the goods is trifling, and the "penalty itſelf inconſiderable, but I will not be branded as a "fraudulent trader at the pleaſure of any arbitrary court—I "will throw myſelf upon my country—I have confidence in "the juſtice of my cauſe, and whatever be the expence, I "will be tried by my peers."—Such will often be the language of the ſubject in cauſes comparatively trifling; but ſhould the value of the ſeizure, on the contrary, be great; ſhould the forfeiture of the goods bring other penalties along with it, ſhould the whole fortune of the accuſed, his means of life, his liberty, ſhould they be all at ſtake—in that caſe, how will he rejoice to find, that thoſe who are to ſit in judgement upon him, and to be arbiters of his fate, are men of like intereſts, and of like feelings with himſelf.

Thus, the bill propoſes to give the ſubject, in every caſe in which he chuſes to claim it, a right of trial by his peers.

To this general rule there is unavoidably one exception, which is the ſame I mentioned before, that of a proſecution for the payment of double duties. This is the only exception, for it is the only caſe in which the intereſts of the revenue can ſuſtain a loſs by the delay that attends the proceſs of a trial by jury, and fortunately it is ſuch an exception, as can be productive of no injuſtice to the ſubject, for the nature of the caſe leaves nothing to the diſcretion of the court. In the firſt place, the charge itſelf, if true, may be eaſily eſtabliſhed, and if falſe, may as eaſily be diſproved, for whether the defendant has or has not paid, on the day preſcribed by the law, the duties which he owed to Government, is a fact of notoriety, and eaſily aſcertained.

If the money was really paid, it muſt have been paid to the collector, probably in the preſence of the clerks of the office, and of many witneſſes who attended on the ſame day, for the ſame purpoſe, but, at any rate, the uſual ſecurity of a receipt furniſhes a proof of payment.

In the next place, it is evident, that if the exiſtence of the offence be proved, the extent of the puniſhment in no degree depends on the pleaſure of the court; it is ſtrictly defined by the law, below the limits of which it cannot be mitigated, and

beyond which it can as little be extended · nothing therefore, either as to the proof or puniſhment of the offence, is left to the direction of the Judge; and with this ſingle exception, an exception as harmleſs to the ſubject, as neceſſary to the revenue, the right of a trial by jury is given in all queſtions of exciſe. Thus, Sir, I have attempted to deſcribe the principal object and general outline of the bill which I am anxious to preſent to the Houſe But, that I may not be miſunderſtood in ſome expreſſions I have uſed, permit me, Sir, before I conclude, to obſerve, that when I complained of the hardſhips of the exciſe laws, and of the deſpotic conſtitution of its court, I meant not to complain of the perſons who preſide in that tribunal, and by whom theſe laws are diſpenſed to the people.

The conduct of the preſent Commiſſioners has been uniformly mild and lenient The example of thoſe who fill the higheſt offices of the law has diſcountenanced, in the inferior juriſdictions, all malicious attacks on the civil rights of the people.

There were times, indeed, when zeal for the Crown was ſuppoſed to imply enmity to the ſubject.

There were times when the Attorney General thought himſelf officially the ſtedfaſt foe of the People.

There were times (the proofs that there were fill and deform our hiſtory) when thoſe who ſat on the judgement ſeat were parties againſt the accuſed, were forward to convict, and eager to condemn —the zeal of the executioner inſpired the deciſions of the Judge.

But this judicial deſpotiſm has fortunately paſſed away with thoſe ill-fated and arbitrary reigns from which it received its birth

In the character of the learned gentleman near me, to whoſe office the power of proſecuting on behalf of the Sovereign belongs, the ſubject reads with ſatisfaction his own ſecurity from the apprehenſions his anceſtors were compelled to bear In his conduct a faithful and firm attachment to the ſervice of the Crown is ſeen in every ſtep of its progreſs, accompanied by an anxious ſolicitude for the civil rights of the People In his hands the terrors of the law are reſerved only for the guilty

The Judges of the preſent day are the objects of the People's higheſt veneration Placed upon an eminence on which the variableneſs of politics, the ſhiftings of Adminiſtrations, and even the aweful event of the deceaſe of the Sovereign himſelf, are productive of no change, the People receive their

deciſions

deciſions as the decrees of unbiaſſed wiſdom, of pure diſintereſted juſtice.

When perſons of ſuch high characters preſide in the ſuperior tribunals of the kingdom, even theſe courts of juriſdictions that are not dependent upon them are conſcious of reſtraint, in the exerciſe of arbitrary power

Thus, Sir, I have endeavoured to give the Houſe an account of a bill that has for its object the harmonizing the intereſts of the revenue with the rights of the People, by giving ſecurity to both.

And now with all diffidence in my own exertions, but with all confidence in the excellence of the object for which I contend, I beg leave to move for permiſſion to bring in a bill "to explain and amend the laws now in being, giving juriſ- "diction to the Commiſſioners of exciſe, and the Juſtices of "the peace, in matters relating to the revenue of exciſe or "inland duties"

Leave was given.

Monday, May 9.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* roſe, he ſaid, in performance of the moſt unpleaſant part of his duty, that of propoſing to the Committee the impoſition of new burdens on their conſtituents, for the purpoſe of anſwering the neceſſary demands of the public ſervice. It was, he was ſufficiently perſuaded, as much a matter of regret to other gentlemen as it could be to him, to find themſelves called to the painful taſk of providing for the exigencies of the late calamitous and unprofitable war, in order to bring back the country to its former vigour and importance, and give ſtability to its ſtrength and proſperity. He ſhould begin by ſtating to them the amount of the ſeveral articles of ſupply that had been voted, and that remained to be voted for the ſervice of the current year, and would afterwards ſtate the ways and means to anſwer them, in order to ſhew what the deficiency was that he muſt provide for, and what taxes it would be neceſſary to propoſe He ſaid, he was under no apprehenſion that when they perceived the indiſpenſable and abſolute neceſſity of creating efficient and certain funds for that purpoſe, any dread of popular diſcontent would diſcourage them from the duty which they owed to the People, whoſe welfare and ſecurity alone was the object in view. He referred the Committee to the papers that had from time to time been laid upon the table, which demonſtrated the ſituation of public accounts, and ſhewed, Mr Chancellor Pitt.

that

that although we were at peace, yet the expences incurred by the war were ſtill felt, and ſo ſtrongly, that it was impoſſible to aſſert we were yet come to a peace eſtabliſhment in our finances. Every man who wiſhed well to the happineſs of his country muſt ardently deſire to ſee it again flouriſh, and to obtain that end, we muſt certainly make proper proviſions for our neceſſities. Viewing the matter in this light, he wiſhed to make every point as clear to others as it appeared to him, and therefore he ſhould trouble the Committee with a ſtatement of the nature of our finances, and what was their amount. The burdens of the country being in every man's mind, the neceſſity of taxation muſt be anticipated; but however the People might feel its weight, they certainly muſt acknowledge its juſtice, when they owned its neceſſity. He begged again to mention to the Committee, that his duty in this principal taſk led him to provide ſuch funds to anſwer the public exigencies as would not be found deficient. He ſhould, under thoſe conſiderations, begin by ſtating to the Committee the particulars of the current ſervice and of the unfunded debt.

The navy came firſt, and under this head

There were eighteen thouſand men	-	933,000
Ordinary - - - -		675,307
Extraordinaries - - -		940,000
Total of the navy	£.	2,548,307

This, he ſaid, was in truth a moſt enormous ſum, but ſtill it was ſuch an article of expence as could not occur in future, becauſe it was only one of the recent effects of the war, which of courſe would be at an end now that a peace was eſtabliſhed. He accounted for this expence continuing ſo long after the concluſion of the war, partly from the many and weighty contracts which it had during the war been found neceſſary to make, and which, though not yet perfected, it was ſtill neceſſary to abide by, and partly by the number of our ſhips in diſtant parts of the world, many of which had not yet returned home.

The next article was the army, and this alſo was larger than gentlemen might imagine, for the army eſtimates were not yet reduced totally, but when the Committee came to recollect, that it was impoſſible to make all the reductions neceſſary for a peace eſtabliſhment at one time, they would ſee, that although the ſum was great this year, there was the

pleaſing hope of the next being conſiderably leſs; however the ſums voted for

The army amounted to - £ 2,286,263

With reſpect to the ordnance, a variety of expences had occurred, which were owing in a great meaſure to a ſettlement which had taken place, and which was a meaſure extremely neceſſary: he meant the making proviſion for that part of the ordnance debt, which was unprovided for, and not included in the eſtimates of the year 1784, which amounted to ſomewhat more than 40,000l. Therefore, including that with the ſums that had been voted this year,

The ordnance amounted to - £. 392,855

The next article that he had to mention, the deficiencies, was extremely heavy, and diſagreeable to relate; but as it became his duty to lay before the Committee a thorough ſtate of the finances of the country, he ſhould do it with chearfulneſs, relying on their candour for the trouble he gave them, relative to the deficiencies of the preſent year; and as it was neceſſary to ſee what the whole expenditure was, in order to balance it againſt the income, ſo it was right to ſtate that

The deficiencies amounted to - £ 1,612,908

The malt and land tax, he ſaid, in general, had been overrated, they had been taken at 2,750,000l., but he ſaw from experience they produced no more than 2,450 000l which was a deficiency of 300,000l; and the deficiency of the funds, which were appropriated to the paying of certain annuities, amounting to 1,205,171 had been obliged to be made good out of the ſinking fund.

There were ſeveral ſums which he ſhould lay before the Committee that had been voted for miſcellaneous ſervices as uſual, and they were as under,

Plantations - - -	£. 34,695
Somerſet Houſe - - -	25 000
African Company - - - -	13 000
Muſeum - - -	3,000
Commiſſioners for ſtating the public accounts	9,000
Addreſſes of the Houſe - - -	2,950
American Loyaliſts - - -	62,638

Beſides which, it was proper to ſtate to them that he ſhould on a future day take notice of the arrears of the 4½ per cent. that was due on the duty of the Leeward Iſlands; and it was right that he ſhould apprize the Committee, that he would on a future day of ſupply move for the ſum of 56,000l. to be paid for that purpoſe, which made the whole of the laſt year's expenditure amount to 9,737,868l. but then the Committee

were

were not to look upon that as the annual expence of the years to come; for the reaſon of this being greater than it was hoped the ſucceeding would be, he truſted he had clearly pointed out.

To make good that ſum of - - £ 9,737,868

The whole of the ſums voted were,

Malt, as per eſtimate - - - -	750,000
Land - - - - -	2,000,000
Exchequer Bills - - - -	2,500,000
Surplus of ſinking fund to the 5th of April 1785 - - - -	702,539
Army ſavings - - - - -	231,579
Total voted £.	6,184,118

The ſum therefore wanted to be voted was 3,553,750l.; but it was proper to relate that there had been paid into the Exchequer the ſum of 199,561l. chiefly ariſing from balances which had lain in different paymaſters hands, who had begun to pay them in, and the ſum of 4,798l. which aroſe from the receipt of ſmall duties

The ſurplus of the grants in 1784 had amounted to 66,161l., and the growing produce of the ſinking fund, calculated to the 10th day of October 1785, was no leſs a ſum than 3,128,867l, but ſtill it would require near one million more to make good the ſupplies that had been granted, to be ſure the ſum was ſmall when put in competition with the ſums that for a ſeries of years had been aſked; but he hoped it would (ſmall as it was) be the laſt that would be wanted

In borrowing that million, he had turned the matter ſeriouſly in his mind; and conſidering the ſtate of the funds at this day, and their probable improvement in the courſe of another ſeſſion, he deemed it to be much the moſt prudent ſcheme for the benefit of the kingdom not to fund this million; but to borrow it from the Bank at 5 per cent by which the Public certainly would gain a ſaving, that could not ariſe from going to open market From this mode there was another advantage, and which the Committee muſt eaſily perceive. The Bank were to pay the money, as the neceſſities of Government called for it, not immediately, nor all together, and the intereſt was to be paid but on the ſums as they were called for, and only from time to time, which was a benefit that could not be had from funding. The intereſt on this million, therefore, amounted not quite to 50,000l. but as

it

it would be near the ſum, he ſhould take it at that ſtatement, and provide accordingly by taxes, that would be efficient and fully productive. In reſpect to the whole unfunded debt of the navy and ordnance, he ſubmitted to the Committee, whether there were not a variety of forcible reaſons, not to delay their conſideration beyond the preſent ſeſſion of Parliament. They were a load upon the credit of the country that prevented it from taking that ſpring which peace and our reſources moſt certainly warranted.

But the principal point to which he had to draw the attention of the Committee, was the funding of the navy and ordnance debts, they had been calculated up to the 5th of July 1785, and amounted to,

Navy - - - - -	9,505,808
Ordnance - - - -	504,349
Total	£. 10,010,157

Making together upwards of ten millions, and he ſubmitted to the Committee whether it was not moſt proper to fund it this year, and not wait until another, as it loaded the nation to ſuch a degree as to prevent her riſing in any future war. To be ſure a great part of the debts conſiſted in navy bills; and the Committee muſt recollect, that laſt year out of the nine millions of navy debt, ſix were funded, which left this year but about four millions to be funded, with the addition of the ordnance, and the period that ſeemed generally to be approved of as a ſtated one, for the payment of them at par, appeared to be after they had ran two years, therefore it was his intention, that all the bills when they had run an equal time, viz. two years, ſhould receive an equal benefit, and have 100l paid for every bill of 100l. including intereſt as well as principal. But it would not be right to wait until every bill had been two years in circulation before any was begun to be paid, he therefore meant to hold out ſuch inducements as would tempt the bill-holders to ſubſcribe early, but at all events, they would have an option whether they ſhould wait until their bills had run two years, or accept of ſuch terms as were held out to them, which were ample, abundant, and in ſome caſes an enormous profit, they would have an alternative, and if they did not chuſe to wait, at all events they would not be entitled to aſk ſuch a diſcount as thoſe that did, but they would have ſuch an intereſt as would ſatisfy them, and the Public have no reaſon to be diſpleaſed with. In order that he might ſpeak with ſome degree of certainty on that head, he had deſired as full a meeting of that numerous body

as could be collected, and they seemed satisfied with the terms he held out, which were, that for every month which the bill-holder subscribed sooner than the two years, he should allow a discount of $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. per month, which certainly was paying him more than if paid at two stated periods, each of half a year.

Now the fund that he meant to fund the navy bills and ordnance debentures, was the very fund concerning which there was so much dispute last year, namely, the 5 per cent. Although [illegible] so funded in that stock in preference to the 3 per cent. there was a loss incurred of 6s per cent. which would create an excess of annuity amounting on the whole sum to be funded of about 50,000l., yet if the plan proposed of appropriating one million annually for the discharge of the debt was meant to be adopted, whenever that debt came to be redeemed, it would be done at a much easier rate, and in a length of years there would be a saving of between 2 and 3,000,000l. notwithstanding the increase at first.

The five per cent. stock a few days since was at 92 $\frac{1}{2}$, but then a considerable part of the half year's dividend was due, at least there was, out of the 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. full 1 $\frac{3}{4}$, which, when deducted from the 92 $\frac{1}{2}$ made it only 90 $\frac{3}{4}$, which he would suppose was the price when the debt came to be funded; but the bringing in a nominal capital of 11 millions, to fund a debt of 10, would undoubtedly cause a temporary depression, therefore he would reckon it at 89 $\frac{3}{4}$; but for his own part he should suppose, that taking so large a load of navy bills out of the market would be equal to the load of new stock brought in, and therefore the depression would not be so great as imagined; but, at all events, the 5 per cent. stocks, that day, were only at 91 $\frac{1}{4}$, which, when the 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ interest due was taken off, reduced them to 90, and made them only $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. more than he had taken his supposition at, which was to give 111l. 8s. for every 100l. bill, of course the Public would have to pay 5l. 11s. 6d. interest for every 100l. which was a trifle more than 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and the ten millions he had to fund would require an interest of 563,000l. for a capital created of 11,140,000l. which it would require to fund the navy and ordnance in the 5 per cent., but out of that there was 240,000l. to be taken, which was provided for last year, when the 6,000,000l. of navy debt was funded, therefore the whole of the interest wanted for the additional debt to be funded was only 3[illegible]000l. and the 50,000l. interest for the million borrowed of the Bank, made it together 373,000l. which was the interest wanted, and the whole he should have

had

had to pr[illegible]axes for, had it not been for the repeal of the tax upon t[illegible]s, on the propriety of which there had been ſuch a m[illegible]iety of opinions, the repeal of that tax he could not e[illegible]mate at leſs than 40,000l; of courſe, he was bound to find taxes as under

One million borrowed of the Bank -	£ 50,000
Debt to be funded - - -	323,000
Deficiency by repeal of fuſtian tax -	40,000
Total of intereſt wanted - -	£ 413,000

He ſtill remained of opinion, he ſaid, that the taxes would turn out as productive as he had ſtated them from the calculation he had made, and that a ſurplus of 1,000,000l ſinking fund, for the diſcharge of debt, would be found; but ſhould he have made any error in his calculations, and in the event find himſelf deceived, he truſted the Houſe would not abandon the idea of having a million of ſinking fund, but think it their duty, however diſagreeable the taſk, to find ſuch other reſources as ſhould be ſufficient to make up any deficiency

This ſum of 413,000l. it was requiſite to raiſe by new and additional burdens upon the People, and again, he muſt remind the Committee, that however unwelcome the taſk of impoſing them, yet from theſe burdens, one great, one long-wiſhed-for, event was to ariſe, *a real fund towards paying off the national debt*, and, he ſaid, he remained moſt ſtrongly confirmed in opinion, of a probability, that this event would finally happen The heavy and the accumulated burdens that had for a ſeries of years been heaped upon the People, made them, no doubt, hope and expect that the æra of peace would be a time of retrenchment, and a day of eaſe Hard, therefore, was the taſk of a Miniſter, whoſe duty, from his ſituation, led him to the neceſſity of ſtill adding, even under theſe circumſtances, to thoſe taxes, and to thoſe burdens. He had, therefore, to hope for the indulgence of the Committee towards a perſon in his ſituation After taxes the moſt palatable, after taxes the moſt popular, and, when the reſources of each had been drained to their utmoſt, the means by which money was to be raiſed could not meet with that general, agreeable reception which otherwiſe might be expected. Some, indeed, ſtill exiſted, which poſſibly might be called productive, but the means, in his opinion, though in one degree palatable, yet in another were pernicious. They diſguiſed the poiſon, at the very time they adminiſtered the ſuppoſed remedy, and, by diſguiſing, aggravated to a certainty the

burdens of the People. The productiveneſs of taxes was, no doubt, what a Miniſter ſhould moſt ſeriouſly attend to but, in doing ſo, he ought to have the good of the people, as well as the benefit of the nation, in view; and, therefore, that which, in the end, was deſtructive by the means, ſhould be avoided. In ſupport, however, of what he had to propoſe, although they were not ſo palatably made up, yet, he truſted, to the good ſenſe of the Committee, and to the loyalty of the People, that they would be now accepted by the one, and in time chearfully acquieſced in by the other. In reſpect to the Committee, he wiſhed it to be underſtood, that ſome of the taxes, he meant to offer, would certainly fall heavier on them than on their conſtituents but this, he truſted, would meet their ideas of political juſtice, which certainly went to taxing the wealthier in preference to the more indigent part of the community. One conſideration more he ſubmitted; and, he truſted, it would have its force, was that of no additional expence in the collection of the taxes—no new officers The firſt which he ſhould propoſe to the Committee, was an additional tax on male ſervants, who at preſent paid a duty of one guinea per annum each. In propoſing the firſt of his taxes, he ſaid, he felt, what he ſhould not perhaps feel before any other aſſembly that he could addreſs, a ſatisfaction in thinking, that in proportion to the degree in which it would be likely to affect themſelves, or perſons whoſe ſituations were ſimilar to theirs, ſo would it be more likely to meet with their approbation This tax was not a new one, but an addition to one, which had already been tried, and which, beſides its produce, being nearly aſcertainable, had the other qualities, which, he ſaid, he ſhould always look for in moments of preſſing exigency, namely, the ſum paid, being open and perceptible to thoſe who were to pay it, and that of falling principally on ſuch as ought in juſtice to be moſt the objects of taxation, viz. the rich and opulent. As it now ſtood, this indiſcriminate tax he conſidered as a very partial one, and the partiality was of much injury to the poorer ſort of people, in compariſon with the rich. An opulent man, paying only twelve guineas for twelve ſervants, certainly did not afford a juſt proportion to a man in lower circumſtances, paying one guinea for one ſervant; and the reaſon was obvious. Suppoſe a perſon of 200l. per annum kept but one ſervant, that moſt aſſuredly was paying a much greater proportion than he ought to do, if a man of 5000l. per annum, who kept a dozen, only paid twelve guineas. It was, therefore, meant to propoſe to the Committee, that the tax ſhould be

increaſed

increaſed according to the proportional number of the ſervants, and that the perſon of the higher income ſhould contribute accordingly; and as the ſervants which they kept were more for vanity than for real uſe, more for luxury than for actual ſervice, the tax would be more a tax upon unneceſſary extravagance, than upon either induſtry or ſervitude; and ſhould it even operate, in reducing the number of thoſe unneceſſary men, it certainly would be leſſening, or rather reſtoring to the country, a number of perſons who, in their preſent ſituation, were the leaſt profitable of any other to the community. The additional tax which he ſhould ſubmit was, that inſtead of one guinea on each ſervant, they ſhould be rated as follows:

One ſervant,	£. 1	5 ——
Two, and not more than three,	1	10 each
Five, and not more than ſeven,	1	15 each
Eight, and not more than ten,	2	0 each
Eleven and upwards,	3	0 each.

This, he truſted would meet the approbation of the Committee for the reaſons already ſtated; and as the calculation of the product of this addition was made from the ſtatement of the income already produced, there was little reaſon to imagine that the computation would fall ſhort of the ſuppoſed revenue. He deſired it to be underſtood, that he included in this tax, for the firſt time, waiters at taverns, coffee houſes, and other places of public entertainment. He ſhould therefore take the addition on male ſervants at 35,000l.

The next propoſition he had to offer to the Committee, was a tax which had often been the ſubject of much diſcuſſion. It might probably find one kind of objection from the grave and ſober part of the Houſe, and it might alſo encounter the jocular ideas and merry witticiſms of the other: the former, however, he was prepared to meet and combat with reaſon and argument; to the latter, he had only good-humour and cheerfulneſs to oppoſe; yet ſtill he hoped, when it was conſidered how very trifling the tax would be, and at the ſame time how exceedingly productive, that no gentleman would think himſelf juſtifiable in throwing any obſtacles in its way: but, upon every conſideration, the tax to him appeared to be good and efficient, and therefore he had very little apprehenſion from its being ſeriouſly oppoſed by the Committee. It was a tax upon maid ſervants. This tax, he truſted, would be leſs unpopular from its not being partial;

partial; it was univerſal. The claſſes under which he meant to diſtinguiſh them were as follow:

For one maid ſervant - -	2s.	6d.
For two - - - -	5s.	0 each.
For three, and upwards -	10s.	0 each.

The calculation on the ſuppoſed income from this tax could not be as accurate as that of the male ſervants; but upon every intelligence which he could collect from the returns made to him, he could come within the ſum, and ſo as not to over-rate the probable revenue. The beſt criterion to calculate from, was the number of windows, as returned in the window-tax account, which were as follow:

272,776	houſes of	14	windows.	
76,837	Do. from	14	to	22.
32,000	Do. from	22	to	35.

The ſervants he calculated thus

One maid ſervant in each houſe of	14 windows.
Two in a houſe, - -	of 22 ditto.
Three in a houſe, - -	of 35 ditto

Four upon an average in every houſe of 36 and upwards.

This calculation he confeſſed to be ſomewhat arbitrary; but he could, without danger of being over the calculation, ſet the revenue ariſing from the tax,

At a ſum not leſs than - - -	£. 140,000
To which, when added to the male additional tax, - - - - - - - -	35,000
The whole amount of the ſervants' tax, new duty, would be - - - - -	£. 175,000

The next tax he ſhould propoſe, would be conſiderably productive. It had often been the ſubject of finance, but had met its objections, and that was a tax upon all retail ſhops.

The principal argument under which a tax upon retail ſhops hitherto had been abandoned was, that it would fall indiſcriminately on all ſhops: but if a diſtinction could be found to do away that objection, then, he truſted, that the tax might be admitted. The mode in which he meant to lay this on the Public, was to regulate the tax by the rent of the ſhop; which rent, he ſhould ſuppoſe, always bore a proportion to the profits of the buſineſs, and the traffic carried on within it. In this tax, he was willing to have the

proportion more favourable to the lower claſs of dealers; and, therefore, he ſhould propoſe,

1s. in the pound, on all houſes that paid an annual rent of from - - £. 4 to £. 10
1s. 3d. on thoſe from - - - 10 to 15
1s. 6d. on thoſe from - - - 15 to 20
1s. 9d. on thoſe from - - - 20 to 25
2s. 0d. on thoſe of - - - 25 and upwards.

By the returns made, he was enabled to ſtate the ſum the whole would produce:

In London, Middleſex, and Southwark -	£. 60,000
30 principal towns - - -	10,000
90 towns, 200 houſes in each - -	43,000
70 towns, 200 houſes in each - -	17,000
Other ſmall towns - - -	14,000
	144,000

But for fear that this was overrating, though he ſhould rather apprehend the contrary, he would ſtate the 144,000 at 120,000 l. which ſum the tax moſt certainly would produce. The arrangement under which this was to be collected, prevented any juſtifiable ſuppoſition that it could be oppreſſive; as he meant, by way of recompence to the dealers, to revoke and take away, totally, the licenſes from all hawkers and pedlars, who were rather a peſt to the community, and a kind of nurſery for ſmugglers, than any real benefit or convenience to the [illegible]. This would occaſion a loſs to the revenue of [illegible]. This would be amply compenſated for [illegible] would give birth. The revenue [illegible] tage, that it would be brought [illegible] without any deduction or expence, [illegible] left the houſe tax.

The next tax which he ſhould offer to the Committee was one which undoubtedly would be felt, it was a tax on poſt horſes. This was a tax of which he could ſpeak with ſome degree of certainty, as the returns made rendered the calculation eaſy; it was a ſmall addition, and yet it was to produce one half of what was already collected, he meant one half-penny per mile on all horſes travelling poſt for hire, and when he came to ſtate what the Committee, no doubt, muſt know, he had little reaſon to think but they would ſee, that in many parts of the country the ſubject already paid that addition, by impoſitions of the keepers of inns, who charged ſome

ſome 1s. per mile inſtead of 11d. he ſhould therefore propoſe an addition of one halfpenny per mile on all horſes travelling poſt, by which the inn-keepers would not have it in their power to pocket the ſum which the public now paid. This he ſhould eſtimate to bring in 50,000l.

The next he had to offer, for the conſideration of the Committee, was a tax upon gloves. That, he obſerved, was a ſpecies of taxation which many Chancellors of the Exchequer had turned their thoughts to; but a difficulty always preſented itſelf, of making it a productive tax, owing to the difficulty of the mode of collecting; but the method adopted laſt year with reſpect to the hats, ſtruck him as a very proper one to be obſerved on gloves, which was affixing a ſtamp to every pair of gloves previous to their being ſold, and that ſtamp to be in proportion to the value of the gloves. By that means the tax was collected of the retail trader, and he had no occaſion to lie out of his money long before the ſale of his goods, which was a reaſon why he need not make an additional advance on his cuſtomer, as generally was the caſe, where the tradeſman had a large part of his capital engaged in paying duties that were not repaid him for a conſiderable time. To be ſure it was difficult to ſtate, with any degree of accuracy, what the tax would produce; but he had made his calculation, from a ſuppoſition that there were 3,000,000 of perſons in this country who wore gloves, and every one of them at leaſt one pair in a year, many indeed twenty, thirty, or forty pair in that time; but he could not be thought to be too ſanguine, when he took the average at three pair per year for each perſon, which would make the conſumption 9,000,000 of pairs annually, which he meant ſhould bear a tax of

1d. per pair on thoſe from 4d. to 10d. value.
2d. Do. Do. from 10d. to 1s. 4d.
3d. Do. for all above 1s. 4d.

Therefore he ſhould take the average at three halfpence per pair; of courſe 9,000,000 times 1½d. was 55,000l. but for fear of being deceived, he ſhould eſtimate the tax at no more than 50,000l.

The next tax that he meant to offer, was by licenſe on pawnbrokers. They were in general a ſet of perſons who lived on the neceſſities of the poor, and capable of paying for a licenſe; therefore he ſhould propoſe that each pawnbroker throughout

throughout the kingdom ſhould take out a licenſe annually, as follows:

	l.	s.	d.
In London, Weſtminſter, and Southwark -	10	0	0
In the country - - - - -	5	0	0
Which he eſtimated to produce -	15000	0	0

The next and laſt that he had to produce was more a regulation than a tax; it was to rectify an abuſe on ſalt. At preſent there was an allowance made on all ſalt carried coaſtwiſe of three buſhels in forty; which was an abuſe of ſuch a nature, and ſo liable to fraud, that he propoſed to reduce that allowance to one buſhel and a half in forty. He had received a great deal of information from a pamphlet publiſhed by Lord Dundonald, and by the regulation propoſed there would be a ſaving that he could fairly eſtimate at 12,000l.

Thus he had propoſed taxes that were ſuppoſed to bring in 422,000l. to pay an intereſt of 413,000l. which was making an allowance of 9,000l. for ſome of them not proving productive.

RECAPITULATION.

	£.
Male ſervants	35,000
Female ſervants	140,000
Shops -	120,000
Poſt horſes	50,000
Gloves -	50,000
Pawnbrokers	15,000
Salt -	12,000
Total of new taxes - - -	422,000

After a few general obſervations, he concluded with an adjuration to the Houſe, that they would, by their conduct on the preſent occaſion give a pledge to the Public of their zeal for the national credit, and an aſſurance, that they would never loſe ſight of that great object until they ſhould have brought the revenue (however painful the taſk might be) to ſuch a ſtate, as ſhould enable it, after all the demands of the public ſervice, to afford a ſurplus of a clear million yearly, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing that ſinking fund, which, he was happy to find, was, in common with him, the ardent wiſh of every gentleman in the Houſe, and which, inalienably applied to the gradual diminution of the national debt, alone held out a hope to the country of a future relaxation from her preſent heavy burdens, and a re-

ſtoration to that degree of power, of reſpectability and luſtre which ſhe was intitled to enjoy. He then moved a reſolution to the following purport:

"That it is the opinion of this Committee, that Exche-
"quer bill be iſſued to the amount of one million ſterling,
"for the ſervice of the current year."

Mr. Fox. Mr. *Fox* ſaid, he ſhould not trouble the Houſe with many obſervations, nor would he be the laſt to oppoſe any taxes which were for the benefit of the kingdom, by relieving the exigencies of the ſtate. With reſpect to what the right honourable gentleman had mentioned of the method adopted laſt year of a five per cent. ſtock and the arguments that took place, he had to remind the Committee, that then the ſtock was calculated at ninety-three, now it was not ſo high by two or three per cent., which plainly ſhewed, that he and thoſe gentlemen who ſupported him, were not miſtaken in their hypotheſis. In reſpect to the funding the navy bills, that appeared to him to be juſt and fair, and he was happy that the right honourable gentleman, on this occaſion, had put it within his power to remind the Committee, that this very idea, nay, the very words which the right honourable gentleman now uſed, were ſtated when they were laſt year the idea and words of another perſon, to be both factious and clamorous.

With regard to whether it was better to pay off navy bills with a five per cent. or a three per cent. fund, it was not, he obſerved, a matter that need be further diſcuſſed, it had been ſufficiently argued already, he ſhould only therefore ſay, that he remained fixed in his opinion, that to ſacrifice a large ſum of the public money, at the inſtant of funding the remaining part of the unfunded debt upon an idle ground of ſpeculative calculation with reſpect to the future, was a matter againſt which much ſolid objection could be maintained. If he were to go into the diſcuſſion of the argument as to what was given to the bill-holders more by a five per cent. than a three per cent. fund, perhaps he ſhould be able to make it amount to a good deal more than the right honourable gentleman had ſtated; he would not, however, take up the time of the Committee at preſent, with any calculations upon that head. He thought with the right honourable gentleman, that it was a matter much to be deſired that the bill holders ſhould ſubſcribe immediately; he was afraid, therefore, that the largeneſs of the diſcount might induce the bill-holders to keep their bills till the two

years

years were completed, at the end of which they were to be paid off at par, but that depended entirely upon information, which the right honourable gentleman was more likely to be in poſſeſſion of than he could pretend to be, viz. whether the bill-holders in general were willing to ſubſcribe or not, upon the terms that had been ſtated.

In reſpect to the cotton tax, which was repealed, he ſhould rather imagine, the juſt mode would have been, not to calculate from the 40,000l. given up, but from the probability of what might be produced from what the remaining part was likely to produce. As to the ſervants' tax, that on the male ſervants was very proper, and on the firſt view appeared ſo; but it was neceſſary to aſk, was this tax collected with fidelity; were there no frauds, no evaſions, no partialities overlooked? This was a moſt material point to be correctly known; for if the caſe was ſo, if theſe frauds did exiſt, ſome new mode ſhould be adopted, ſome neceſſary amendments ſhould be made, otherwiſe the preſent would be only adding to the burdens of thoſe who already pay what they ought, by ſtill putting it in the power of thoſe who do not contribute to evade their farther proportion. The poſt tax might be a good one; it merely depended on the queſtion, whether it would or would not bear the addition? As to the tax on female ſervants, the whole Houſe muſt agree, that in a time when the country required additional burdens, it ſhould be the care of Government to avoid any thing that might create univerſal odium; that might give riſe to general unpopularity and he muſt venture to pronounce, that this tax of all others would come within that deſcription. In laying a duty upon luxury or vanity, almoſt every man would be of one opinion as to the juſtice of the meaſure; but when that which affected ſo great a body of the people, and which, from the nature of the caſe, muſt be unpopular, he really thought the tax a bad one.

In reſpect to the manner in which it would be felt, it would fall heavieſt where it ought to fall lighteſt: perſons of large families, he meant thoſe who had young children, would find this a moſt heavy burden. The increaſe of their offspring would become peculiarly diſtreſſing, and the proportion of the tax would be moſt unjuſt indeed; it would become a tax upon infants, and not a tax upon either luxury or extravagance: he meant this as to the middling claſs of people, who kept ſervants only in proportion to their chil-

dren; the lower claſs kept none for that ſervice, and the higher order were able to pay for them. Great care ſhould, as he already obſerved, be taken, that taxes be not calculated ſo as to become generally unpopular, becauſe the odium taking a round from one claſs to another, might create ſuch an outcry as to occaſion them to be cut up *pro tanto*. He ſhould therefore rather imagine the tax not to be ſuggeſted with prudence.

In reſpect to ſhops, that tax would be felt indeed — and as to hawkers and pedlars, it would be neceſſary to ſhew by ſomething more than a mere *ipſe dixit*, what were the benefits to ariſe from ſuppreſſing them. The interior parts of the country to which theſe walking trafficmen were of much ſervice would ſuffer, and the little villages on which they were a check, would each become in itſelf a monopoly of every article in the ſhop trade. He did not mean to oppoſe any of the taxes at preſent; he merely threw out a few ideas on the ſubject, hinting that ſomething ſtronger than hearſay was requiſite. One word more in reſpect to the ſervant-maid tax. the male-ſervant tax was allowed on all hands to be much evaded was there any proviſion made, or any care taken that the female tax would not be under the ſame predicament? The hat tax had alſo been much evaded; and yet the glove tax was calculated at the eſtimate formed upon that revenue. In reſpect to the latter, he wiſhed the Committee to obſerve, that out of the eight millions of ſuppoſed inhabitants in Great Britain, three millions were children; which added to the number of the 500,000 who did not wear gloves, it was probable the right honourable gentleman was too ſanguine in his ideas of the product of this tax. He concluded by ſaying, that he roſe merely to ſtate his doubts and not to give any objection to the motion.

The Earl of Surrey. The Earl of *Surrey* applauded the right honourable gentleman for the manner in which he had opened his budget. There were, however, ſome obſervations, which had occurred to him as he attended to what had fallen from the right honourable gentleman, which, in his mind, deſerved the attention of the Committee. Many of the ways and means he thought were proper, and he had no doubt would meet with general approbation. He was not ſure, for one, how far the right honourable gentleman was well founded in his calculations with reſpect to the hat tax, but thought, on the ſuppoſition that the glove tax would anſwer, it was a very fair one. He was not perfectly ſatisfied in his own mind that the poſt tax would verify the credit which was given to it, he thought

another would ſtill be more eligible as well as more productive; he meant a double tax on Sundays throughout the kingdom the faſhion was now ſo much to travel on Sundays, that whoever indulged in ſuch a luxury, ought, in his apprehenſion, to pay for it. As to the tax on maid ſervants, though gentlemen were diſpoſed to jeſt about it, he was doubtful whether it would not operate very ſeriouſly to their diſadvantage. He did not by any means conſider them in the ſame predicament with male ſervants, who might continue or not in that ſtate of ſervitude. They could alter it when they pleaſed, as they might go into the navy, the army, or even to ſome branch of manufacture or mechanics; but females in that low condition, were condemned to continue where they were. In their caſe it was not voluntary but neceſſary ſlavery, they had no option; and were they to be puniſhed for what was their misfortune, not their crime? At the ſame time let it be remembered, that ſome of the few trades that more properly belonged to them were in the hands of men; ſuch as ſtaymakers, women's mercers, haberdaſhers, dealers in tape, thread, pins and needles, and the like. If the right honourable gentleman therefore was to abandon his intended tax on female ſervants, and impoſe a licenſe tax of tolerably large amount on the men who carried on ſuch trade as he had mentioned, which ought to be properly carried on by women, it would, in his opinion, be much more acceptable He truſted the Committee would turn their attention to a tax thus inimical to ſo many of our fellow creatures, who were reduced by Providence to a ſituation in which they could not help themſelves, and that if no other principle weighed with them, a principle of humanity would; ſince, in his opinion, the objects of this tax had, independent of other evils, hardſhips enough to encounter from their hard and relentleſs deſtiny. He would not ſit down without recommending a very careful reviſal of the law already in being relative to travelling. He had himſelf travelled almoſt over the whole kingdom, and had frequent opportunities of obſerving the frauds and chicanery which prevailed in the collection of this duty from the ſubject it was almoſt impoſſible for any tax to bear the impoſitions practiſed in levying this, and he truſted it would occupy ſome ſhare of the right honourable gentleman's attention, as no branch of the revenue, he believed, more immediately required a thorough inveſtigation.

Mr. *Drake* conſidered the tax on females in a ſerious and a moral light, as tending to increaſe the profligacy and impurity Mr. Drake.

purity of the times. He was therefore ſo very much diſpoſed to give it all the oppoſition in his power, that he would vote for any other which ſhould be propoſed in its room.

Mr Hammet. Mr. *Hammet* did not ſee the maid-ſervant's tax in that very ſerious light which ſome gentlemen did. It was not a tax on humanity, becauſe the duty fell on the maſter, and he was of opinion that the duty was comparatively a light one. It did not therefore ſtrike him as an oppreſſive tax, as its operations were not impulſive, for no man would be obliged to keep any more ſervants than he pleaſed. He thought differently of the ſhop tax, this he thought to all intents and purpoſes a new houſe duty, and laid on ſo partially as to affect only the commercial intereſt. He thought it would have been more manly to have avowed a new duty on houſes at once than by this mode to oppreſs the mercantile part of the people He ſhould therefore very readily vote for any other tax which ſhould be propoſed in room of that on ſhops. He approved very much of the abolition or regulation of hawkers and pedlars, declaring, that in the vicinity of Tower-hill and the Minories, the ſhopkeepers complained of the very great inconvenience they ſuffered, which called for an immediate remedy, and that meaſure ſhould have his cordial and hearty ſupport. He ſaid this might be ſome little amends to the ſhopkeepers of the kingdom, though he ſtill conſidered the tax upon them ſeparately, as a new tax upon houſes by a pound rate partially applied.

Sir James Johnſtone. Sir *James Johnſtone* expreſſed great concern for the tax on females. Amidſt all the praiſe due to the right honourable gentleman, for the very manly way in which he propoſed the taxes, he could not help regretting that he had laid his hand on maid ſervants; in his opinion they ought to have been uſed in a more gentle manner. This, therefore, was a tax which he would moſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſe it tended to oppreſs an order of individuals who were intitled to the moſt humane uſage, to whom ſociety had many obligations, and by whom the evils of humanity were conſiderably alleviated this was conſequently making them a poor return for all their labours and attentions. He thought, at the ſame time, it did the dignity of the Houſe no great credit to bring forward theſe poor unfortunate females as a ſubject of ſpeculation and merriment he truſted the duty would not take place. Why were not thoſe who intruded on their province, narrow and circumſcribed as it was, ſubjected to the duty? Men-milliners, ſtay-makers, and a variety of individuals who might otherwiſe

wiſe be better employed. He exhorted the right honourable gentleman to a ſelection of taxes which ſhould involve all the effeminate in the kingdom; but wiſhed him rather to extend his protection, than the iron rod of oppreſſion, to a ſet of individuals who were more to be pitied than taxed. Then, he ſaid, the bleſſing of the oppreſſed would light upon him: but he ſuſpected the additional duty on the pawnbrokers would ultimately grind the faces of the poor. Theſe were a uſeful body of men. What would often become of the needy but for them? Where elſe could they get money at the price, dear as it was? He hoped yet to ſee this branch of traffic ſupported at the public expence, that the induſtrious, whoſe temporary neceſſities were often thus ſupplied, might not be deprived of ſo convenient a reſource He wiſhed the Sundays duty not only doubled, but tripled it was a day of luxury to one ſet of people, and a drudgery to another. He ſhould, therefore, be happy to ſee it converted into a benefit for the revenue.

Mr *Rolle* attached moſt of his obſervations to the horſe tax, and urged the right honourable gentleman to tax all horſes in general, and to proportion it in ſuch a manner, as that it might not operate partially. More money might be obtained from it, by laying an additional tax on thoſe who kept many horſes for the purpoſes of luxury and ſhew, and the tax might be taken off the poor and induſtrious farmers. Agriculture was of too much conſequence to the nation to be checked. It ought, on the contrary, to be as much encouraged as poſſible. With regard to the propoſed tax on women ſervants, he could not think it a good tax by any means, he heartily wiſhed, therefore, that his right honourable friend would give it up, and ſubſtitute ſome tax that ſhould be leſs objectionable. Let him recollect how hard it would bear on many farmers who kept a number of women ſervants, for the double purpoſe of doing the work of their houſe and of their farm. If the tax were perſiſted in, he hoped the right honourable gentleman would exempt dairy-maids, he hoped alſo to hear from him that day, that pariſh apprentices were not to be paid for, becauſe, if they were, the charitable aim of many pariſhes, who indentured their girls out of their ſchools, as ſervants, would be defeated. Mr. Rolle.

Mr. *Dempſter* conjured the right honourable gentleman to beſtow ſome part of his attention on the horſe tax. He would not pretend to deſcribe with accuracy how it operated in this country, but in the northern part its operations were oppreſſive in a moſt inſufferable degree, Many farmers there were utterly Mr. Dempſter.

utterly unable to pay it. Their rent did not amount to more than two, or three, or four pounds a year. They conſequently had but one horſe, which did every thing, and they could not do without, but for which, if they but rode once in twelve months, they were obliged to pay. This was deſtroying the very means of their ſubſiſtence, and he truſted the right honourable gentleman would not neglect their ſituation, but cauſe ſome mode for their relief. The annihilation of the hawkers and pedlars appeared to him a bold meaſure He remembered ſome years ago, that a bill for that purpoſe was brought into Parliament, but it appeared in the diſcuſſion a meaſure big with the greateſt miſchief. He was in hopes the Committee would ſtill view it in the ſame light He preſumed they would be diſpoſed to think with him, in proportion as they received information on the ſubject, that far from being uſeleſs, their utility to the community would prove their protection. Nothing but the palpable and undeniable utility of the hawkers and pedlars could have preſerved them ſo long in exiſtence againſt all the intereſts that had united to get rid of them. To aboliſh them therefore would be the greateſt miſchief to commerce that could be thought on. There was, Mr. Dempſter ſaid, a ſource of revenue that he had expected to have heard ſomething from the right honourable gentleman upon that day, and that was, the waſte lands of the kingdom. If population was not encouraged, we could not expect to recruit the drafts made upon this country in the courſe of the laſt war. He had hoped therefore that the waſte lands would have made a part of the budget

Mr Francis Mr. *Francis* was ſorry the ſyſtem of taxation ſhould in any degree be diſgraced by ſuch a tax as that propoſed on maid ſervants. He had always obſerved the idea to be reprobated by every perſon of feeling and ſentiment. He truſted the right honourable gentleman, on mature conſideration, would relinquiſh it, as nothing could be ſuggeſted which could give the Public a more diſadvantageous idea of his principles as a man, or a ſtateſman. It was, in his opinion, a tax on families, and would be conſidered as having a tendency to accumulate the oppreſſions to which domeſtic life in this country was already ſubjected.

Sir Edward Aſtley Sir *Edward Aſtley* was adverſe to the tax on women ſervants, and ſaid, he had been againſt the tax on men ſervants when it had been originally impoſed. In the county in which he lived, Sir Edward ſaid, they had many clergymen who upon ſlender incomes kept a horſe, and conſequently were obliged to keep a male ſervant, he thought it hard that

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perſons ſo circumſtanced ſhould be obliged to pay a guinea a year out of the pittance they had to live on, and therefore his idea had been all along, that only thoſe ſhould pay who kept more than one male ſervant Sir Edward thought the abolition of hawkers and pedlars a meaſure extremely proper and deſirable. The country ſhopkeepers expected that their neighbours ſhould give them their cuſtom, whereas the itinerant dealers, the hawkers and pedlars, came and took it away, nor was that all, Sir Edward ſaid, it was believed in the country that the latter ſold cheaper than the ſhopkeepers; the people of the towns and villages therefore who had run in debt to the latter, and ſaved up their money to pay them, went and laid it out with the hawkers and pedlars, and left their debts unpaid.

Sir *Thomas Rich* declared his wiſh that the tax on female ſervants might not be perſiſted in, and as it was generally held, that when gentlemen diſapproved of a tax propoſed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, they ought to come forward with another, he would ſuggeſt one that he thought would produce nearly as much, and that was, a tax on all ladies who were married and put out their children to nurſe. Sir Thomas Rich.

Mr. *Sheridan* roſe, not, he ſaid, to make any very ludicrous remarks on the propoſed tax on female ſervants, though he could not but imagine, if it were perſiſted in, it would occaſion more ridicule than all the cheerfulneſs of the right honourable gentleman would be able to cope with, he roſe to ſtate, that he was ſeriouſly of opinion that it was a moſt unwiſe tax, and a tax that the Public would never be eaſy under Indeed the right honourable gentleman in opening it had fallen into an egregious error, and applied a principle to it that by no means could be ſupported, as a principle equally applicable to the propoſed increaſe and gradation of increaſe of the tax on male ſervants, and to the intended tax on female ſervants. The keeping a number of male ſervants was indiſputably a luxury, and the making thoſe who choſe to keep a number, pay in proportion to it, was perfectly fair and reaſonable, but the caſe was far otherwiſe with female ſervants, it did not follow, becauſe a family kept any number above two or three, that they were more opulent and more able to pay taxes than thoſe who kept only one or two In many caſes where three or four female ſervants were kept, the ſole reaſon was the great number of children the family had, and which neceſſarily required that more ſervants ſhould be kept to look after them. Mr Sheridan ſaid, what he chiefly roſe for was to point out, that in arguing upon the money to be raiſed to pay the intereſt Mr. Sheridan.

of the four millions to be funded, the right honourable gentleman had allowed for 240,000l. juſt as if that fund really exiſted; whereas, in fact, there was no ſuch fund. This Mr. Sheridan explained, by ſtating, that laſt year Mr. Pitt had propoſed raiſing enough to pay the intereſt of ſix millions of navy debt, which he had declared it was his intention to fund this year, but that, in fact, no ſuch money was raiſed. Through inadvertency alſo a circumſtance had happened, of which perhaps the right honourable gentleman was not appriſed, and it was this in all the bills of the laſt year, the produce of the tax made the ſubject of each bill had been uniformly appropriated to the payment of the intereſt of the ſix millions navy. To prove this, Mr. Sheridan read a clauſe from one of the acts of the laſt year. and obſerved, that a ſimilar clauſe had been inaccurately ſuffered to be inſerted in each bill. It ſhould therefore, he ſaid, have been a part of the duty of the right honourable gentleman to have provided that day for raiſing the 240,000l as well as the other ſums that conſtituted the 413,000l. he wanted. With regard alſo to the taxes of laſt year, which he had given for 600,000. Mr. Sheridan declared, they neither had, nor, he believed, ever would raiſe 500,000l. After ſuggeſting this, he recurred to the propoſed tax on female ſervants, which he made ſome farther remarks upon, and ſaid it ought at leaſt to be balanced with a tax on ſingle men, who certainly were a deſcription of perſons leſs uſeful to the community than men who were married and had families He puſhed this obſervation a good way, and concluded with declaring, that the tax on female ſervants could be conſidered in no other light than as a bounty to batchelors, and a penalty upon propagation.

an- Mr Chancellor *Pitt* roſe to make ſome reply to the various
ıtt. remarks that had fallen from different gentlemen. He began with taking notice of Mr. Sheridan's argument reſpecting the deficiencies of the laſt year's taxes, and declared his aſtoniſhment, after what had paſſed on the ſubject lately, that the honourable gentleman ſhould ſtill perſiſt in aſſerting that it was the duty of a Chancellor of the Exchequer, as ſoon as he had diſcovered that any particular tax proved deficient in its product, to come forward and propoſe ſome new tax to make good that deficiency; when, on the contrary, the duty of a Chancellor of the Exchequer clearly was, to look at the produce of the whole of the year's taxes, and of the revenue, and compare it with the whole of the year's expenditure; if the one fell ſhort of the other, in that caſe it was the duty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to propoſe ſome new tax,

in order to make good as much as the revenue fell ſhort of the expenditure; but if it did not fall ſhort of it, then though one or more particular taxes might be deficient in producing the ſum for which they were given, it was not at all material. If the honourable gentleman's argument had been founded, Mr. Pitt ſaid, it would have been his duty to have propoſed taxes to make good the deficiency in Lord John Cavendiſh's taxes of 1783, which had not produced more than the one half of the ſums for which they had been given; and it would alſo have been his duty to have looked back to all the taxes that had proved deficient for a century paſt, and made good the deficiencies of each by new and ſpecific taxes, a circumſtance too palpably abſurd to bear a ſerious argument. With regard to the objections that had been ſtated againſt the propoſed tax on female ſervants, it was not neceſſary to have recourſe to alliteration, and to recur to ſuch elegant phraſes as a *bounty* to *bachelors*, and a *penalty* on *propagation*, to find ground of objection to it; it was undoubtedly true, that thoſe who were married and had families would pay the moſt to the tax: but then let it be conſidered, that the ſame might be ſaid of every individual tax that had been laid upon articles of conſumption for a number of years paſt. In the preſent caſe it did not hold, however, to the extent, that the right honourable gentleman oppoſite to him had ſuppoſed; nor was it to be deemed an application of the principle of the gradational increaſe of the tax on men ſervants, becauſe, being aware of the heavineſs and inequality with which the tax on female ſervants would bear upon thoſe who had large families, he had laid it ſo low, that it could hardly be ſaid, under any circumſtances, to be a grievance. Thoſe who kept one female ſervant, were to pay half a crown only, which ſurely could not be an object to any perſon who kept a female ſervant; thoſe who kept two, were to pay five ſhillings each; and thoſe who kept three or more, ten ſhillings each, and there it was to ſtop: now, was it to be ſuppoſed that any family who kept two, would keep one leſs for the ſake of five ſhillings, or thoſe who kept three, would turn one of the three away merely to ſave ten ſhillings? He next anſwered Mr. Fox's argument about the fuſtian tax, and contended, that as the general tax had not been impoſed a year, it was impoſſible to ſay preciſely what its produce would be, but as the probable produce of that part of it, that was to be derived from fuſtians and cottons in a particular ſtate, had been on good grounds aſcertained at 40,000l. he conceived he

did his duty in propoſing a new tax for that amount. Having argued this ſtrongly, Mr. Pitt ſaid, what had principally called him up, was the intimation of the doubts which the right honourable gentleman had ſtated, as to the utility of advancing the male-ſervants tax, unleſs ſome regulations were at the ſame time adopted to render the collection of that tax leſs fraudulent and more productive. The obſervation of the right honourable gentleman in that part of his ſpeech, he was ready to acknowledge, was perfectly natural and perfectly wiſe, viz. that ſo to increaſe a tax, now fraudulently collected, would be to increaſe the burden of the honeſt few who paid it, and to enhance the benefit felt by the many, who by fraud and evaſion procured an exemption from the payment of it. The fact was, in the variety of ſubjects he had to advert to in his former ſpeech, he accidentally omitted to inform the Committee that it was his intention, and indeed he had a reſolution drawn, and which he meant to move before the Committee roſe, in order to apply a regulation that he truſted would render the collection efficient, and make the tax infinitely more productive; and that was, to put the collection into the hands of thoſe who now collect the houſe tax; and inſtead of ſuffering the tax on ſervants any longer to remain a voluntary tax, which thoſe who were liable to, were to ſend and pay of their own accord, to have perſons call regularly to demand it, in like manner as they did the land and houſe tax, and various other taxes. He took notice of what Mr. Dempſter had ſaid of the waſte lands, and ſaid, they were and had been for ſome time under conſideration; but it was not ſo eaſy a matter to digeſt and put into form, fit to be ſtated to that Houſe, as gentlemen might imagine. The ſubject had been lately adverted to once before, by an honourable friend of his under the gallery, (Mr. Rolle) and meaſures were now actually taking reſpecting them, ſo that he hoped he ſhould ſhortly be able to ſtate ſomething reſpecting them to the Houſe. With regard to what an honourable gentleman had ſaid of the hawkers and pedlars, he could only declare, that his information was derived from complaints ſent from all parts of the kingdom, in which it was uniformly ſtated, that hawkers and pedlars were not more injurious to the fair trader than to the revenue itſelf; that they were great inſtruments and promoters of ſmuggling, and of various other practices that could not but prove detrimental to the public intereſt. In anſwer to what Mr. Fox had ſaid, as to whether the navy bill-holders were

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willing to ſubſcribe at the diſcount of a quarter per cent. per month, he declared, that he had the beſt reaſon to think that they would, viz. the expreſs declarations of the parties themſelves.

Mr Rolle put ſome farther queſtions to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which Mr. Pitt anſwered.

Mr. *Sheridan* alſo ſpoke in explanation, declaring, that the right honourable gentleman either did not or would not underſtand him; he had not ſaid, that it was the duty of a Chancellor of the Exchequer immediately to come forward and propoſe a new tax as ſoon as he diſcovered a deficiency in any of his former taxes; what he had ſaid, was, that there was no fund in exiſtence that could be applied towards the payment of the intereſt of the ſix million of navy debt, that the right honourable gentleman had laſt year attempted to provide for. With regard to Lord John Cavendiſh's taxes, which the right honourable gentleman had ſo unneceſſarily lugged into the debate, he had again and again ſaid they were taxes unavoidably brought forward, when there had been but a very ſhort time to conſider them previouſly to their being propoſed, and that, all the circumſtances of the caſe conſidered, it was eaſy to account for their being deficient. Mr. Sheridan.

Mr. *Medley* condemned the tax on female ſervants, and recommended a tax on gentlemen of the bar and on ſolicitors in lieu of it. Mr. Medley gave a droll account of the great increaſe of barriſters, declaring, that when he lived in the country, there formerly appeared but two or three at every quarter ſeſſions, but that the black gowns were ſo numerous now on ſuch occaſions, that the old town hall was not large enough to hold them, and they had been obliged to build a new one on their account. He was, he ſaid, himſelf deſcended from a counſellor, but in his anceſtor's time things were far different from what they were at preſent. Mr. Medley approved of the propoſed abolition of hawkers and pedlars, who, he declared, were a nuiſance to the country, deſtroying the trade of country ſhopkeepers, ſelling damaged goods, taking away the money that ought to be ſpent in each town, and doing other miſchief. Mr. Medley.

Mr. Brickdale alſo approved of the abolition of hawkers and pedlars.

Lord *Mahon* ſaid, he could not help differing from his right honourable friend about the propoſed female-ſervant tax; but a way had occurred to him of removing all objec- Lord Mahon.

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tion to the meaſure, and even of converting the objections that had been urged againſt it into arguments in its behalf, and that was, to make an exemption in favour of families who had above a certain number of children, and to relieve them from the payment of one half of the tax. It was, his Lordſhip obſerved, impoſſible to do this in taxes upon articles of conſumption, or articles in a manufactured ſtate, ſuch as leather, &c. but it was eaſy to do it in the preſent caſe, where the tax ſtood open, ſeparate, and diſtinct.

Maj. Grant Major *Grant* made a few obſervations on the different taxes, and greatly commended the new regulations intended to be adopted, with regard to the tax on male ſervants; that alone would, he thought, nearly produce ſufficient to make up the ſum the tax on female ſervants was given for. If not, a tax by way of licenſe, to be taken out by ſuch as choſe to indulge themſelves in wearing hair-powder, would make up the deficiency. Mr. Grant ſaid, the poſt-horſe tax wanted regulation greatly. At a diſtance from London, it was collected of the ſubject regularly enough; but little or none of it found its way into the coffers of the public treaſury, it being ſunk by a connivance between the innkeepers and the turnpikemen: he recommended that the mode of collecting it ſhould be changed, and that it ſhould in future be collected wholly at the turnpikes, and the Commiſſioners made reſponſible for it.

Mr. Powys. Mr. *Powys* ſaid, there was much to be praiſed in what had fallen from the right honourable gentleman that day, little to be doubted, and ſtill leſs to be cenſured. Mr. Powys did not approve of the propoſed tax on female ſervants.

Mr LeMeſſurier Mr. *Le Meſſurier*, in rather a long ſpeech, commended the deſigned abolition of hawkers and pedlars, though he ſaid they little affected the place he repreſented. He thought the propoſed tax on ſhops the part of the budget the moſt exceptionable, and uſed ſome arguments to prove that the tax on female ſervants was not ſo exceptionable as gentlemen had imagined. It was a tax, he obſerved, that would be equally diſtributed throughout the kingdom, and would be always paid by the maſter of the family, and not fall on the ſervants themſelves; and he was perſuaded no married man would keep a woman ſervant the leſs on account of ſuch a trifle as the tax. If, when the bill came in, dairy maids ſhould be exempted, as ſome gentlemen had adviſed, he declared he would riſe and propoſe the exemption of another ſort of dairy-

maids, very uſeful in all families where there were children, viz. wet nurſes.

Mr. *Dempſter* reiterated his arguments in favour of hawkers and pedlars, declaring that aboliſhing them would be ſtabbing at the vitals of the internal commerce of the kingdom. Mr Dempſter

Mr. Alderman *Sawbridge* reprobated the propoſed tax on female ſervants, intimating his aſtoniſhment, that the right honourable gentleman ſhould be hardy enough to have ventured at the propoſing of ſuch a tax. He reminded the Committee, that it had been ſuggeſted by an honourable Baronet two years ago, and was then treated with ridicule by all parts of the Houſe, and had kept the honourable Baronet an object of public ridicule without doors ever ſince. Mr. Sawbridge condemned the propoſed tax on ſhops as a moſt partial propoſition, that would bear harder upon the inhabitants of the metropolis, than of other parts of the kingdom. Mr. Ald. Sawbridge.

Sir *Richard Hill* ſaid, he muſt once more make a propoſition that he had for two years paſt made in vain, viz. that a tax be laid on places of public diverſion. It was, he obſerved, a diſgrace to Great Britain, as a proteſtant country, not to draw ſome revenue from the money ſpent in diſſipation. Above five hundred thouſand pounds, he underſtood, were ſpent in places of public entertainment, and ſurely a fifth part of it might be ſpared towards the exigencies of the ſtate. Every other country in Europe made their places of entertainment contribute, and we ought to follow the example. The very paying down the money to enter the theatre, or Ranelagh, or Vauxhall, was, he ſaid, a tacit declaration, that we could ſpare the money; and it was a ſtrong proof of the declenſion of an empire, to be raiſing a revenue from taxing the neceſſaries of life, and at the ſame time to be afraid to touch our pleaſures, and the diſſipation of the times. Sir Richard ſaid a good deal about the propoſed tax on female ſervants, which created much laughter in the Committee; but Sir Richard declared he had no intention to be ludicrous, agreeing perfectly with the poet, that Sir Richard Hill.

> "Immodeſt words admit of no defence,
> "For want of decency is want of ſenſe."

At length the firſt reſolution was agreed to, and then the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved a ſtring of reſolutions, containing all his ſtated taxes. After which the Houſe was reſumed, and the report ordered to be brought up this day.

Tueſday,

Tuesday, May 10.

The chairman of the Committee of ways and means brought up the report of yesterday, and the following are the reſolutions contained in the budget.

1. Reſolved, That towards raiſing the ſupply granted to His Majeſty, the further ſum of one million be raiſed by loans on Exchequer bills to be charged upon the firſt aid to be granted in the next ſeſſion of Parliament; and ſuch Exchequer bills, if not diſcharged with intereſt thereupon, on or before the 5th day of April, 1786, to be exchanged and received in payment in ſuch manner as Exchequer bills have uſually been exchanged and received in payment.

"That all perſons intereſted in, or entitled unto any bills payable in courſe of the Navy or Victualling offices, or for tranſports which were dated on or before the 5th day of June, 1785, carry the ſame (after having had the intereſt due thereupon computed up to the 5th day of July, 1785, and marked upon the ſaid bills at the Navy or Victualling offices, reſpectively) to the Treaſurer of His Majeſty's navy, ſhall have in exchange for the ſame, from ſuch treaſury, or his pay-maſter or caſhier, a certificate to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, for the amount of the principal and intereſt computed thereupon; and the perſons who ſhall be poſſeſſed of ſuch certificates, upon delivery thereof to the ſaid Governor and Company of the Bank of England, ſhall be entitled, in reſpect of the ſame, to 111l. 8s. capital ſtock for every 100l. contained in ſuch certificates, and ſo in proportion for any greater or leſſer ſum; ſuch capital ſtock to be attended with annuities, after the rate of five pounds per centum per annum, to commence from the 5th day of July, 1785, payable half-yearly, in lieu of all other intereſt, the ſaid annuities to be irredeemable, until twenty-five millions of the public debt, bearing intereſt at the rate of either three pounds per centum per annum, or four pounds per centum per annum, ſhall have been redeemed or paid off: and that all perſons intereſted in, or entitled unto ſuch navy, victualling, and tranſport bills, made out between the ſaid 30th day of June, 1783, and the 1ſt day of January, 1785, who ſhall, on or before the 5th day of June, 1785, carry the ſame (after having had the intereſt due upon ſuch of the ſaid bills as now bear an intereſt computed and marked upon the ſaid bills to the 5th day of July, 1785, at the Navy and Victualling offices, reſpectively) to the Treaſurer of His Majeſty's

Majeſty's navy, ſhall have in exchange for the ſame, from ſuch treaſurer, or his pay-maſter or caſhier, a certificate to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, for the amount of the principal and intereſt computed thereupon, after deducting therefrom a ſum, at the rate of five ſhillings per centum, upon the amount of ſuch principal and intereſt for every month, between the 1ſt day of July, 1783, and the day on which ſuch bill was made out; and the perſons who ſhall be poſſeſſed of ſuch certificates, upon delivery thereof to the ſaid Governor and Company of the Bank of England, ſhall be entitled, in reſpect of the ſame, to 111l. 8s. capital ſtock for every 100l. contained in ſuch certificates, and ſo in proportion for any greater or leſſer ſum; ſuch capital ſtock to be attended with annuities after the rate of five pounds per cent. per annum, to commence from the 5th of July, 1785, payable half yearly, in lieu of all intereſt. The ſaid annuities to be irredeemable until twenty-five millions of the public debt, bearing intereſt at the rate of either three pounds per cent. per annum, or four pounds per cent. per annum, ſhall have been redeemed or paid off. The whole of the ſaid annuities to be charged upon a fund to be eſtabliſhed in this ſeſſion of Parliament; and for which the fund commonly called the ſinking fund ſhall be a collateral ſecurity.

" That all perſons intereſted in, or entitled to any debentures payable out of His Majeſty's office of Ordnance, which were dated on or before the 31ſt of December, 1783, ſhall, on or before the 5th of June, 1785, carry the ſame to the Treaſurer of His Majeſty's office of Ordnance, and ſhall have the intereſt of ſuch debentures computed after the rate of four pounds per cent per annum, from the expiration of fifteen months from the date thereof to the 5th of July, 1785, and ſhall in exchange for ſuch debenture have a certificate to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, for every 100l. contained in the amount of ſuch principal and intereſt, and, upon delivery thereof to the ſaid Governor and Company, ſhall be entitled to 111l. 8s. capital ſtock, for every 100l. contained in ſuch certificate, and ſo in proportion for any greater or leſſer ſum, ſuch capital ſtock to be attended with annuities, after the rate of five pounds per cent. per annum, to commence from the 5th day of July, 1785, payable half yearly. The ſaid annuities to be irredeemable until twenty-five millions of the public debt, bearing intereſt at the rate of either three pounds per cent. per annum, or four pounds per cent. per annum, ſhall have been redeemed or

paid off. And the ſaid annuities to be charged upon a fund to be eſtabliſhed in this ſeſſion of Parliament, and for which the fund commonly called the Sinking Fund ſhall be a collateral ſecurity

"That the duties now charged upon male ſervants do ceaſe, determine, and be no longer paid or payable

"That towards raiſing the ſupply granted to His Majeſty, there be charged upon and paid to His Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, by every perſon who ſhall retain or employ any male ſervant or ſervants, within the kingdom of Great Britain, the ſeveral yearly ſums following, that is to ſay, for one male ſervant, and not more than two male ſervants, the ſum of 1l 5s each, for three and not more than four male ſervants, the ſum of 1l 10s. each, for five and not more than ſeven male ſervants, the ſum of 1l 15s each for eight and not more than ten male ſervants, the ſum of 2l each; and for eleven male ſervants and upwards, the ſum of 3l for each, except thoſe ſervants who ſhall be returned or employed ſolely for the purpoſes of huſbandry or manufactures, or of any trade or calling by which the maſter or miſtreſs of ſuch ſervants earn a livelihood or profit

"That a proportionable part of the ſaid duties be applied to the uſes to which the former duties are applicable.

"That towards raiſing the ſupply granted to His Majeſty, there be charged and paid to His Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, by every perſon who ſhall retain or employ any female ſervant or female ſervants, within the kingdom of Great Britain, the ſeveral yearly ſums following, that is to ſay, for one female ſervant, the ſum of 2s 6d., for two female ſervants, the ſum of 5s each; and for three or more female ſervants, the ſum of 10s each except thoſe ſervants who ſhall be retained or employed ſolely for the purpoſes of manufacturing, or of any trade or calling by which the maſter or miſtreſs of ſuch female ſervants earn a livelihood or profit

"That upon every houſe, or other building, now or hereafter to be erected, any part of which ſhall, for the time being, be uſed as a ſhop, publicly kept open, for the purpoſe of carrying on any trade, or in which ſhall be ſold any goods, wares, or merchandiſe, by retail, or upon every building or place uſed as a ſhop only for the purpoſes before mentioned, there ſhall be charged a yearly duty, according to the ſeveral and reſpective rates following thereon, over and above all other duties now payable, that is to ſay, for every ſuch houſe or other building, or place of yearly rent or value of 5l. and not exceeding 10l the annual ſum of 1s. in the pound of ſuch rent,

rent, for every ſuch houſe or other building, or place of the yearly rent or value of 10l and not exceeding 15l the annual ſum of 1s 3d in the pound of ſuch rent

" For every ſuch houſe or other building, or place of the yearly value of 15l and not exceeding 20l. the annual ſum of 1s 6d. in the pound of ſuch rent.

" For every ſuch houſe or other building, or place of the yearly rent or value of 20l and not exceeding 25l the annual ſum of 1s. 9d in the pound of ſuch rent

" For every ſuch houſe or other building, or place of the yearly rent or value of 25l and upwards, the annual ſum of 2s. in the pound of ſuch rent.

" That the duties now charged upon, and payable by hawkers, pedlars, and petty chapmen, do ceaſe, determine, and be no longer payable.

" That the rates and duties, granted by an act made in the twentieth year of His preſent Majeſty, entitled, An act for repealing an act made in the nineteenth year of the reign of His preſent Majeſty, entitled, An act for granting to His Majeſty certain duties on licenſes, to be taken out by all perſons letting poſt horſes to hire, for travelling, in the manner therein mentioned; and certain duties on all horſes let to hire, for the purpoſes of travelling poſt, and by time, and upon certain carriages therein mentioned, and for granting other duties in lieu thereof, and alſo by an act made in the twenty-third year of the reign of His preſent Majeſty, entitled, An act for granting to His Majeſty an additional duty upon ſtage coaches, and other carriages therein mentioned, ſhall ceaſe, determine, and be no longer paid and payable by the ſeveral poſt-maſters, inn-keepers, and other perſons, for and on account of the ſaid rates and duties, and which ſhall be unaccounted for and unpaid by them to the ſeveral collectors appointed by virtue of the ſaid act to receive the ſame, and the ſeveral bonds given in purſuance of the ſaid act

" That every poſt-maſter, inn-keeper, or other perſon in the kingdom of Great Britain, who ſhall let to hire any horſe for the purpoſe of travelling poſt by the mile, or from ſtage to ſtage, or being a perſon uſually letting horſes to hire, ſhall let to hire, for a day, or any leſs period of time, any horſe for drawing any coach, chaiſe, or any other carriage uſed in travelling poſt or otherwiſe, by whatſoever name ſuch carriages now are, or hereafter may be called or known, for, or in any reſpect whereof any rates or duties under the management of the commiſſioners of exciſe, now are made payable by any ſtatute or ſtatutes heretofore made, and now in

force, ſhall yield, and pay annually to His Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, the ſum of five ſhillings for a licenſe for that purpoſe.

" That for and in reſpect of every horſe hired by the mile or ſtage, to be uſed in travelling poſt in the kingdom of Great Britain, there be charged a duty of 1½d for every mile ſuch horſe ſhall be hired to travel poſt

" That for and in reſpect of every horſe hired for a day, or leſs period of time, for drawing on a poſt or other public road, any coach chaiſe, or any other carriage uſed in travelling poſt or otherwiſe, by whatſoever name ſuch carriages now are, or hereafter may be called or known, for or in reſpect whereof any rates or duties under the management of the Commiſſioners of exciſe, now are made payable by any ſtatute or ſtatutes heretofore made, and now in force, there ſhall be charged, if the diſtance ſhall be then aſcertained, the ſum of 1½d. per mile, and if the diſtance ſhall not be then aſcertained, there ſhall be charged the ſum of 1s. 9d for, and in reſpect of each horſe ſo hired, ſuch duty to be paid by the perſon or perſons by whom ſuch horſe ſhall be ſo hired or uſed.

" That every perſon who ſhall keep any coach, berlin, landau, chariot, calaſh, or other carriage, with four wheels, or any caliſh, chaiſe, chair, or other carriage with two wheels, by which name ſoever the ſame now is, or hereafter ſhall be called or known, to be employed as public ſtage coaches, or carriages, for the purpoſe of conveying paſſengers for hire, to and from different places in the kingdom of Great Britain, ſhall yield and pay annually unto His Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, the ſum of five ſhillings for a licenſe for that purpoſe.

" That for every coach, berlin, landau, chariot, calaſh, or other carriage with four wheels, and every caliſh, chaiſe, chair, or other carriage with two wheels, by what name ſoever the ſame now is, or hereafter ſhall be, called or known, to be employed as public ſtage coaches or carriages, for the purpoſe of conveying paſſengers for hire to and from different places in the kingdom of Great Britain, there ſhall be a duty of one penny for every mile ſuch carriage ſhall travel, to be paid by the owner or owners thereof.

" That a proportional part of the ſaid duties be applied to the ſame uſes as the former duties were applicable.

" That towards raiſing the ſupply granted to His Majeſty, there be raiſed, levied, collected, and paid to His Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, by all perſons uttering or vending in Great

Great Britain, any gloves or mittens, made of ſilk, leather, or any other material, by retail, a ſtamp duty of 1s. for a licenſe, to be annually taken out for that purpoſe.

" That towards raiſing the ſupply granted to His Majeſty, there be charged upon every pair of gloves or mittens above the value of 4d. and not exceeding the value of 10d a ſtamp duty of one penny, and of the value of 10d. and under 1s 4d. a ſtamp-duty of two pence, and above the value of 1s. 4d. a ſtamp-duty of three pence.

" That towards raiſing the ſupply granted to His Majeſty, that all perſons uſing or exerciſing the trade or buſineſs of a pawnbroker, within the cities of London and Weſtminſter, the pariſhes of St. Mary-le-bonne and St. Pancras, in the county of Middleſex, or within the weekly bills of mortality, or in the Borough of Southwark, in the county of Surry, ſhall take out an annual licenſe, and be charged with a ſtamp-duty of ten pounds.

" That towards raiſing the ſupply granted to His Majeſty, that all perſons uſing or exerciſing the trade or buſineſs of a pawnbroker, in any other part of the kingdom of Great Britain, ſhall take out an annual licenſe, and be charged with a ſtamp-duty of five pounds.

" That the allowance for waſte on white and refined ſalt, and rock ſalt, carried coaſtwiſe, be reduced.

" That towards making good the ſupply granted to His Majeſty, there be iſſued and applied the ſum of 65,161l. 3s 5 d. now remaining in the Exchequer, being the overplus of the grants for the year 1784.

" That towards raiſing the ſupply granted to His Majeſty, there be iſſued and applied the ſum of 2,297,460l. 3s. 10 d. out of ſuch monies as have ariſen, or ſhall, or may ariſe of the ſurpluſſes, exceſſes, overplus monies, and other revenue compoſing the fund commonly called the Sinking Fund."

On the firſt reſolution being read a ſecond time,

Mr. *Sheridan* roſe juſt to remark, that, in his opinion, it was going upon a wrong principle to make imaginary funds liable to pay the intereſt of a debt, as was the caſe in the taxes of laſt year: being deemed efficient, and taken for the ſum for which they were intended, when, in fact, no ſuch fund exiſted; it was, therefore, appropriating a non exiſting fund, to pay the intereſt to which the Houſe was pledged. Mr Sheridan

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* was of opinion, that it was not the buſineſs of the Houſe then to inquire into the efficiency of Mr Chancellor Pitt.

former

former taxes, but to give their aſſent or diſſent to the reſolutions before them.

Mr Fox. Mr. *Fox* ſaid, he certainly agreed with his honourable friend, that it was extremely wrong to talk of applying a ſurplus to a particular purpoſe, when no ſuch ſurplus exiſted; in fact, the point at which the right honourable gentleman and his honourable friend were at iſſue, was, whether there was or was not a ſurplus, if there was, it was proper to apply it as deſcribed, but, for his own part, he did not think the taxes of laſt year, from any account that had been laid before the Houſe, would prove as productive as ſtated.

Mr. Roſe. Mr. *Roſe* was confident that the taxes of laſt year would be productive of the ſums, or nearly ſo, for which they were laid, and was certain, that the perſons who had the collecting of the taxes were of the ſame opinion.

Mr Sheridan. Mr. *Sheridan* ſaid, he differed from the honourable gentleman, and ſhould, probably, on a future day, move for the different boards to give their opinions in writing to the Houſe.

Mr Huſſey Mr. *Huſſey* thought it rather ſtrange that the Miniſter this year ſhould give the navy bill holders 111l. 8s. for 100l. when he laſt year gave them only 107l. 5s. 6d. He was in hopes, that after two years peace, the terms would have been better inſtead of worſe.

Mr S Thornton. Mr. *S. Thornton* ſaid, he roſe chiefly to ſtate to the Houſe, that through a part of the Miniſter's ſpeech being either miſunderſtood, or not agreeable to what the Public thought, the five per cent. ſtock had fallen that day to 91, and the reaſon, he believed, for the fall was, the idea that had gone forth, that the five per cent. ſtock was the ſtock which the Miniſter intended to appropriate to the ſcheme of paying off the national debt.

Mr Chancellor Pitt. Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* remarked, that the act of the laſt year expreſſly mentioned, that the five per cent. ſtock was not redeemable until twenty-five millions of either the three or four per cents were paid off.

Mr Huſſey Mr. *Huſſey* ſaid, he was ſtill of opinion, that greater terms were held out this year to the navy bill-holders than the laſt, which he could not account for, to be ſure, the ſtocks were lower; but as the right honourable gentleman had thought proper to defer funding the million he borrowed of the Bank, might he not have poſtponed the funding a part of the navy debt until it was in his power to have made better terms, for now perſons who had purchaſed navy-bills at a great diſcount,

would

would receive a conſiderable advantage by having them paid at par, or by allowing the ¼ per cent per month diſcount; and to his certain knowledge, a perſon lately bought in the market, a navy bill of 1000l. for 800l which would entitle him to 1000l ſtock in the 5 per cents after the rate of 111l. 8s. for every 100l.

Mr Chancellor *Pitt* obſerved, that laſt year he took the 5 per cent ſtock at the imaginary price of 93, but experience had taught him that it was too high a price, therefore he had this year fixed it at 89¾, and, in his opinion, the ſtocks would not riſe until the load of navy debt was taken out of the market, therefore, had he waited until another opportunity of funding a part, it would have defeated its own end Mr Chancellor Pitt.

Mr. *Fox*, ſaid what his honourable friend (Mr. Huſſey) had mentioned was certainly true, that navy bills had been iſſued lately at a far greater diſcount than any in times of war Mr Fox.

The queſtion was then put on the reſolution, and agreed to.

The other reſolutions were read and agreed to without any debate, until they came to that relative to maid ſervants.

The Earl of *Surrey* roſe to give his determined oppoſition to the tax on maid ſervants, and he choſe to do it in this early ſtage of the buſineſs, becauſe, ſhould the right honourable gentleman be diſpoſed, or ſee cauſe to alter this tax, it was reaſonable to give him time, in order that he might ſupply it by the adoption of another The grounds on which he objected to this tax had already by him, in the debate laſt night, been ſtated at length He thought the tax exceptionable, as it encroached on the only means theſe females had of earning a livelihood. Seeing a ſmile on the Treaſury bench, he ſaid he meant to argue the ſubject ſeriouſly on principles of humanity. He had ſtated, that even the narrow line of domeſtic ſervitude, which they occupied, had been invaded by the other ſex. There were few occupations in which they were employed, in which the men had not alſo endeavoured to rival them We had men-milliners, mantua-makers, ſtay-makers, petticoat-makers, in ſhort, there was not a commodity in which the women dealt, which the men did not endeavour to have their ſhare of However, he wiſhed to draw the attention of the Houſe to the proportion which this tax pointed out, as the principle of taxation. The whole male ſervants of this country were ſuppoſed to yield the revenue fifty thouſand pounds, and the female ſervants rated at triple that ſum, an hundred and forty thouſand pounds There appeared to him a monſtrous abſurdity on the very face of the fact. Why The Earl of Surrey

ſhould

ſhould that part of the community be loaded with ſuch an impoſt, as they were certainly but ill able to bear? He was therefore reſolved to take the ſenſe of the Houſe upon the tax. He obſerved, that laſt year, when a very unpopular tax was brought forward, he had the misfortune to find himſelf in a minority of four. There were, however, others more intereſted in the matter, who would reaſon more forcibly with the Miniſter in private, than he could do in public. One of the parties he alluded to, was a large dealer in an article much needed in that Houſe The wiſhes of one who had ſo many members of Parliament at his diſpoſal were not to be reſiſted. He was afraid the unfortunate ſubjects of the tax in queſtion would have no ſuch powerful advocates, unleſs in the humanity of the Houſe which he implored on their account.

Mr Chancellor Pitt

Mr Chancellor *Pitt* roſe in anſwer to what had fallen from the noble Lord. He had foreſeen that much oppoſition would be made to this tax, and that arguments of various kinds would be urged againſt the adoption of it However, he begged leave, once for all, to be underſtood as meaning to give no offence, when he ſaid that he had not yet heard any argument but that one which ſtated, that the tax would fall heavieſt on thoſe of large families, who, in fact, were the leaſt able to bear it. The queſtion therefore, diveſted of all the circumlocution and facetious remarks with which it had been connected, was ſimply, Whether the tax might not be ſo regulated as to fall lightly on perſons of this deſcription? Having ſaid this, he adverted to what fell from the noble Lord he thought it would be abſurd to give the hiſtory of that matter now, as it had no real connection with the point in debate He would on that account ſatisfy himſelf with only ſaying, that the noble Lord's inſinuations were altogether unfounded.

The Earl of Surrey.

The Earl of *Surrey* did not mean, he ſaid, any inſinuation which he thought would give offence He only ſtated what was generally conſidered as a fact, but was ſorry it ſhould have been ſo much miſunderſtood.

Mr Drake.

Mr. *Drake* was at a loſs how to act he had pledged himſelf to vote againſt this tax; the noble Lord had taken him at his word. He regretted at the ſame time the ſituation of the right honourable gentleman, who found himſelf obliged to provide for debts which he was not acceſſary in creating.

Mr. Fox

Mr *Fox* felt his own ſituation exceedingly aukward. He was not one of thoſe who conſidered the ſenſe of their conſtituents binding on their conduct in every political proceeding, and of all others he thought a queſtion of finance that in which

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an implicit conformity was leaſt to be expected. From the peculiar obligations he owed his conſtituents, he ſhould hold himſelf exceedingly ungrateful if he did not pay every deference to their known opinions; and yet, when he ſtated their opinions to be averſe to this propoſition, and gave it as one reaſon for oppoſing it he begged it to be conſidered as only *one* For in conſidering the nature and extent of the conſequence to which ſuch a meaſure muſt inevitably lead, ſo many glaring and irreſiſtible objections accompanied it, that the idea was not in his mind to be tolerated for one moment. That burdens were neceſſary to be laid on the people of this country, he was ſenſible of, in perhaps a greater degree than the right honourable gentleman who propoſed them. He knew that a long and expenſive war had left incumbrances on the Public, which their credit and proſperity made it neceſſary to provide for; and he was never averſe to thoſe proviſions being made in the moſt effectual manner, provided the method of obtaining them was not peculiarly exceptionable. Such was always his opinion, though he certainly had as little ſhare in contributing to thoſe meaſures which entailed this immenſe debt on the country as the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) who was now oppoſite him, or any other member could poſſibly have. Here perceiving Mr Pitt ſmile, he ſaid he knew at what the ſmiles on the other ſide of the Houſe were directed, he was aware they were meant to allude to his connection with a noble Lord, who was in Adminiſtration during the American war, but on this, as well as on every other occaſion, when he perceived that diſpoſition in the right honourable gentleman, he would reply to him by this *ſimple retort*—That thoſe with whom the right honourable gentleman acted, and was moſt intimately connected, were as deeply involved in all the circumſtances of the American war as the noble Lord, to whom he was ſo fond of alluding, and who was now abſent, (Lord North) Not wiſhing to dwell longer on this ſo incoherent ſubject, but which he was led into, he had only to return to the queſtion, and remark, that in general he thought a tax upon ſervants very well founded It was certainly always a deſirable object to refrain from affecting manufacturers, whenever it could be avoided: that it could not in all caſes be done, he was ready to allow, and when the moſt uſeleſs members of ſociety were made to bear its burden, it was undoubtedly an advantage. Now there could not be eaſily pointed out any ſet of men who were more uſeleſs ſubjects in a ſtate than men ſervants; the contrary was the fact with regard to women ſervants. The

former were kept for parade, and as the inſtruments of vanity, idleneſs, and oſtentation; the latter were always employed in works of induſtry and management. The former were retained by the rich, and the latter by the poor. He was the more ſurprized at hearing this tax introduced, as it had been ſtated as the great merit of thoſe taxes, that their operations were for the moſt part confined to the opulent, and he little expected to find ſo great a proportion of the money to be raiſed, drawn from that ſource which was leaſt able to bear it. It preſſed moſt on thoſe who were the leaſt able to bear it. The right honourable gentleman ſaid, that the ſame objection lay againſt ſeveral other impoſts. He acknowledged that it did ſo, and this was one very urgent reaſon with him why the tax ſhould be abandoned, or if that was a forlorn hope, meliorated however in ſuch a manner, that the tax might be leſs obnoxious to clamour and diſlike. He well knew how difficult it was to propoſe any ſubject of finance, without that information which the Chancellor of the Exchequer alone could command. However, in general he might be allowed what ſtruck him as a hint, which the right honourable gentleman would know how to uſe, or whether indeed it was practicable. Much had been ſaid about taxing batchelors The great objection to that meaſure aroſe from the difficulty there was in making it an equal tax, as it was the height of abſurdity to tax a day labourer the ſame way as a man of fortune. Therefore, if there could be any mode deviſed, by which a tax could be proportioned to the fortune or property of individuals, in the ſame way that the ſervants' tax, the window tax, and ſeveral other taxes, which all went on one general principle, were framed, in his opinion, no tax could be more fair or more productive. At all events, he could ſee no objection to framing ſuch a regulation in a bill, as might operate nearly in a ſimilar manner. What he meant was, that every ſingle man who kept maid ſervants ſhould be taxed to ſuch a degree, as would make good the deficiency of the tax from rendering it eaſy to thoſe who had families He would venture to ſuggeſt another regulation, which, however, the Chancellor of the Exchequer could ſay, whether it was eligible or not. It was, that the tax ſhould only extend to thoſe who had male as well as female ſervants. He deemed himſelf bound to vote with the noble Lord againſt the tax, though were he ſatisfied that theſe or any ſimilar regulations would be adopted, it ſhould have his concurrence

Mr Chancellor Pitt

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* ſaid, he ſhould not enter into the diſcuſſion to which the right honourable gentleman had ſo fairly invited

invited him, concerning his connection with perſons as deeply concerned in accumulating the national debt, as the noble Lord in the blue ribband There was, however, this ſtriking and material difference between the noble Lord and the perſon alluded to, and with whom he had the honour to act theſe gentlemen agreed with the miniſter in ſupporting the general line of his politics. But he was the principal in whom all the meaſures originated, or if that was not the caſe, it ſhewed how unworthy that noble Lord was of his ſituation. He was juſtified in making this remark, not only from what he knew of that unfortunate Adminiſtration, but from the right honourable gentleman's opinions of it, which at that time were no ſecret he therefore thought the right honourable gentleman's retort a very ſimple one indeed, as it referred for an apology to a caſe in all reſpects moſt perfectly diſſimilar and inapplicable He would forego that diſagreeable ſubject, and come to what was always more pleaſing to him, as well as more acceptable to the Houſe. He was ſo perfectly of the ſame opinion with the right honourable gentleman, in the hints he had thrown out concerning the tax in queſtion, that he would take this opportunity of thanking him for having thus ſuggeſted them And, he truſted that they might be improved in ſuch a way as to render the tax much leſs exceptionable than at preſent it appeared to be He truſted therefore, that with ſome ſuch regulations the tax might prove an uſeful one, without being, in any conſiderable degree, oppreſſive

Mr. *Sheridan* ſaid, the right honourable gentleman began his ſpeech with a promiſe of not going into what he thought his right honourable friend had broached, and he believed the Houſe would join him in regretting, that he had not deviated a little in this inſtance from the uſual mode of fulfilling his promiſes. He could not help remarking, however, that the right honourable gentleman, as his cuſtom was, had fixed upon the time, of all others, moſt convenient for his purpoſe to make his charge when the noble Lord was abſent. Every body knew it was not the habit or manner of that noble Lord to magnify his own importance, and celebrate his perſonal exertions at the expence of his coadjutors in office. He never arrogated to himſelf the diſtinction of being the Miniſter of the Crown, or King's Miniſter, this mode of ſpeech he left for the right honourable gentleman, whom it better became, but he ſuſpected the honourable gentlemen with whom he acted might not thank him very cordially for his aſſiduous endeavours to leſſen their official conſequence. Mr Sheridan.

Day when presented.	Page of Votes.	PETITIONS.
	400	Petition from Committee of merchants and manufacturers of Sheffield
	401	——— iron maſters, &c of Weſt-bromwich
		——— manufacturers of ſail canvas in Warrington
	402	——— manufacturers of ſail cloth in Lancaſter
	403	——— manufacturers of fuſtians, cottons, velvets, &c of Wigan
April 5	413	——— ſail-cloth manufacturers of Kirkham
	415	——— manufacturers and traders of Paiſley
6	419	——— makers of pig and bar iron in the county of Salop
	423	——— nail ironmongers in and near Stourbridge
	425	——— manufacturers of earthen ware in Staffordſhire
	426	——— merchants, manufacturers, and traders of Walſall
	432	——— merchants concerned in the corn and malt trade in Great Yarmouth
	433	——— nail ironmongers in Dudley
	434	——— glaſs manufacturers in the neighbourhood of Stourbridge and Dudley
	435	——— merchants, manufacturers, &c. of Kidderminſter
	436	——— Mr Robertſon and others, in behalf of the iron manufactories in Glaſgow, Cramond, and Dolnattar
	438	——— merchants and manufacturers of Manchester
	440	——— gentlemen, clergy, and land-owners in Rochdale
8	454	——— gentlemen, clergy, &c. of Aſhton under Line
	459	——— operative weavers in the villages of Govan and Patrick
	460	——— merchants and manufacturers of Bolton
	466	——— gentlemen, merchants, and inhabitants of Lancaſter
11	473	——— merchants, manufacturers, &c of Glaſgow
	476	——— the provoſt, magiſtrates, and town-council of Dunbar
	479	——— merchants, manufacturers, and others in Aberdeen
	482	——— juſtices of Norfolk
12	493	——— maſter ſilk weavers in London and Manchester

Petition

Day when preſented	Page of Votes.	PETITIONS.
	498	Petition from glaſs manufacturers of London, Briſtol, Newcaſtle, and Glaſgow
April 14	518	——— merchants and manufacturers of broad cloth in Glouceſterſhire
	520	——— working ſilk weavers of Spitalfields
15	527	——— manufacturers, &c in the burgh of Hamilton
20	557	——— maſter printers in Edinburgh
	560	——— iron maſters, &c in the counties of Salop, Worceſter, Stafford, and Warwick
25	593	——— manufacturers and inhabitants of Coventry, and adjacent pariſhes
29	645	——— merchants, manufacturers, &c. of Breckin
May 3	669	——— manufacturers and woolſtaplers of the county of Southampton
4		——— manufacturers of ſhoes, &c. in the town of Stafford
9	721	——— manufacturers of gloves in Yeovil
	730	——— merchants and traders of Briſtol and Glaſgow
11	748	——— tanners of London
		——— magiſtrates and town council of Montroſe
12	753	——— gentlemen, proprietors of the county of Dumfries
	761	——— merchants, manufacturers, and others, of Mancheſter
	763	——— manufacturers of pig and bar iron
		——— tanners of London
	766	——— Meſſrs Holmer and Raby, and others, manufacturers of bar iron

Mr. Chancellor Pitt and Mr Vyner roſe at the ſame time, and both claimed the attention of the Houſe The diſpute was, that it being now nine o'clock at night, Mr Vyner wiſhed to poſtpone the important diſcuſſion for that night, The Chancellor oppoſed all farther delay. The priority was given to the latter

Mr. Chancellor Pitt.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* then called the attention of the Committee to the review and conſideration of the reſolutions. He then deſired that the clerk might read from the table the reſolution which he had formerly moved, as the groundwork of the ſyſtem of intercourſe between this country and Ireland,

Reſolved, "That it is highly important to the general intereſt of the Britiſh empire, that the trade between Great

"Britain

" Britain and Ireland be encouraged and extended as much " as poſſible; and, for that purpoſe, that the intercourſe and " commerce be finally ſettled and regulated, on permanent " and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both " countries."

He began by obſerving, that the attention of the Committee having been engroſſed for ſo many weeks by the propoſitions, he flatt red himſelf, their importance and magnitude were by this time ſufficiently impreſſed on their minds to render it perfectly unneceſſary for him to dwell upon that part of the ſubject. He ſhould therefore, after the uſeleſs manner in which ſo much of their time had been waſted, enter at once into the buſineſs, and ſtate to the Committee the extent and object of his plan endeavouring to clear it from ſuch miſconceptions, and to obviate ſuch objections, as from the various intereſts that it was ſuppoſed to affect, and the pains taken to alarm thoſe intereſts, it had neceſſarily become liable to. He deſired the Houſe to recollect, among the many important and extenſive objects to which the legiſlature of this kingdom had for ſome years paſt directed its attention, that the affairs of Ireland, and the forming of a ſuitable arrangement between that kingdom and this were nearly the moſt conſiderable. A vaſt deal had already been done in ſeveral preceding Adminiſtrations, and though he was by no means inclined to cenſure the liberality of former Parliaments, or former Miniſters, yet he could not but think, that if nothing more was to be done for Ireland, it would have been more adviſable not to have done any thing at all, or at leaſt not ſo much as had been done. In fact if the Britiſh Parliament were to go no farther, all that had hitherto been done was abſolutely nugatory and uſeleſs, for the advantages which were by thoſe acts put into the hands of the Iriſh, were ſuch as they were unable to make uſe of, at leaſt not in the degree to which it was the avowed intention of Parliament that they ſhould. And would the People and the Legiſlature of England condeſcend to aſſume a credit for what they had never beſtowed, and lay claim to the gratitude and love of a nation to whom they had made no conceſſions, but ſuch as it was impoſſible for her to avail herſelf of? His preſent plan, he ſaid, was nothing more than a neceſſary ſupplement to thoſe which had formerly been adopted for the purpoſe of creating ſuch a mutual intereſt as ſhould for ever preſerve inviolate and ſecure the connection between the two countries, and he truſted, if it ſhould be found to have a tendency to ſo very deſirable an end as that, if it ſhould be found to add conſiderably to the general

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ſtrength and ſplendour of the empire, if it ſhould be found to contribute a great and obvious augmentation to the welfare of Ireland, and at the ſame time to maintain the intereſts of Great Britain in every eſſential point, and in ſome inſtances conſiderably to promote them, that in that caſe the oppoſition he ſhould meet with would be confined within very narrow limits, he lamented however, that from the preſent ſtate of the politics of the country there was but little hope of finding perfect unanimity. The objections which he had generally obſerved to be made to this plan, were ſuch as appeared to him either to be convincing proofs of its propriety and neceſſity, or at leaſt that they were capable of an eaſy and complete refutation. He had deſired the propoſed reſolution to be read, in order that he might the more eaſily lead the Committee into his ſentiments with regard to the general arrangement, of which it was the foundation, and obſerved, that although there were ſeveral ſubſequent reſolutions to follow it, yet they were but the detail and formality of that principle which was laid down in the former. This principle then he would firſt explain by way of comment on that reſolution, and afterwards would go through the whole ſeries of the propoſitions from Ireland, applying to them ſuch alterations, reſtrictions, and modifications, as ſhould ſtill reſtrain them within the principle now to be adopted, and at the ſame time free them from the objections which thoſe who could not diſſent from the principle had endeavoured to raiſe againſt the mode in which it was intended to apply it. The principle then was, "that a treaty ſhould be concluded with Ireland, by which that country ſhould be put on a fair, equal, and impartial footing with Great Britain in point of commerce, with reſpect to foreign countries and to our colonies. And as to the mutual intercourſe between each other, that this equality ſhould extend to manufactures, to importation, and to exportation, and that Ireland, in return for this conceſſion, ſhould contribute a ſhare towards the protection and ſecurity of the general commerce of the empire." In order to deſtroy the general prejudices entertained againſt theſe propoſitions, it would be neceſſary for him only to mention in what ſituation Ireland actually ſtood at that moment in point of commerce with reſpect to the world in general, and Great Britain in particular. Ireland could at this moment trade, with unlimited freedom, to every foreign ſtate in Europe, ſupply them with her own produce and manufacture, and carry home in return the produce and manufacture of any country in Europe. She was alſo at liberty to ſupply the Britiſh colonies

lonies in the Weſt Indies with her own commodities; and by a direct trade homeward, furniſh herſelf with the Weſt-India goods. But this was not all; ſhe could alſo, at this moment, ſupply the Britiſh market, by a direct trade to Britain, with the produce of the Britiſh iſlands; and this privilege was not of a recent date, ſhe had enjoyed it ever ſince the navigation laws were framed. the only queſtion ariſing now, relative to the Weſt-India commodities, was, that the Iriſh ſhould in future be permitted to bring into England, circuitouſly through Ireland, thoſe goods which they were at this inſtant at full liberty to import into this country directly from the Weſt Indies. But not to dwell any farther on this point for the preſent, on which he intended to ſpeak ſomewhat more at length in the courſe of his ſpeech, he obſerved, that the adjuſtment which was now to be propoſed reſolved itſelf naturally into three parts, which might be ranged under three different heads 1. The intercourſe between the Britiſh Weſt-India iſlands and Ireland, 2. between Great Britain and Ireland, 3. exports of manufactures to foreign countries. To which might be added a 4th, which was rather political, and related to the aſſiſtance that Ireland ſhould contribute towards the ſupport of the navy of the empire. With reſpect to the firſt, it had been frequently ſuggeſted in behalf of a very reſpectable and very uſeful body of men, the Weſt-India merchants and planters, That ſhould Ireland be permitted to ſupply the Britiſh market with the produce of the iſlands, they muſt neceſſarily run the riſk of being very conſiderable ſufferers in common with the reſt of the people of England. To this ſuggeſtion he would reply, that Ireland, as he had ſaid before, might at this moment carry in Iriſh bottoms the produce of the iſlands directly into Great Britain; ſhe was already in poſſeſſion of that liberty, and had enjoyed it ever ſince the paſſing of the navigation laws, which had put Iriſh ſhips, in that reſpect, on a footing with Britiſh: it was therefore only by a circuitous trade from the colonies, that any new danger could accrue to their intereſts and here he felt that the apprehenſions of the merchants and planters were beſt founded; for they feared that the Iriſh being once admitted to bring to England circuitouſly the produce of the Britiſh colonies, French ſugars and other goods, the growth of iſlands in the Weſt Indies not belonging to this country, might be imported into England as Britiſh. It was certainly his wiſh, as it was his duty, to guard againſt ſuch a miſchief: the Britiſh Weſt-India planters

were certainly entitled to a monoply of the Engliſh market; and it would be but juſtice to ſecure it to them, as far as laws and regulations could give ſecurity. It was upon this principle, then, that he intended to propoſe certain regulations which would fully anſwer this end, without effecting in the ſmalleſt degree the ſpirit of the Iriſh reſolutions. He propoſed then in the firſt place, that the Committee ſhould reſolve that all the navigation laws actually in force in this kingdom, or which it ſhould be hereafter found neceſſary to enact, for the preſervation of the trade of Great Britain, ſhould be in force in Ireland Under theſe laws the door would be ſhut to the importation of foreign Weſt-India goods, and conſequently the Britiſh market would be ſecured for Britiſh Weſt-India commodities, to the excluſion of thoſe of foreign iſlands. In conſequence of theſe laws it would be neceſſary that every Iriſh veſſel, arriving in Ireland from the Weſt Indies, ſhould be furniſhed with a certificate that her cargo was really the produce of a Britiſh Weſt-India iſland, and that this certificate ſhould be ſigned by the proper officer of ſuch iſland. But it might be ſaid, of what avail would laws be, if the execution of them ſhould be left to thoſe who were not moſt concerned in the due obſervance of them? He would anſwer, that unqueſtionably if laws were not duly obſerved and obeyed, they were of little uſe. But he did not conceive that the entruſting the execution of laws to perſons not immediately under our power was a thing abſolutely unprecedented this country relied much upon the officers in the Weſt-India iſlands, whoſe duty it was to ſign certificates; and if they abuſed their power, the danger againſt which theſe certificates were to guard, would neceſſarily arrive. He would not however truſt to Iriſh officers for the execution of the navigation laws, but would propoſe an additional regulation, which, in his opinion, would ſatisfy the planters; and that was, that every ſhip from the Weſt Indies touching in Ireland ſhould be obliged, on entering a port in Great Britain, to produce the ſame original certificate which ſhe ſhewnd in Ireland, and which ſhe received from the proper officer, on clearing out from the iſland at which ſhe ſhipped her cargo. This, he flattered himſelf, would anſwer the expectation of the planters; for he did not ſuppoſe that the Iriſh would attempt to import into their own country the produce of a French iſland, with which they could not have a Britiſh certificate, and without which it could not be admitted afterwards into England. Some gentlemen ſeemed to

apprehend

apprehend that the Britiſh merchants would be injured, if the Iriſh were left at liberty not only to ſupply the Engliſh, but alſo foreign markets with Weſt-India produce. but he did not ſee ſo much danger in the caſe as they did, for in the firſt place, it was from a number of circumſtances highly improbable that the Iriſh would ſupply the Engliſh market to any great degree with Weſt India goods probably the principal conſequence of this liberty might be, that the Iriſh merchant would be encouraged to ſpeculate a little more than he does at preſent, and bring home a greater quantity of Weſt-India produce than might be neceſſary for his own market, in hopes that a ſcarcity might happen in England, and then he might ſend in the goods he had thus laid in upon ſpeculation This certainly was poſſible, but it was barely ſo, and he did not conceive that it could happen frequently. It might occur oftener, that the Iriſh merchant would, in caſe of ſcarcity on the Continent, have an opportunity of ſupplying foreign countries, which would otherwiſe be ſupplied from England, But though, whatever might be thus gained by the Iriſh, would be taken from the Britiſh merchants, yet he hoped the loſs would be rated very low, when it was recollected that this ſacrifice would procure laſting friendſhip and harmony with Ireland, it would knit together the two great limbs, the remaining great members of the Britiſh empire, and bind them faſt in bonds of eternal amity To Ireland he did not wiſh to make this boon trifling and inſignificant, he did not indeed think it was ſuch as would do this country eſſential injury; but it would nevertheleſs procure to Ireland ſubſtantial good, and therefore he truſted it would be given cheerfully by the one as the beſt proof of affection and friendſhip, and be received by the other as a mark of that regard and community of intereſts which ought to ſubſiſt between two countries, connected as England and Ireland are by the deareſt ties This regulation however did not ſtop here, he intended to propoſe farther, that all ſhips coming from Ireland to England with Weſt-India produce ſhould alſo be furniſhed with cockets, and give bonds in the ſame manner as coaſting ſhips in England were bound to do. If Ireland ſhould thus enjoy the benefit of the colony trade, it was but fit the colonies ſhould derive ſome benefit in return, and therefore he would propoſe an amendment in the ſecond of the Iriſh reſolutions, which allows a drawback on exportation of all the duties laid on importation into either country, and the amendment was an exception from this allowance of drawback of all ſpirits not the produce of the Britiſh colonies in the Weſt Indies.

There was, beſides, he obſerved, another branch of foreign commerce which demanded regulation, and which, in ſome degree, might be conſidered as allied to that which he was ſpeaking of, and that was the trade to the Eaſt Indies; that trade, he obſerved, being by charter excluſively the property of the Eaſt-India Company, there was no poſſibility of giving a ſhare of it particularly and nominally to the Iriſh; on that ſubject, however, he was not very uneaſy, as he was fully ſatisfied in his own mind that to ſuffer the Eaſt-India trade to remain in its preſent channel, was by no means a departure from the ſyſtem that was now under diſcuſſion, a ſyſtem of an equal and reciprocal participation of commercial benefits with Ireland. As long as the Legiſlature of this country thought it adviſeable to ſuffer that trade to be excluſively engroſſed by the Company, Ireland had no better right to complain of the excluſion, than one of our own out-ports, or even an individual merchant. Still, though he did not ſee either the practicability or the expediency of conceding to Ireland a part of our Eaſt-India trade, he thought it was fit that certain regulations affecting that country ſhould be relaxed, in order to open a door for Ireland to proportional advantages, from which, by theſe regulations, ſhe has been excluded. Thus he would have the Eaſt-India Company impowered to take in ſuch part of their outward-bound cargo as they might find convenient in the ports of Ireland, and alſo to import directly from the Eaſt Indies ſuch part of the produce of that country as they might think proper.

He then recapitulated what he had already laid before the Houſe, enumerating the ſeveral objections which had been taken to that part of his plan that related to the colony trade, together with the ſeveral reſolutions he meant to propoſe, in order to overturn ſuch objections, and then calling the recollection of the Houſe to the period when the principal part of the commercial conceſſions were made to Ireland, he deſired them to recollect the ſerious alarm which the demands of that kingdom at that time gave riſe to, and to conſider whether thoſe alarms had not been found futile and groundleſs, though at firſt taken up as loudly, and extending as widely as the preſent. Whether having experienced how beneficial our bounty had already been to that country, at the ſame time that it had been of no prejudice to this, they ought to ſtop ſhort now, at a time when ſo very little more would accompliſh the whole, and when that little was neceſſary to give effect and operation to what had been done already, ſhould the

the Houſe, after having given up the power to controul and legiſlate for Ireland, alſo relinquiſh the deſire to oblige and gratify her. But he expected, that if any oppoſition were to be made to this meaſure, it might not come from a quarter which had already given ſo much, as to render the remainder not worth withholding, or if it were, not poſſible to be withheld. Above all, he hoped, that they would not oppoſe him on ſuch grounds, as they muſt expoſe their own former arrangements to a great degree of cenſure, and involve, in their diſapprobation of the preſent meaſure, a condemnation of thoſe which they themſelves had already been the authors of. What he meant to allude to, was the [illegible] tion, that as a conſiderable part of his plan was neceſſ[illegible] depend on an adjuſtment of duties, drawbacks, and bou[illegible], that adjuſtment was liable to ſo many errors, as to render it extremely uncertain and dangerous to place any depend[illegible] on the accuracy with which it could be done. In the firſt place, he flattered himſelf there was no perſon would take upon himſelf to ſay that ſuch an adjuſtment was abſolutely impracticable, nor, for his own part, did he think it even in any great degree difficult, but whether it was difficult, or whether it was impracticable, it was a part of the ſyſtem on which the noble Lord in the blue ribband had founded his former arrangement of that portion of the colony trade which in his adminiſtration had been given to Ireland. That conceſſion had been made upon the ſame principle as the preſent, that of equalization between the two countries, nor could he ſee any reaſon why ſuch an equalization could be leſs carried into effect upon the preſent than on the former occaſion.

Such, he ſaid, were the outlines of the firſt part of his ſyſtem, and which, accompanied by the neceſſary ſafeguards and regulations, he wiſhed the Houſe to adopt. We had hitherto bound, he obſerved, the friend we ought to cherish; we had treated as an alien, inſtead of careſſing as a partner: but, by a ſyſtem thus comprehenſive, unambiguous and complete, we ſhould remove the effect of former prejudices, and entitle ourſelves not only to the zealous contributions of a generous ſiſter, but, what was much more, her gratitude.

That goods now prohibited, or ſubjected to duties amounting to a prohibition, ſhould be admitted hereafter into each kingdom, under a duty merely ſufficient to countervail the internal exciſe, formed the outline of the ſecond part of the ſyſtem. As other bounties which might defeat its end were

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by a particular mention excluded, this muſt be looked on as a conciliatory ſyſtem, which would tend to diffuſe, and thereby to increaſe the wealth of both nations. To one effect only of this regulation, an exception had been made; and an alarm had been ſpread in the northern part of this kingdom, as if the removal of the prohibition which now exiſted with reſpect to corn and grain would be highly injurious to the agriculture of Scotland this dread, however, it was his intention to remove, by excepting corn, meal, &c. from the effects of this regulation. Beer, alſo, exported to Ireland being already ſubject to a high duty, to countervail the internal impoſition on that article in Ireland would form another exception.

He then went through the different propoſitions as they had been ſubmitted to the Iriſh Parliament, making comments and alterations as he proceeded; after which he remarked, that of the numerous petitions which had been preſented to the Houſe, the objections of the greater part were perfectly wide of what might be expected from any who had given a proper attention to the ſubject. They had ſpoken of liberties now given, and of privileges unknown before, they dwelt on the rivalſhip that muſt take place between this country and Ireland in every foreign market, but they ſeemed not to know that theſe liberties, and this rivalſhip, ſubſiſted by the laws already in exiſtence. Every inconvenience that had been ſtated flowed from the ſyſtem that was now eſtabliſhed, but went not to criminate that which was now about to be formed He had been, alſo, arraigned of arrogance and ſelf-ſufficiency in the proſecution of this buſineſs; but it was not in words ſuch as theſe to deter him from the proſecution of his duty, to drive him to little, temporizing expedients, ſuch as the ſacrifice of a poſt-office or a court of admiralty. He was not, he ſaid, one of thoſe who thought that if a ſeſſion were paſſed without any thing material being done, it was a circumſtance of pleaſure and ſelf-congratulation. It was his wiſh to place the arrangements between the two kingdoms on a baſis the moſt firm, and in the purſuit of an end ſo deſirable, he would not be deterred by clamour or miſrepreſentation.

The right honourable gentleman then went into that part of the queſtion which related to the apprehenſions of certain perſons, of being underſold, by the import of the manufactures of Ireland, in our own markets; and here he went into a very wide field of argument on the different topics which had

had been introduced to ſupport that opinion. He combated the doctrine, that Ireland from the cheapneſs of labour muſt neceſſarily be able to underſel the Engliſh manufacturer. Was it, he aſked, becauſe that the rudeſt ſpecies of labour was ſomewhat more cheap in Ireland than in England, that the former therefore had the advantage of the latter? No! He ſaid it did not depend on that ſort of work which was required for the moſt rough and rude occupations of agriculture, whether a nation was to flouriſh in manufacture or not; it was a habit of induſtry and ingenuity which were to effect it. He drew a diſtinction between the meaning of the words wages and labour, obſerving, that a man's wages might be extremely low, and yet the price of his labour very dear, provided that he did but a ſmall quantity of work. He inſtanced in the example of an Engliſhman and an Iriſhman, that perhaps the latter, though receiving but five ſhillings per week, might really be a dearer workman to his employer than the former at eight ſhillings, provided the one worked harder, and the other was idle. He ſaid alſo, that beſides the different degrees of the induſtry of the two nations, he was well informed, and ſufficiently convinced, that the rate of wages, as well as of labour, was greater in Ireland than in England, in any branch of manufacture which required execution and ingenuity, inſtancing a gentleman, whom he deſcribed to be the firſt and the principal perſon in the cotton buſineſs in Ireland, [Major Brooke] who was ſeveral times in danger of loſing his life, becauſe he refuſed to allow his workmen a greater price than they had at Mancheſter. He could not help obſerving, that the fears and apprehenſions of the manufacturers were extremely far fetched and ill founded, nor did it appear to him that there were ſuch grounds for them as ought to weigh with any reaſonable man. They had declared themſelves to be under great anxiety and uneaſineſs, leſt the Iriſh, in conſequence of this arrangement, ſhould be able to draw over all their workmen, all their trade, and all their capitals, and be able to underſel them in their own markets by at leaſt 13l. per cent. Now he deſired the Committee to attend to that ſingle ſubject. The Iriſh cotton trade was to be imported into England, according to this plan, at 10l. and a half per cent. duty, and yet, it was ſaid, they were to underſel the Engliſh manufacturer 13l. per cent. Theſe two ſums amounted to 23l. and a half per cent. Beſides this, England had hitherto imported into Ireland at a duty of 10l. and a half per cent. This, therefore,

fore, added to the other two ſums, would amount to 24l. per cent.; at which diſadvantage, therefore, if the manufacturers who had ſtated this degree of danger to the Houſe deſerved any degree of credit, they had been hitherto dealing in Ireland, and almoſt excluſively engroſſed that market, and increaſed and flouriſhed to an extent hardly to be equalled by any other branch of trade known, a thing perfectly beyond the reach of belief, and even unworthy of a ſingle ſerious thought. In another branch of manufacture, he ſaid, there was the ſame ſort of exaggerated danger repreſented to the Houſe by a perſon who had given a very long and copious teſtimony at the bar, and that in the moſt collected and deliberate manner that it was poſſible for any man to do; (here he alluded to Mr. Wedgwood, the earthen-ware manufacturer, who gave his teſtimony in writing to the clerk, in order to read it to the Houſe) and yet from this gentleman the Houſe could learn nothing more than that of his having wiſhed to engroſs every market to which he had ever thought of ſending his wares, and, by the by, he did not well know how to ſend them to Ireland for fear of damage, by breaking and other loſſes, yet he was now determined, at all hazards, and at all riſks of credibility and conſiſtency, to run into every extreme that the preſent prevalent agitation of men's minds could prompt them to, in order to find nothing in thoſe propoſitions but certain deſtruction to him and his manufacture if they ſhould paſs into a law. He moſt earneſtly intreated the Houſe not to ſuffer themſelves to be carried away with the idea that a poor country, merely becauſe ſhe enjoyed ſome comparative exemption from taxes, was therefore able to cope with a rich and powerful country; the fact, he was ready to contend, was by no means ſo on the contrary, the ſmalleſt burden on a poor country was to be conſidered when compared with thoſe of a rich one, by no means in a proportion to their ſeveral abilities; for if one country exceeded another in wealth, population, and eſtabliſhed commerce, in a proportion of two to one, he was nearly convinced that that country would be able to bear near ten times the burdens that the other would be equal to. This argument he applied to Great Britain and Ireland, and illuſtrated it with an example from England and Scotland. There was no gentleman, he believed, would contend, that the taxes which Scotland paid, when compared with thoſe of England, bore any proportion to their mutual and relative reſources of wealth and power; and yet he believed, that although

although every man muſt admit, that the connection betwteen them had been productive of great and manifeſt advantage to both, yet there were few would heſitate to ſay, that one country has been more benefited by it than the other, and that the event of that conſolidation of intereſt which took place between the two Britiſh kingdoms, had been ſuch as ought not to make England averſe from a repetition of the experiment

The right honourable gentleman now proceeded to open that part of the plan which was entirely and excluſively favourable to this country, and which was to be the gratuity given by Ireland for whatever benefit ſhe was to derive from the arrangement; and the compenſation to England for any advantage ſhe might give up. It happened, he ſaid, that as this compenſation bore an exact proportion to the advantages to be gained by Ireland, ſo was it of neceſſary conſequence exactly to commenſurate to the effect of the conceſſions made by England, while at the ſame time that it thus balanced the favour conferred and received, it over and above ſecured an additional advantage to each party, by conſiderably promoting the collective ſtrength, proſperity, and ſplendor of the empire at large. This compenſation was the ſurplus of the hereditary revenue of Ireland, after deducting 654,000l. for the ſupport of her own eſtabliſhments, to be applied to the naval defence of the trade and commerce of each kingdom. In order to ſhew the Houſe how certainly this compenſation would bear a proportion to the benefit which Ireland was to reap from the new arrangements, he would ſtate what the hereditary revenue was. It conſiſted of certain duties by cuſtom on almoſt every ſpecies of goods imported, an exciſe upon ſome articles of the moſt general conſumption; and a houſe tax levied according to the number of hearths in each. The Committee would ſee from hence, that this hereditary revenue would neceſſarily increaſe as ſoon as the new arrangement began to have effect; and in exact proportion to that effect, every article of which it was compoſed being ſo cloſely connected with commerce, wealth, and population. It was his idea, that the ſupply, whatever it might be, ſhould be taken in proviſions and ſtores, a mode which would be productive of equal benefit to both nations.

He had, he ſaid, on a future day, ſome remarks to make as to the regulation of patents, and the ſecuring of copy right to their reſpective poſſeſſors. At preſent, however, he contented

tented himſelf with apologizing to the Committee, for the length to which he had been unavoidably led by a ſubject ſo complicated and extended. He concluded with moving the general reſolutions.

Having proceeded to this point, Mr. Pitt addreſſed the Houſe in a moſt earneſt manner, intreating them to conſider and reflect how momentous the object before them was; that it tended to conciliate a difference between this and our ſiſter kingdom, which though now confined to ſecret repinings, to diſguſts, to jealouſies, and a war of intereſts and of paſſions, might perhaps in time, proceed to a length which he ſhuddered to think of, and could not venture to expreſs that it tended to enrich one part of the empire without impoveriſhing the other, while it gave ſtrength to both; that, like mercy, the favourite attribute of heaven—

> —" It was twice bleſt,
> " It bleſſed him that gives, and him that took "

That after the ſeveral calamities under which this country had ſo long laboured, that after the heavy loſs which ſhe had ſuſtained, from the recent diviſion of her dominions, there ought to be no object more impreſſive on the feelings of the Houſe, than to endeavour to preſerve from farther diſmemberment and diminution, to unite and to connect what yet remained of our reduced and ſhattered empire, of which Great Britain and Ireland were now the only conſiderable members, in the mutual bond of affection, of mutual kindneſs, and of reciprocity of intereſts. He called upon thoſe gentlemen who had enjoyed a ſhare at different periods in the government of Ireland, to declare, whether the time was not now paſt when temporary expedients, when lenitives, calculated merely for the purpoſe of deadening the immediate ſenſe of pain, without even approaching the ſeat of the diſtemper, could be adminiſtered with ſafety? Whether they could ſilence the demands which the Iriſh with a loud united voice were at this moment making, on the juſtice, the wiſdom, and the humanity of the nation?

Mr. Pitt made an apology for having ſo long troubled the Houſe upon a ſubject on which they had now been already for ſuch a length of time engaged; declaring, that among all the objects of his political life, this was, in his opinion, the moſt important he had ever engaged in; nor did he imagine he ſhould ever meet another that would call forth all his

public feelings, and rouſe every exertion of his heart, in ſo forcible a manner as the preſent had done. A queſtion, in which he verily believed was involved every proſpect that ſtill remained to this country of again lifting up her head to that heighth and eminence which ſhe once poſſeſſed amongſt nations; and of giving to her commerce, her public credit, and her reſources, that ſpring and vivacity, which ſhe felt at the concluſion of the war before laſt, which were now ſo obviouſly returning, and which, he truſted, ſhe would never be found to want, as long as liberality, public ſpirit, and diſintereſtedneſs, held their place in that Houſe. He concluded with moving the firſt propoſition.

Lord *North* roſe as ſoon as the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſat down, and ſaid, the right honourable gentleman had introduced ſo many new reſolutions, and ſo materially changed the face of the propoſitions, that he would ſubmit it to the candour of the right honourable gentleman, whether it would not be proper to adjourn the debate, and cauſe the new reſolutions to be printed for the uſe of the members, in order that gentlemen might have an opportunity of reading them with attention, of conſidering their import, and making themſelves maſters of their tendency, before they were called upon to decide upon queſtions of ſuch infinite importance to the two countries, and about which they could as yet be ſo little informed, in conſequence of the very great alterations juſt introduced by the right honourable gentleman. There would be ſomething, his Lordſhip ſaid, ſo extremely indecent in preſſing the Houſe of a ſudden, to a deciſion of the leading queſtion, that would pledge them to vote for all the reſt of the propoſitions, before they were apprized of the true meaning of almoſt any one of them, that he could not for a moment ſuppoſe the right honourable gentleman had any idea of urging the Committee to a vote upon the queſtion before they parted, eſpecially conſidering the very late hour of the night at which the right honourable gentleman had himſelf made the motion. For his part, his Lordſhip ſaid, he was utterly incapable of deciding upon the new reſolutions which the right honourable gentleman had read in the courſe of his ſpeech, or of entering into a diſcuſſion of their merits; he was not ſufficiently informed of their particular turn and tendency, to attempt either; all he could do, was, to ſay, that on the firſt bluſh of them, they appeared to him to be amendments for the better, inaſmuch as they materially contradicted and corrected the ſpirit and principle of the Iriſh Lord North.

propoſitions, which, as they had been originally introduced, appeared to him to be in the higheſt degree objectionable, impolitic, and unwiſe; and which, though as far as he had been able to diſcover, from having heard the reſolutions read once, (and he had liſtened to the right honourable gentleman with the utmoſt attention) were yet far from being entirely cured of affording ſtrong grounds for objection, greatly amended as he was ready to confeſs they were, by the new reſolutions. For theſe reaſons, his Lordſhip ſaid, he ſhould not attempt to argue the grand ſubject that day, but ſhould merely confine what he had to ſay, to take notice of a few of the many things of a perſonal nature, which the right honourable gentleman had thought proper to ſay of him, and of thoſe who ſit near him. The right honourable gentleman, he obſerved, rarely roſe without attacking him, and treating him with a degree of marked contempt, to both of which he was moſt heartily welcome, but he would juſt remind the right honourable gentleman, that it ſomewhat diſcredited his argument upon any queſtion, and diſcredited the queſtion itſelf, for the mover of it rather to content himſelf with endeavouring to recommend it to the Houſe by an abuſe of what others had done on the ſame ſubject, than to reſt it on its own merits. The right honourable gentleman undoubtedly felt a pleaſure in abuſing him, and therefore it ſhewed his ingenuity to fix upon ſuch ſubjects to bring forward, as would ſerve him to gratify his favourite propenſity, though they would not afford much ground for ſound reaſoning in their ſupport, or bear any great degree of compliment. Having made theſe ironical remarks on the Chancellor of the Exchequer's conduct, Lord North proceeded to a juſtification of himſelf from Mr. Pitt's attack, and by a reference to facts ſhewed, that what he had granted to Ireland, when he had the honour of being firſt Lord of the Treaſury, had not been what the right honourable gentleman had ſtated, nor any thing like what the right honourable gentleman now propoſed to grant, but merely a right to export and import to and from the Weſt Indies, under certain circumſtances of circumſcription, ſafety, and ſecurity to the commercial rights of this country. So far was he, his Lordſhip ſaid, from having been at any time willing to go the length of ſacrificing the commercial intereſts of Great Britain to Ireland, that he had uniformly oppoſed ſuch an idea, on every occaſion, when the ſubject had come under conſideration; and impreſſed with this ſentiment, it was, that he had that day come down to the Houſe determined

mined to vote againſt the propoſitions, which he certainly ſhould have done, had they ſtood in their original form. His Lordſhip next entered into an inveſtigation of the circumſtances alluded to by a pamphleteer, who had, he ſaid, been inſtructed to abuſe him *, and whoſe arguments and ſtile ſo nearly correſponded with thoſe of the right honourable gentleman, that a ſtranger would have thought the pamphleteer, and the right honourable gentleman, were one and the ſame perſon. He contended, that it was unfair for any man to conſider the report of a ſpeech in Parliament given in a newſpaper, as a ſufficient authority to urge it againſt him, as a proof of his argument or his declarations. It ſo happened, however, that the ſpeech in queſtion, given as it was, did not furniſh ground ſufficient to make out the pamphleteer's reaſoning, or to prove that he had ever been an advocate for a ſurrender of the commerce of Great Britain to Ireland. His Lordſhip read ſome extracts from the ſpeech, as cited in the pamphlet, which fully corroborated his reaſoning. He recapitulated alſo the whole of the tranſactions on the ſubject of the ceſſions that had been made to Ireland while he was in office, ſhewing that they had originated in an addreſs of the Iriſh Parliament pleading their poverty and diſtreſs, that when the ceſſions were made, the Parliament of Ireland voted addreſſes of thanks expreſſing their gratitude for what had been granted them in the warmeſt terms, declaring themſelves perfectly ſatisfied with it, and praiſing the goodneſs of His Majeſty, and the wiſdom of his Councils, for having done them ſo eſſential a ſervice. His Lordſhip read extracts from all theſe various documents as he proceeded, which went to confirm the whole of his ſtatement. He afterwards entered into ſome arguments relative to the particular effect that paſſing the propoſitions would have upon our different manufactures, and eſpecially on the manufacture of iron, one of the moſt important we had. He at length concluded with paying a handſome compliment to Ireland, profeſſing great good-will towards that country, and repeating what he had ſaid at the beginning of his ſpeech, relative to an immediate adjournment, declaring his expectation, that from motives of candour and decency, the right honourable gentleman would accede to ſuch a motion.

* A Defence of the Iriſh Propoſitions. It was ſaid to be written by Mr Roſe, and was always mentioned by the name of the Treaſury Pamphlet.

Mr.

Mr. Fox. Mr. Fox addreſſed himſelf to the chair, in ſubſtance as follows:

Mr. Gilbert, though I now riſe to ſubmit my ſentiments on the preſent important ſubject, yet I beg it may be underſtood by the Committee, that I ſhall chearfully give way to any gentleman on the other ſide, who may be authoriſed to declare, it is not meant to preſs us to a vote this night. I do not conceive it poſſible indeed, that any objection can be made to the motion of my noble friend. The vaſt variety of matter perfectly new, as well as the numerous alterations of that which we had previouſly before us, demanding the moſt minute and accurate diſcuſſion, ſurely the right honourable gentleman will not force the Committee, at an hour ſo unſeaſonable, to come to a deciſion upon ſo difficult and ſo perplexed a ſubject. I have pauſed, Sir, to give an opportunity for diſcovering, if ſuch be the intention of gentlemen but I now find, from their continued ſilence, it is evident they are determined, at all events, to precipitate the Committee to this extraordinary and unparallelled deciſion. I muſt, therefore, intreat a more than uſual indulgence from the Committee, if, compelled as I find myſelf to enter into this important diſcuſſion, I ſhall, even at ſo late an hour, intrude for a conſiderable length of time on their patience. The Committee will recollect, that in addition to the eleven original propoſitions, no leſs than ſixteen new ones are now for the firſt time ſubmitted to Parliament, ſo that at one o'clock in the morning, I have to enter into the diſcuſſion of no leſs than twenty-ſeven of the moſt important and complex propoſitions that ever were the ſubject of parliamentary debate. Nor is this the whole of the difficulty: the ſixteen ſupplemental propoſitions are not confined to verbal explanations, or to mere literal amendments of the former; on the contrary, they directly change the whole tenor, and abſolutely ſubvert the main principle of the original ſyſtem, upon which the right honourable gentleman declared it to be his fixed intention to proceed, ſo that in truth they are altogether as unexpected, as they obviouſly are new and contradictory. Surely, therefore, under circumſtances ſo very novel and embarraſſing, I may with leſs preſumption intreat the Committee to forgive that unavoidable intruſion on their time, which muſt be the conſequence of compelling us to come to a vote on ſo intereſting and ſo complicated a ſubject, before it is ſcarcely poſſible for gentlemen to form even any general ideas on the whole of the ſubject, as it is now modelled.

But

But firſt with reſpect to this extraordinary ſyſtem, moſt undoubtedly the claim of merit in being the author of it, can admit of no queſtion. My noble friend has waved all poſſible pretenſions to it, but not, I am ſure, more cheartfully than I concur with him, in declaring it to be the ſole and entire poſſeſſion of the right honourable gentleman who has officially produced it. With him let every credit of it reſide, undiſputed and unenvied—and all who contends with him for its honours, muſt be inſtigated by unjuſtifiable motives. For ſurely never did there appear a work more compleatly, more and viſibly the ſole and genuine compoſition of its author, than the preſent ſyſtem evidently demonſtrates itſelf to be excluſively the work of the right honourable gentleman. No neceſſity can be alledged to have given riſe to it, for it flows from the mere will of the propoſer. No urgent, no preſſing calamity bore a ſhare in its introduction It is the offspring of peace and domeſtic tranquillity. Surely, therefore, it would be falſe and injurious to alledge, that the people of Ireland had forced the Britiſh Miniſter into a tame ſurrender of the manufactures and commerce of our country. The fact is directly the reverſe The *Britiſh* Miniſter has proffered this ſurrender from his own mere motion, his own ſound will, and his own unbiaſſed judgement. Unqueſtionably, therefore, he, and he only, is clearly entitled to reap and to enjoy all the merits and all the honours of a ſyſtem ſo completely and ſo perfectly his own.

Perhaps indeed, from the examples which the right honourable gentleman has ſo frequently afforded us of a wonderful perſeverance in the defence of his own opinions, and at the ſame time as complete an adoption of the amendments which we ſuggeſt, and he himſelf diſapproves, we ought not to be very much aſtoniſhed at any new and ſudden appearance that his preſent ſyſtem may have aſſumed, but I confeſs, however, it was with conſiderable aſtoniſhment that I heard the right honourable gentleman ſtate his new propoſitions For theſe, Sir, are at once, directly, totally, and vitally in contradiction to the whole of that ſyſtem on which he let out, and from which, if we had truſted merely to his own ſolemn declarations, we muſt have believed it impoſſible that he could deviate in the minuteſt degree—In ſaying this, the Committee muſt be ſenſible that I ſpeak merely from the impreſſion which the reſolutions have made on my mind as they were curſorily read over and explained by the right honourable gentleman. I have not had time, and the Committee are not to be permitted to have time, to read and weigh theſe propoſi-

tions

tions before they determine upon their merits—But ſuch is the impreſſion, which, on the firſt bluſh, they have made upon my mind

I have all along underſtood, that the baſis of the right honourable gentleman's original ſyſtem was reciprocity in correſpondent duties, and reciprocity in the prohibition of the export of raw materials Now theſe principles, in my mind, the right honourable gentleman has completely abandoned in his new propoſitions, for particularly in the article of beer, an exception is made to the reciprocity in correſpondent duties, and, in the ſeventh reſolution, a change is made with reſpect to prohibitions The right honourable gentleman has, therefore, retracted and recanted his original principles, he has abandoned the ground on which he ſet out, and on which he ſo frequently pledged himſelf that the whole of his propoſitions ſhould ſtand or fall. He has abandoned the reciprocity in correſpondent duties; he has abandoned the reciprocal prohibition of raw materials. In theſe inſtances, which if they are ſaid to be trifling in themſelves, are not trifles when conſidered as departures from principle, he has abandoned his ground, and by doing this, he opens a new ſyſtem, and comes forward with a ſet of propoſitions, ſo far forth diametrically oppoſite to, and fundamentally different from, that ſyſtem which he himſelf has moſt repeatedly aſſured us could not poſſibly admit of the ſlighteſt change, and was, indeed, to be wholly inviolable.

The right honourable gentleman reprobates the charge which has been imputed to him, of raſhneſs in the original propoſitions. Was there ever a charge made with more truth, or demonſtrated with more clearneſs? Has not the right honourable gentleman's conduct on this day given the moſt unequivocal teſtimony to the original raſhneſs of his ſyſtem? What can be a more deciſive proof of original raſhneſs, than ſubſequent retraction? The right honourable gentleman brings forward a ſet of reſolutions, as the baſis of a ſyſtem for the intercourſe between the two countries he pledges the government of this kingdom for the literal eſtabliſhment of his ſyſtem: he proudly reſiſts inquiry, and ſcorns deliberation, but, when circumſtances ariſe which he has not ability to overcome, and time, in ſpite of his oppoſition, is procured for inquiry and diſcuſſion, he is conſtrained to acknowledge the errors of his firſt opinions, and he comes forward with a ſet of propoſitions directly the reverſe of the former. If this does not exhibit the raſhneſs of the right honourable gentleman in colours more warm and durable than any with which

we

we on this ſide the Houſe were able to characteriſe his conduct, I ſubmit to the Committee and the Public The raſhneſs of the right honourable gentleman, is proved by the right honourable gentleman himſelf, and it is ſingularly ſtriking—that by the whole of his behaviour—the raſhneſs of one day is to be proved by the raſhneſs of another He now brings forward to the Committee a ſet of propoſitions directly contradictory to thoſe on which he firſt proceeded, and having thus himſelf demonſtrated the raſhneſs of his own conduct in the firſt inſtance, he becomes enamoured of this boaſted weakneſs, and yet moſt liberally determines that we alſo ſhall be admitted to a full participation of it, by a raſh, premature adoption of theſe his laſt notions, which, however, may as ſuddenly and as conſiſtently, be abandoned as the former So hoſtile is he to deliberation, ſuch an avowed enemy to every thing that looks like inquiry and reflection, that even on this day when he is ſuffering the ſhame of raſhneſs, he calls upon us to be raſh. Though his propoſitions have been but once curſorily read over, and in that reading muſhled and ſet off with all the veſtre of his eloquence,—though they are perfectly new,—and although he has not ſubmitted them to the Committee till after midnight, he demands and compells us to come to a vote on them The decency of this conduct I will not inſiſt upon; but this given, that forced to a diviſion, I muſt, however unwilling to give a haſty negative, vote directly againſt his propoſitions, as conceiving them to be at the beſt unneceſſary moſt probably as pernicious, but undoubtedly ſo productive of an entire change and revolution in our commercial ſyſtem, as to involve a train of conſequences, againſt which the wiſeſt and beſt characters of this country might deſpair of providing any adequate ſecurity

But, Sir, I muſt congratulate the Committee—I muſt congratulate my country on the happy eſcape which we have made from the ſyſtem propoſed by the right honourable gentleman but two months ſince* That ſyſtem, the ruin of which has been this day ſo ably demonſtrated, was then within four and twenty hours of being carried through this Houſe, to which, when we look back on all the circumſtances of the caſe, we muſt indeed rejoice in our fortunate eſcape The firſt propoſitions, when they were originally opened in this Houſe, were pronounced to be ſo pure and beneficial—ſo clearly and demonſtrably perfect, that not a moment was to be waſted in the vain diſcuſſion of their merits. The right honourable gentleman, therefore, inveighed againſt the ſtrange uncandid oppoſition which was made to thoſe his firſt

propoſitions. He attributed the opinions of this ſide of the Houſe to mere faction and diſappointment he called our ſolemn appeals to the legiſlature and to the nation, illiberal artifices to excite unneceſſary clamour he gave a haughty defiance to the manufacturers and merchants, to exhibit any reaſonable argument againſt a ſyſtem ſo replete with every beneficial conſequence to themſelves, and he triumphed in the circumſtance, that for ſome days not a ſingle petition was brought to the Houſe from any part of the country againſt thoſe propoſitions, afterwards, indeed, he was forced to abate from this triumph, he found no want of petitions, nor of argument, but his language was ſtill lofty, and his mind implacable His ſyſtem was ſo ſuperior to the petulance and faction of thoſe who oppoſed it, that he declared his reſolution of carrying it into a law, even to the letter of the ſpecific reſolutions Convinced, however, as we always were that theſe reſolutions were fraught with injury and ruin to the manufactures and commerce of this country, we warned—we conjured the Houſe to deliberate—to call for information—to examine thoſe, who, from their ſituations, were the moſt likely to have intelligence. We called for the Commiſſioners of cuſtoms, and the Commiſſioners of excife, that the Houſe might learn from them, whether from the operation of theſe reſolutions the revenues of the country were not inſtantly expoſe to inſurmountable dangers The right honourable gentleman reprobated the proceeding He inſiſted, that we called for thoſe Commiſſioners merely to gain time; that our purpoſe was inſidious delay, in order to inflame the Public and ſtir up factious clamours. But what has been the iſſue of all this? Will the right honourable gentleman now dare to attribute our conduct to thoſe unworthy motives? The Commiſſioners, whoſe opinions on the ſubject he conſidered of ſo little avail, have declared by their report that material and alarming injury would unavoidably ariſe from theſe reſolutions, fraught, as they conceive them to be, with innumerable dangers But ſtill more ſtrongly has the right honourable gentleman himſelf, on this day, deſcribed, in his own powerful language, the variety of ruinous conſequences that muſt have attended his original ſyſtem He himſelf has enumerated to the Committee the long train of evils we have eſcaped, by oppoſing his propoſitions—he himſelf has emphatically deſcribed the deſtruction we ſhould have incurred by adopting his own exploded ſyſtem Let the Committee recollect the detail of fatal conſequences thus authoritatively admitted.

Firſt,

First, it has been now admitted, that if the original resolutions had passed, we should have lost for ever the monopoly of the East-India trade. It has been admitted, that we could no longer have renewed the exclusive charter of the Company, but the sister kingdom, having once an equal power with ourselves to trade to Asia, we must wholly have depended on the will of Ireland for a renewal of the charter, by which the monopoly could alone have been maintained.

If these resolutions had passed into a law, it has equally been admitted, we must have hazarded all the revenue arising from spirituous liquors, no distinction having been made between our own and foreign liquors, nor any provision thought of to prevent their admission into this country.

If these resolutions had passed into a law, we should equally have sacrificed the whole of the navigation laws of this country. These laws, the great source of our commercial opulence, the prime origin of our maritime strength, would at once have been delivered up in trust to Ireland, leaving us for ever after totally dependent on her policy, and on her bounty, for the future guardianship of our dearest interests

If these resolutions had passed into a law, we should have opened the door to a more extensive contraband trade than ever yet was known to exist in this country, for not a shadow of protection was provided against every species of smuggling, not even the means which we think it necessary to use in our own traffic from port to port—that of requiring bonds, cockets, and other instruments, on goods sent coastwise.

If these resolutions had been carried into a law, we should have endangered the loss of the colonial market to the manufactures of Great Britain, for no care was taken to prevent Ireland from giving bounties, or allowing drawbacks, on goods exported to the colonies, so that it was left in their power to give so decisive an advantage to their own manufactures, as must have ascertained to them the market, or, which would have been equally ruinous, have forced us to enter into a warfare of bounties, to the extinction of our revenues.

If these resolutions had been carried into a law, as extensive dangers must have equally been incurred by our colonies, for not a single provision was stipulated for laying permanent high duties on the produce of foreign colonies imported into Ireland; so that, at any future time, Ireland might have taken off the annual high duties, and given admission to the produce of foreign colonies, on terms, which

muſt completely have ruined our Weſt-India iſlands I need not ſtate to the Committee a fact ſo univerſally known, as that the produce of our colonies is dearer than that of the foreign iſlands But we have nevertheleſs preferred the home market, on account of the natural intereſt which we have in them, and undoubtedly we muſt continue to do ſo Ireland has no ſuch obligation on the contrary, her intereſt would as forcibly lead her to the foreign colonies. If theſe reſolutions, therefore, ſhould paſſed into a law, we ſhould inevitably have been bound to one part of the bargain, whereas Ireland would by no means have been confined to hers If theſe reſolutions had paſſed into a law by the monſtrous incongruity of the fifth it would have been in the power of Ireland to draw a revenue from our conſumption They had only to lay an internal duty in Ireland, on the articles of our conſumption, equal to the internal duty that might exiſt on ſuch article in this country, and it muſt have followed, that they of courſe would have drawn the revenue from the country that was to conſume the goods. This aſtoniſhing abſurdity is done away by the removal of the latter part of the fifth reſolution. Thus alſo, if theſe reſolutions had paſſed into a law, the leather trade muſt as certainly have been ruined, for though we were bound in all future time to ſend our oak bark to Ireland duty free, Ireland was not bound to prohibit the exportation of raw hides to Great Britain, without which the trade could not ſubſiſt.

Theſe are ſome few of the evils, which confeſſedly would have taken place, if the original reſolutions, which the right honourable gentleman propoſed but two months ago, had unfortunately paſſed into a law. All theſe menaces, theſe fatal conſequences of his own raſh ſyſtem, the right honourable gentleman has on this day himſelf acknowledged, at the ſame moment that he introduces, for the firſt time, a new ſet of complicated propoſitions, in remedy of the detected miſchiefs of the former. In doing this, he has at once completely changed the ground on which he firſt ſet out; for having originally declared, that the very ſpirit and ſoul of his ſyſtem was to ſquare and finally determine the relative ſituation of the two countries, he then maintained that this ſalutary, this grand, primary object could only be accompliſhed by a complete and perfect reciprocity, yet that eſſential, that vital principle, he has now totally and directly abandoned, as well in the remarkable change, which he has introduced in the ſeventh reſolution, as in the article of beer, the export of which

is of infinite consequence. Reciprocity, therefore, which was the vital principle, the spirit, the quintessence of his system, is now completely abandoned.

That these alterations are for the better, I most chearfully admit. Undoubtedly, they tend to make the present system far more palatable to Englishmen. Why then, it may be asked, do I now state them? Clearly for this reason: to manifest to the House the important benefits of deliberation. I mention them, to shew that the alarm given by gentlemen of this side of the House, was a most fortunate alarm for this country. By that fortunate alarm, the manufacturing communities in every corner of the kingdom [illegible] appraised of their danger, they have had time to come forward; they have had time to give those lights to the Committee, which have been the happy means of producing the alterations of this day. I mention them to shew what must have been the consequences to the empire if the Committee had implicitly fallen into the system, which the rashness of the right honourable gentleman, I will not say his ignorance, but which, to give it an easier term, his extraordinary confidence in his own abilities, induced him so peremptorily and so authoritatively to propose.

There is also another, and even more powerful reason for my enlarging on these important alterations. It is, Sir, to convince the Committee, that there is still a powerful appeal to our equity, our benevolence, and even our common sense, for affording the merchants and manufacturers of this country a much longer period of deliberation, and surely as strong a claim on the justice of the Minister, to suspend the vote of the Committee on a question of such infinite magnitude to all our just and dearest interests. The Committee will be taught, by a due estimation of the benefits already acquired from salutary delays, that most important advantages are to be derived from fair inquiry and impartial discussion. If in two months such serious and consequential errors have been discovered, what may we not expect from longer time and more careful investigation? If in two months the right honourable gentleman has gleaned so much from this side of the House, and from gentlemen, whose ideas he certainly is not much disposed avowedly and ingenuously to adopt, however willing he may be to benefit in secret from them, what may we not expect, when his bright talents have had more time to work on the suggestions with which we

have

have furniſhed him? That he has largely profited from this ſide of the Houſe, the Committee will readily perceive; neither will they, I believe, conſider it extremely preſumptuous, if I arrogate ſome degree of honour to myſelf, in having contributed a little to the amendments of this day. From my right honourable friend (Mr. Eden) the Miniſter has certainly collected many more of his new opinions. Surely, therefore, from the excellent uſe which the right honourable gentleman has already made of our diſcoveries and ſuggeſtions, it will more and more be the wiſh of all impartial men, that he ſhould have time to mature the many other matters which he has not yet ſo far honoured us as entirely to adopt. For what muſt be the fruits of thoſe ideas, how ample, how rich muſt be the harveſt they produce when his protecting hand ſhall raiſe them from obſcurity to a richer ſoil when he himſelf ſhall "tranſplant them to his own fair "garden where the ſun always ſhines" Nothing ſurely can be more beneficial than to wait for their mature production I ſpeak for myſelf, and I am ſure I may ſpeak alſo for my right honourable friend and the other gentlemen round me, that we ſhall be happy to truſt our progeny to his care. If he is a plagiary, he is a plagiary uncommonly endowed; for he decorates that which he ſteals in apparel ſo gay and luxuriant, he enriches whatever he takes with ſuch additions of flowers and embroidery, that though, as their legitimate parents, we recognize our own offspring, we view them with no ſmall degree of wonder in their ſtrange and ſumptuous attire. On this day, indeed, we may be proud to contemplate the predominating efficacy of our own ſuggeſtions; and on this day alone has the right honourable gentleman, for the very firſt time, condeſcended to depart from the uſual flatneſs and overbearing ſenſe of his own ſuperiority. Upon this day, with new and unaccuſtomed affability, he neither reprobates nor reviles the opinions to which he has deigned to accede. It is to us a ſtrange and unexpected triumph, not indeed to have our ideas received by the right honourable gentleman, (in that acceptance he is courteſy itſelf) but to hear them, even in the moment they are admitted, unſtigmatized by the receiver, nor as uſual traduced in words, while they are approved in fact, and vilified at the very moment of their adoption.

The right honourable gentleman, whom my noble friend (Lord North) moſt truly painted, when he aſſerted, that

"he

" he had a mind which found gratification in invective*," has this day alluded to a letter written by the noble Lord as a diſpatch from Ireland, during the adminiſtration of which I had the honour to make a part, and he has inſinuated, that the letter manifeſted an intention in that adminiſtration to have gone the lengths of the preſent ſyſtem, " if they had " had energy ſufficient for ſo great an adventure." I did not expect that even from him ſuch a conſtruction would have been put upon that diſpatch. From his colleagues in office, I am confident of meeting with more candour. But the letter has been read. I ſubmit to the Committee the terms of that letter, and call upon them to ſay, if the Engliſh language could furniſh expreſſions more deciſive of the contrary opinion, than thoſe in which we declared to the Lord Lieutenant, that we could not encourage him to make a promiſe to Ireland, which, if fulfilled, would be deſtructive to Britain. In that opinion we were then unanimous, and to that opinion we firmly adhere. But are theſe the arts by which the noble Lord and I are to be degraded in the eyes of poſterity? Let the Miniſter perſiſt in theſe unworthy inſinuations, he ſhall not deter us from what we know to be our duty—He ſhall not overcome that deliberate firmneſs which, after healing the calamities of Ireland, and happily eſtabliſhing both her commercial and conſtitutional liberty, had ſufficient ſpirit, ſufficient juſtice, to withhold what it was wrong to relinquiſh, and what indeed was as little expected or ſought by Ireland, as it was ſafe or juſt for an Adminiſtration here to beſtow. That letter, which was written by the noble Lord in his official capacity, was of too much conſequence to be written under the ſanction of any individual department. Every one of His Majeſty's confidential ſervants was privy to the meaſure, nor was any diſpatch ever made up on a more decided and unanimous opi-

* Lord North ſaid in the courſe of his ſpeech, " There are ſome " men, Mr Gilbert, who ſeem to be organized for ſlander, there " are ſome men who, by the peculiar temperament of their nature, " find gratification in invective, and ſo eager are they for the enjoy- " ment of their luſt, that they go about to ſeek for blemiſhes, in or- " der to expoſe them, and in the purſuit of their game, they will " ſometimes pretend to find them where they are not. Such men, " if they propoſe any meaſure, are infinitely more deſirous to make it " ſtand upon the faults of others, than on its own merits, and ſuch a " man I take the right honourable gentleman to be."

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sion. Let the right honourable gentleman refer to some of his present colleagues for information on the point. "As "to the want of energy—the temporizing spirit—the half "measure—and the expedients of getting over a session by "a Post Office or an Admiralty Court,"—all these are insinuations which my noble friend has completely refuted. Neither the Post Office nor the Admiralty Court were conceded as expedients to get over a session, they were neither given nor accepted as boons, they were the natural consequences of the previous change of system, they flowed naturally from the new situation in which Ireland stood by the independence of her Legislature. What occasion had we for expedients to get over a session? The Lord Lieutenant of that day enjoyed as high a degree of confidence, and deserved it as well as any nobleman that ever filled the station.—We were guilty of no violences, and there existed no clamour.

I cannot help stopping here for a moment, to make a remark on a curious dissection to which the right honourable gentleman appears most remarkably attached, and function which betrays a feeling that I cannot well describe—a sort of self complacency—a kind of over pleasure with his own situation. In speaking of the noble Lord in the blue ribband at different periods, he is ever full of distinguishing between the First Lord of the Treasury and the mere Secretary of State. In the one character he ascribes to him all the dignity of Sovereign rank, of superintendency, and of sole authority—in the other, he considers him as but acting under or with a Ministry, than as a Minister possessed of either power or responsibility. He says of him at one time, "When the noble Lord was the Minister of the coun-"try." At another, "When the noble Lord held a subor-"dinate situation in the cabinet." By these distinctions, the right honourable gentleman takes a ruvenile pleasure in glancing at his own elevation. He considers the personage who fills the united offices of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and First Lord of the Treasury, as a character so lofty and exalted, so supereminent in his station, that he must on no account be confounded with inferior persons. In like manner, when he talks of coalitions, and reprobates them, he is moved by the same feeling. His charge against me and others is for coalescing with the Minister, the great superintending Minister of the American war! His own coalitions he can readily defend by the very same distinction;

"I own

"I own, he ſays, I have certainly coaleſced with ſome of "the miniſters who were concerned in the patronage and "conduct of the American war. they, however, were infe- "rior characters; Lords, Chancellors of England, and ſuch- "like perſons, of no account but never have I been ſo in- "famous and abandoned, as to form a coalition with the "Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Firſt Lord of the "Treaſury, the great ſuperintending Miniſter of the Crown, "who was the ſoul of the ſyſtem." I do not, Sir, enlarge upon this feeling of the right honourable gentleman, as a charge againſt him it is a feeling, in the enjoyment of which I am by no means inclined to diſturb him a feeling, in the enjoyment of which, I know indeed of no perſon that has any intereſt to diſturb him, unleſs indeed there may be ſome of his immediate colleagues, who may think it would be ſomewhat more decent in him to gratify his paſſion or his pride in a mode leſs publicly offenſive both to their ſpirit and their dignity.

But to return to the propoſitions on the table, I muſt now renew the obſervation that I made in the outſet of this buſineſs, namely, that there was a groſs and fundamental error in originating theſe propoſitions in the Iriſh Parliament. Independent of the inſult to the Parliament of this country, in not ſubmitting, for their conſideration, a great and extenſive innovation in the whole ſyſtem of our commerce, till after it had been determined upon in Ireland — ſurely the experience of this day ſufficiently demonſtrates the impolicy of ſo ſtrange a meaſure. For is it not evident, that, after the Parliament and people of Ireland have been ſuffered to cheriſh the belief, that the reſolutions which the Miniſters of that kingdom aſſured them would be religiouſly adhered to as the baſis of the new ſyſtem, the Miniſters of England come forward, and change the ſpirit, principle, and tendency of theſe reſolutions? Is it to be imagined, that, after the ſolemn pledge which the people of Ireland have received from their Miniſters, and which undoubtedly was held out to their Parliament as a ſufficient ground for an immediate extenſion of their revenue; is it to be imagined, I ſay, that, by any private tampering with the individual leaders of a party, the whole body of that nation will as rapidly acquieſce in the ſupplemental reſolutions now brought forward as they at firſt did in the original propoſitions; and when too the latter are directly framed to weaken and diminiſh the effect of the former, which they who propoſed them in

Ireland, had preremptorily inſiſted ſhould never undergo the ſlighteſt or moſt minute infringement. Nothing could be more abſurd than the ſtate of this proceeding. Firſt, the original propoſitions were made in Ireland—now the amendments are made in England. The Iriſh thus expoſed, what alone would content them, and they were offered it without knowing whether it was what England would grant. Now England is called upon to ſay what ſhe will give, without knowing whether it is what Ireland would take. Thus, a double inconvenience and dilemma ariſes from the ſtrange and incoherent proceeding. Nor was this the only impolicy in the mode of conducting this extraordinary meaſure.

His Majeſty's Miniſters erected a Board of Trade under the name of a Committee of the Privy Council, which certainly with proper regulations, I ſhould conſider as a wiſe and wholeſome inſtitution; but this Board was appointed not to prepare materials for the ſyſtem with Ireland; not to ſupply Government with information upon which they might deliberately proceed to the adjuſtment of the intercourſe between the two kingdoms. On the contrary, this Board was appointed to inquire rather into the propriety of what Miniſters were actually doing, than what they ought to do. For at the preciſe time when Mr. Secretary Orde firſt agitated the buſineſs in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, this Committee of Privy Council were employed in the examination of evidence, and the diſcuſſion of points on which the merits of the propoſed arrangement were ultimately to be eſtimated. Never ſurely was a Board of Privy Council ſo perverted, ſo degraded as this! Not appointed to inveſtigate and examine all the neceſſary evidence as a preliminary to an important meaſure — not conſtituted to deliberate on the various effects and conſequences of a great national charge, the outline of which was merely in idea, unſettled, and unadopted by the Miniſter; but, in truth, to provide a poſthumous defence for a plan already fixed, and to fabricate a vindication for miſchiefs too far advanced to admit of qualification or amendment. With ſuch views, and for ſuch purpoſes, was this Board of Privy Council at firſt convened. A right honourable gentleman, (Mr. Jenkinſon) whoſe feelings on being ſtudiouſly excluded from all the miniſterial departments of State, it was found not wholly unexpedient to conſole and ſooth, by ſome temporary delegation of inſignificant eminence, was prudently appointed to the Preſidency of this mock Committee. No higher mark of confidence was then beſtowed on the now avowed

avowed associate of the great superintendant Minister. On the report however of such a Board thus constituted, and thus directed, did the Chancellor of the Exchequer call upon this House to depend with unreserved confidence for the complete justification of his plan; in other words, we were to trust the most important rights of British commerce to the opinion of a Board of the King's Privy Counsellors, appointed by the King's Ministers themselves, to inquire whether the measure that they had adopted was wise or the contrary. Can the Committee imagine any thing more trifling, more frivolous, more vain and absurd, than so partial an appeal? Do we not all know, that when His Majesty's Ministers are committed on any one point, the servants whom they employ must be careful not to deliver an opinion hostile to that measure? The Board of Council are selected by the Minister, not as deliberate judges of his conduct; it were the extreme of folly to consider them in such a light; on the contrary, it was their object to afford every possible support to measures which they were called upon directly to countenance. This always was, and ever must be, the case; and so indeed the Committee of Privy Council in the present instance seem entirely to have considered it. At first indeed, before the Minister had thought it safe to communicate his plan to the right honourable President of this Board, some opinions, far from favourable to the plan, did appear upon their minutes, and of course are still to be discovered in their report; but this was a transient gloom. from the moment that the present complete intelligence and intimacy was established between the right honourable President and the Ministers, a new light seemed to flash at once on the whole Board of Council; the happiest means were instantly pursued to effect the concealment of ministerial error; the most decisive mode of examining witnesses was systematically observed; not only the most apt and artful questions were propounded, but with equal skill the most fortunate answers were generally provided; all however was carried on with much plausibility and stateliness of deportment. "It was an open court, it was accessible to wit-"nesses of all descriptions, and accordingly (as was repeated-"ly asserted) Gentlemen attended them of their own accord, "and voluntarily offered their impartial testimony, on the "various articles of their respective manufactures." But how has this description been verified? We have it in proof, that every individual witness who attended that Board, was

expreſſly ſent for—and that queſtions were put of an abſtract nature, and on premiſes unexplained. We have found too, that the anſwers ſo obtained were reſerved, to be brought in contradiction to opinions which, when the premiſes were fully examined, and the conſequences weighed, it was obvious could not fail to be ſtated in teſtimony at the bar of of the Houſe of Commons. The right honourable gentleman, who is at the head of this Board (Mr. Jenkinſon) has thought proper however to inform us, that the manufacturers were voluntary attendants on the Committee. But to this more than one gentleman of eminence and reſpect has directly anſwered, that in truth the witneſſes were expreſſly ſent for, Mr. Roſe of the Treaſury having repeatedly entreated them to attend the Committee. "Ay, ſays the "right honourable gentleman, but we have nothing to do "with Mr Roſe, nor with the Treaſury, we did not ſend "for you."

It is ſaid in praiſe of ſimplicity of action, "That the right "hand knoweth not what the left hand doeth." Perhaps this may be the caſe here, but which, Sir, is the right hand and which the left of the preſent Adminiſtration is not ſo eaſy to aſcertain. Certainly the Chancellor of the Exchequer has till of late been fond of diſclaiming all connection with certain obnoxious characters — He has generally, in high tone, and pompous pride, diſavowed and reprobated all intimacy, all friendſhip, all connection, with the right honourable gentleman who has long been ſuſpected of promoting an undue influence in the government of this country. But all this was the language of a period when the momentary popularity which the Miniſter had obtained had placed him above the degradation of ſo obnoxious a connection. When the conduct of the popular branch of the Conſtitution was beſtowed upon the preſent Miniſter, under the deſcription and character of a popular ſtateſman, it would indeed have been madneſs in the extreme to have held any other language of one, whoſe habits, whoſe principles, whoſe avowed prejudices, marked him out as utterly diſqualified for a ſituation, which, even in common prudence, ought never to be ſubject to the direct control, or to the diſguiſed influence, of prerogative. When the ſcene, however, began to change, when the Iriſh reſolutions excited alarm, and the minds of men were irritated at ſo laviſh a ſurrender of every thing that was dear; when the right honourable gentleman began to feel himſelf weak and inſecure, his language was

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leſs inflated, his proud rejection of obnoxious characters was heard no more.

" Telephus et Peleus, cum pauper et exul uterque,
" Projicit *Ampullas* et *ſeſquipedalia* Verba.

" Miſery makes us acquainted with ſtrange companions." For my own part, Sir, though I have always conſidered the right honourable gentleman alluded to, as an objectionable character for mixing in the conduct of the Britiſh government, yet I muſt do him the juſtice to ſay, that in this ſingular inſtance, his cautious temper, his patient laborious habits, have undoubtedly been well employed in correcting the ſtrange incoherent levities of the original propoſitions. And therefore it would be wholly unfair to withhold the merit of ſome of the alterations of this day from the inſtruction and advice ſo generouſly adminiſtered by the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Jenkinſon) in the hour of danger and neceſſity.

But to return to the Committee of Privy Council; I cannot ſuppreſs my indignation at the petty, miſerable plan which I am ſorry to find they have purſued; of firſt entrapping witneſſes, by inducing them to give haſty anſwers to queſtions unexplained, and afterwards in endeavouring to detect contradictions in their evidence, when they came, at the diſtance of ſix weeks, to ſpeak at the bar of this Committee. Upon ſuch conduct, very ill becoming in a Board of Privy Council, I cannot but obſerve, that undoubtedly it would have been far more graceful for the right honourable gentleman to have lent his utmoſt aid to the manufacturers of this country, when they were forced to the bar of this Committee, in ſupport of their deareſt privileges: ſurely upon ſuch an occaſion he ought himſelf to have manfully declared, " I rejoice to ſee you here. eager as I am for the " diſcovery of truth, I am happy that you are come to ex- " plain all thoſe points in which you have either been " miſtated or miſrepreſented by the Committee of Council. " You have now an opportunity to correct thoſe errors — " improve it with all the ſincerity and zeal that are the beſt " characteriſtics of Engliſhmen." Such ought to have been his language, for ſurely it is by no means diſcreditable for a man of the ſtricteſt honour to explain his opinions, when more mature reflection and greater light on the ſubject have convinced him that he was wrong. And yet in purſuing a line of conduct diametrically oppoſite to that which I have

I have deſcribed; in adopting the poor and miſerable expedient which the Miniſter preferred to the plain feeling of juſtice and honour, I pledge myſelf to prove, that, with all their ſiniſter induſtry to confuſe and to prevent, they have completely and utterly failed; for not a ſingle inſtance have they been able to offer, of glaring and material contradiction upon any one of the numerous witneſſes who have been the conſtant objects of their illiberal attacks.

I have ſaid, Sir, that ſo far as I have been able to comprehend the alterations, by hearing them once read over, I am ready to acknowledge, they are infinitely more palateable than at firſt; but I deſire to be underſtood, that I ſtill inſiſt, they are by no means what they ought to be — much of my objection remains; and I have no doubt, but when gentlemen come to diſcuſs the amended reſolutions, they will yet exhibit weighty arguments againſt their acceptance, as the baſis of the future intercourſe between the two countries.

The right honourable gentleman has now removed the objection which originally exiſted againſt the firſt reſolutions; namely, that we thereby ſacrificed the monopoly of the Aſiatic trade. How the right honourable gentleman could originally overlook that moſt important concern, unleſs he meant to aboliſh the monopoly, is a point for which I am utterly at a loſs how to account. Surely, the peculiar ſervices which the Company have rendered to his Adminiſtration, might well have claimed a more ſerious attention to their particular intereſts, than the right honourable gentleman ſeems to have paid them at the preſent important criſis: but rouſed to the performance of his duty, by the zeal of gentlemen on this ſide of the Houſe, he has at length indeed made ſome proviſion for the ſecurity of the Eaſt-India trade. Certainly I do not grudge to the people of Ireland the benefits which he has allotted to them in this branch of commerce: it is by no means improper that they ſhould have a ſhare of the outfit of the Eaſt-India ſhips, as they conſent to a part of the return. Excluded from the commerce of Aſia, it ſeems but barely equitable to permit them to ſupply ſome proportion of the export trade. On the contrary, if at any time, either the neceſſities or the mere will of the Eaſt India Company, ſhould reſort to Ireland for ſuch ſupplies, in preference to the eſtabliſhed trade with their own native dealers, I am ſure there is no Engliſhman of ſenſe or ſpirit who would debar Ireland from every fair participation

ticipation of those benefits which may be safely and justly divided.

The right honourable gentleman has made use of the most unfortunate argument that I ever heard delivered by the most unfortunate speaker in this or in any assembly. He says, that giving to Ireland the English market for the issue of colonial produce, though it will not enable the Irish to enter into any dangerous competition with us at home, will yet be of great avail to them, for they will thereby be more capable of taking advantage of the foreign market. This he explains by saying, that having the issue of the English market to depend upon in the last resort, they will have a greater spur to adventure; they will import more of the produce of the Colonies; and, trusting to the power which they will now have, of coming in the end to England with their commodities, they will strive to increase their foreign trade, and necessarily make their country a sort of commercial depôt. If this argument is true of the colonial produce, it is equally true of their own manufactures. If they have the advantage of having the English market as an issue to enable them to push their foreign trade to a considerable increase in the colonial produce; then, with precisely the same ground, may we contend, that, having the issue of the English market, they will be able to advance their foreign trade for their manufactures.

Here then is an end to all the invective which was thrown on the manufacturers for having asserted, that those resolutions would affect the manufactures of Great Britain in the foreign market they were told with petulance, that they did not understand the matter; and that if there was any danger of meeting a powerful competitor in the Irish manufactures at the foreign market, that that danger existed before, that the foreign market had always been open to the Irish manufactures — true, and of this they were not ignorant but Ireland had not till now the sure issue of the English market as a collateral security for enterprize, and as a spur to speculation. I thank the right honourable gentleman for this argument; but I must apprize him, that it refers more to manufactures than to colonial produce. Does he not know, that in colonial produce, the home market is every thing, and the foreign market nothing? in manufactures it is the contrary, or nearly so. There was good ground, therefore, for the manufacturers to state, that they should now find a dangerous competitor in Ireland at the foreign market.

Now.

Now, Sir, with reſpect to the navigation act, upon which I have ſaid ſo much in the courſe of this diſcuſſion, do we not now find that all my apprehenſions were well founded? The right honourable gentlemen has at length acknowledged, that the navigation act was in danger, notwithſtanding his repeated declarations to the contrary. This conviction may be collected from the nature of the remedy he has thought it expedient to adopt. Strong muſt have been the apprehenſions which ſuggeſted ſuch a relief, it is a relief which, in the peculiar circumſtances of the two kingdoms, will require very particular conſideration indeed, as its tendency is no leſs than this, that notwithſtanding the independence of Ireland, ſhe muſt ſtill, in commercial laws and external legiſlation, be governed by Britain. That ſhe ſhall agree to follow whatever regulations we may think it right to purſue from time to time for ſecuring privileges to our ſhipping, or for reſtraining the trade with our Colonies, and that ſuch laws ſhall be in full force in Ireland, is a remedy certainly of a very hazardous kind; but, Sir, though it goes ſo far, it does not ſatisfy me, it is dangerous indeed, but not efficacious; nor do I think that, ſtrong and bitter as it is, it will be attended with the effects of preventing the various and radical evils which are attached to this pernicious ſyſtem. I am of opinion, that even if Ireland ſhould agree to this proviſion, we ſhall deliver up into the cuſtody of another, and that an independent nation, all our fundamental laws for the regulation of our trade, and we muſt depend totally on her bounty and liberal ſpirit for the guardianſhip and protection of our deareſt intereſts. Now, Sir, although I feel as ſtrong a diſpoſition of partiality and favour towards the Iriſh nation as any man in this Houſe; although I believe them to be a people as diſtinguiſhed by liberality as any people upon earth, yet this is not of all others the particular point in which I would chuſe to truſt to their liberality. I think the guardianſhip of the laws which I have mentioned, can be depoſited in no hands ſo properly as in our own. It would be the intereſt of Ireland to evade thoſe laws, and I aſk you what ſecurity there is for the due performance of a commercial contract, when it is the intereſt of a nation to evade it? He who truſts to the vague and raſh notions of abſtract right in preference to the conſtant and uniform teſtimony of experience, will find himſelf miſerably deceived in his calculations on all ſubjects of commercial or political diſcuſſion. When it is the intereſt of a nation to evade a law,

that

that law will be evaded; it always was ſo, and it always will be ſo. Perhaps there is no inſtance of a country more tenacious of engagements than our own; but, do we not all know, that finding the illicit trade which was ſome time ago carried on to the Spaniſh Main, highly beneficial to the country, that that trade was connived at, though in the very teeth of our national engagements. Now, Sir, when it ſhall be felt, that Ireland will be materially benefitted by evading our laws, and that the introduction of foreign ſugars will be ſo much more valuable to them than the legal importation of our colonial produce, is it to be imagined, that the people of Ireland will, out of mere love and liberality, ſhut their eyes againſt their own immediate intereſt, or that the laws which may be made in conformity with this new ſyſtem, will be enforced with vigour and with efficacy. Intereſt is the leading impulſe with nations, and it ſuppoſes nothing unfavourable to the Iriſh, to ſuppoſe, that the common feelings which actuate all mankind in their public character as ſtates, may prevail alſo with them, when it ſhall be found, that foreign ſugar may be introduced fifteen or twenty per cent. cheaper than our own, and when it ſhall be found, that they can be introduced in American bottoms cheaper than in ſhipping navigated according to the law of Great Britain, it is idle to ſuppoſe that they will not be ſo introduced, that this ſiniſter advantage will not be ſo obtained; that is, in other words, that the commerce of England will not be ſo affected and diminiſhed. Mr. Orde, on opening his ſyſtem to the Iriſh parliament, if we may truſt to the report of the newſpapers (and that we may do ſo, is evident from this circumſtance, that though Mr. Orde was in London ſeveral days, he never came down to the Houſe to contradict the reports, though argument was daily founded upon them) ſtated that Cork would become the emporium of the empire. This expreſſion, to be ſure, he afterwards changed to a term more proſaic and modeſt, affirming, that his original phraſe had been that Cork would become the medium of trade to the empire. The difference is immaterial, except in the ſound of the word; for by medium I can underſtand nothing elſe, than that the produce of the Weſtern World will, in the firſt inſtance, be imported into Ireland, be depoſited there as the magazine of the empire, and be ſubſequently dealt out to Britain as her wants may make ſuch application neceſſary. We have a leſs ſounding and

leſs intelligible phraſe, but the real meaning remains ſtill the ſame, and the meaſure of oppreſſion and injury unchanged or unabated. That Ireland will be this medium, I have no doubt; and its being ſo, will produce an evil beyond the mere loſs of the direct trade to our colonies, for there is every reaſon to believe, that by this means, the produce of the French and other foreign colonies will find their way into the country, to the ruin of our Weſt-India planters and merchants. But, ſays the right honourable gentleman, it is not to be believed, that a circuitous voyage, as this will be, can be preferred to a communication with our colonies; and in a whiſper acroſs the houſe he ſays, that Britain even now ſupplies the Iriſh market with colonial produce. This, Sir, in my opinion, ſtrengthens my argument; ſuch is the decided benefit reſulting from having two markets inſtead of one, that now we are able, with all the diſadvantage of the circuitous voyage, to ſupply Ireland. What then muſt be the conſequence to Ireland when ſhe ſhall enjoy the double market, added to all the advantages ariſing from harbours ſo admirably accommodated by the hand of nature for the intercourſe in queſtion; from cheap labour, and from an almoſt total exemption from national burdens? She will indeed become the emporium, or if the right honourable gentleman, out of compliment to his friends in England, likes it better, the medium of trade to the general empire, and indeed almoſt excluſively ſo with reſpect to the produce of our colonies.

The right honourable gentleman has been anxious to ſet up an argument in favour of this country, that great capital would in all caſes overbalance cheapneſs of labour. I know this to be the faſhionable poſition of the preſent times, and of the preſent government but general poſitions of all kinds ought to be very cautiouſly admitted; indeed on ſubjects ſo infinitely complex and mutable as politics and commerce, a wiſe man heſitates at giving too implicit a credit to any general maxim of any denomination; and with this conviction in my mind, I am prepared to controvert the poſition of the right honourable gentleman, at the ſame time that I do not deſire to be underſtood as wiſhing to eſtabliſh the contrary. I do not think that great capital will always overbalance cheapneſs of labour, nor that cheap labour will always overbalance great capital; as general theorims, I diſpute both, at the ſame time that I am clearly of opinion, that

that under certain circumſtances both may be true; we have known ſeveral inſtances in which the cheapneſs of labour has triumphed over greatneſs of capital. In the rapid tranſitions of fortune in this country, do we not daily perceive the triumphs of induſtry over wealth have we not abundant precedents to ſhew, that our manufactures have changed their poſitions in this country merely on account of the cheapneſs of labour and proviſion? Have they not within theſe thirty years travelled into Scotland, and is it not likely that preciſely for the ſame reaſon, together with other incitements, they will migrate to Ireland? But, ſays the right honourable gentleman, the difference is not ſo great as is imagined in the price of labour; it is only rude labour which is cheap in Ireland, and the finer parts of work are much dearer there than in England. In proof of this aſſertion he brings Captain Brook to the bar of the Houſe of Commons, a gentleman who has eſtabliſhed a very conſiderable manufactory of cottons in Ireland. Whether it is preſectly proper to bring gentlemen from Ireland, to give evidence before the Houſe of Commons, on a ſubject that is to benefit Ireland and not England, I will not take up much time to inquire.

The Iriſh are beyond all queſtion much intereſted in the concluſion of this bargain, and excluſively ſo as to hopes of benefit, their evidence, therefore, as parties influenced and prejudiced, may perhaps be deemed improper when brought forward to ſupport the ſyſtem, and to perſuade this Houſe. I know it may be ſaid, that Meſſrs. Richardſon, Walker, Peele, and others, who have given evidence on the other ſide, are alſo intereſted in the termination of this compact. I admit the fact, but on which ſide does their intereſt lie? and to which ought we in this Houſe to incline? They are intereſted for England, of which we are the delegated guardians—Mr. Brook is intereſted for Ireland, who is on the other ſide negociating for himſelf. Taking it, therefore, in that point of view, I cannot hesitate a moment on the path which it becomes me, as a Britiſh member of Parliament, to purſue in the credit which I am to beſtow on the evidence adduced. But in this point of the cheapneſs of rude labour, hear what the intelligent Mr. Peele ſays.—"The finer parts "of work cannot be carried on without the rude. It is on "the rude work that the hand is qualified in its art, and "every man who is employed in the finer branch, was firſt "employed in the coarſer." The cheapneſs of rude labour

is therefore an advantage which in manufactures of the finer kind muſt be highly favourable; but in theſe which are in their quality coarſe, muſt give to the country a deciſive ſuperiority. In one inſtance this has been proved. A manufacturer of Norwich gives it in evidence, that he can buy in Norwich, Iriſh worſted yarn cheaper than he can buy Engliſh, although it is ſubject to five or ſix duties before it reaches him, and ſubject alſo to the expence of the voyage and of the carriage, as well as of the internal duties in Ireland, ſo that upon a fair and juſt calculation, it is demonſtrable, that they can manufacture worſted yarn in Ireland 45 or 50 per cent. cheaper than in England. But, ſay the witneſſes from Ireland, it is by no means likely that Ireland will ever eſtabliſh a cotton manufactory to rival that of Mancheſter. It would not be her intereſt to do ſo, and there are many ſtubborn inconveniencies which ſhe has to ſurmount. I will admit the ſuppoſition for the ſake of argument, though I by no means think it founded in probability. But admitting even that ſhe ſhall not think of eſtabliſhing a cotton manufactory, ſhe may ſtill by theſe new reſolutions effectually cut off the Iriſh market from ours, for having a manufacture of her own to ſubſtitute in the room of this, ſhe may lay a duty on cottons, which by the principle of countervailing duties might amount to a prohibition of ours, and, by a ſide blow, annihilate the Mancheſter manufacture in the Iriſh market at once.

And this leads me to an argument which has been much inſiſted on in favour of theſe reſolutions—that by the means of the new ſyſtem, the right honourable gentleman would have th merit of putting an end to all idea of protecting duties On what rational ground does he claim to himſelf this merit? By the power which is thus left to each country, to lay internal duties on ſuch manufactures as they may covet to cruſh for the ſake of advancing a ſubſtitute, he gives riſe to a countervailing duty that will act as a complete, though indirect, prohibition, and that this is in favour of Ireland and inimical to England, is evident from this circumſtance, that by the fatal ninth reſolution we have for ever given up the only remaining hold which could have operated as a protection againſt ſo obvious and alarming an inconvenience Protecting duties, however threatened, would never have been impoſed under the old intercourſe, for the good ſenſe of Ireland would not have ſuffered the danger of retaliation on their ſtaple commodity, that danger they will now no longer be

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expoſed to. But, ſays the right honourable gentleman, we ſhall by this means bind the two nations together in indiſſoluble bands, that between nation and nation the intercourſe ſhould be regulated by principles of equality and juſtice, and that this ought to be more particularly ſtudied between nations that are ſiſters, as it were, and are ſo connected in intereſt and in blood as Great Britain and Ireland To ſuch principles as theſe, if acted upon with wiſdom or the chance of mutual harmony, far would it be from me to object. My objection is, that the intercourſe is not to be regulated by principles of equality and juſtice. Let us ſuppoſe fair and equal admiſſion of manufactures into each country free of all duties, which of the kingdoms would ſhudder moſt at ſuch a freedom? The Iriſh undoubtedly. We are to give them an intercourſe infinitely more beneficial than throwing open our ports entirely, and in doing this, we have given to Ireland the power of offending us without reſerving the means even of retaliation, much leſs of prevention.

By the ſeventh reſolution we bind ourſelves in no future time to prohibit the export of raw materials to Ireland. This is a meaſure which may be found highly prejudicial to our manufactures. In the courſe of this ſeſſion we have paſſed an act to prevent the export of rabbit ſkins, for the benefit of our hat manufactory May not other occaſions ariſe, in which it would highly affect us to ſuffer raw materials to go out of our hands into thoſe of foreign ſtates, under the name of Ireland, for ſuch is the danger that I apprehend. A cargo of raw materials may be entered at our cuſtom houſe for Ireland, but what ſecurity ſhall we have, either for their being carried thither, or for their ſtay in the country if they reach it? Never let us be ſo weak as to truſt to generoſity, when intereſt is at ſtake.

The ninth reſolution, Sir, is that which I reprobate the moſt, and in that no alteration is made. By that reſolution we for ever ſurrender the only power which we had of enforcing the due performance of all the parts of the bargain, obligatory on Ireland By giving up all legiſlative control over the admiſſion of her ſtaple into Britain, we for ever throw ourſelves on the mercy of Ireland, and have no means of protecting ourſelves againſt her future caprices It is by ſuch means that the right honourable gentleman hopes to produce a laſting amity between the two kingdoms he provides ill for peace, who deprives himſelf of the weapens of war. True policy ſuggeſts, that with a diſpoſition to be amicable ourſelves,

ſelves, we ſhould be prepared againſt the effects of a contrary diſpoſition in others

In regard to the compenſation, I hardly know in what view of it to expreſs my particular reprobation. The exaction of a permanent proviſion from Ireland is what I conſider as a meaſure pregnant with the moſt alarming conſequence to the liberties and to the conſtitution of both countries As an Iriſhman, I would never conſent to grant it, and as an Engliſhman, I cannot accept it What Ireland cannot concede with ſafety, England cannot receive with grace It has always been the leading and characteriſtic privilege of our legiſlature, and when I ſpeak of ours in this inſtance, I may include the legiſlature of Ireland alſo—to limit all grants of ſupplies to the period of one year Thus the ſupplies for the army are voted annually, for the navy annually, &c for the ordnance annually, and ſo alſo in every deſcription of public expenditure that may any way tend to produce an undue controul over the ſubject to make them perpetual, even though the application of them is to be left to the diſpoſal of Parliament, is a meaſure to which I cannot give my conſent · it eſtabliſhes a precedent for diminiſhing the ſole ſecurity which the domeſtic branch of the conſtitution poſſeſſes againſt the encroachments of the executive. Annual ſupplies are the vital ſource of the influence and authority which the repreſentative body have, and ought to have, in there ſpective legiſlature of the two countries, and I can accede to no regulation that has the operation of impairing ſo invaluable a privilege in the ſmalleſt degree. I object to this compenſation on another account, and that is, that I do not think it worth our acceptance; for even if the ſurplus of the hereditary revenue ſhould amount to a ſum, which might be valuable when applied to the maintenance of our navy, what ſecurity have we that the Iriſh nation may not withdraw the ſum which they now appropriate to the army? They now maintain a very conſiderable part of our army I wiſh to know if it will not be in their power to withhold that ſum whenever they ſhall deem it expedient, after the eſtabliſhment of this new ſyſtem, therefore what we gain in the one way, we may loſe in the other. We may loſe from our army what we are to gain in our navy, with this material difference ſtill exiſting between the two caſes, that the ſupply which is now granted on the part of Ireland for the ſupport of our army, is granted in a manner truly and perfectly congenial with the practice and ſpirit of our own conſtitution, whereas the propoſed expedient of the ſervice of our navy, originates in a violation of both,

both, and cannot operate but to the obvious diſadvantage of the popular department of the Iriſh Government. The right honourable gentleman ſays, the ſurplus of the hereditary revenue would be appropriated to the purchaſe of proviſions for the navy, and that thus it would be beneficial to Ireland. To this I have no objection, I think it would be reaſonable and advantageous. But to the permanency of the grant, I muſt enter my moſt cordial and determined proteſt. The right honourable gentleman ſays, that here he would not truſt to the generoſity of Ireland for a compenſation, which he conſiders as founded in juſtice. He will implicitly truſt to her generoſity and kindneſs for the due and vigorous execution of the trade laws, but he will not truſt to her generoſity for the return which ſhe ſhall make for his preſent benevolence towards her. In this I compleatly differ with the right honourable gentleman. I would truſt to Ireland in the caſe where he would not, and I would not where he would If there is any nation upon earth, in whom, on a point of honourable compenſation, I would have implicit confidence—it is Ireland.—but in the due performance of commercial regutions, where the laws ſtand for ever in the way of intereſt and adventure, I would not truſt to any people exiſting. In the caſe of the compenſation, the voice of all Ireland would be heard in her Parliament. In the inſtance of ſiniſter trade, it would be confined to the intrigues between ſmugglers and cuſtom-houſe officers, and neither the generoſity nor the manlineſs of the more enlightened and poliſhed part of the nation at all would be concerned in the diſcuſſion.

The right honourable gentleman has inſinuated, that there is an immediate neceſſity for adopting the ſyſtem which he has propoſed, that is as much as to ſay in plain Engliſh, he has held out the reſolutions to Ireland, and the neceſſity for adopting them has ariſen from his having done ſo. This is a mode of argument which merits a great ſhare of countenance, whatever truth there may be in the fact. Ireland is not however, I truſt, ſo irrational as to inſiſt upon the raſh and intemperate transfer of privileges, demonſtrably ruinous to England. "But," ſays the right honourable gentleman, "this ſyſtem will finally determine every queſtion between "the two nations, and nothing can ariſe in future to make a "conteſt between them." I call upon the right honourable gentleman to ſay, what ſecurity he can give us for the certain accompliſhment of his preſage. Does he ſpeak from experience? Evidently not. Experience of the firſt, which I conceive to be the beſt criterion by which to determine the probability

probability of the future, is againſt him. When the noble Lord in the blue ribband, in the year 1780, opened to the Iriſh the trade of our colonies, the Parliament of that country declared themſelves fully gratified, and thanked his Majeſty in terms of the utmoſt gratitude and apparent ſatisfaction In a few months however their voice was heard again In the Adminiſtration of which I made a part, their legiſlature was declared to be independent, and in addreſſes from both Houſes of Parliament, they profeſſed themſelves ſo entirely content, as not to conſider it poſſible that any ſubſequent queſtion of political diviſion could ariſe between the two kingdoms. Yet in the very next ſeſſion they gave indications of new diſſatisfaction, and farther conceſſions were made. How are men to argue from theſe facts? One would imagine, that the moſt effectual and ſatisfactory method of quieting the apprehenſions, or relieving the exigencies of a diſtreſſed country, would be that of appealing to their own teſtimony for a knowledge of their circumſtances, to collect information from themſelves, to deſire them to ſtate, in their own perſons, the meaſure of their calamities, and the beſt expedients for the relief of them. This was preciſely the way purſued heretofore. The conceſſions were granted on the declarations of the beſt informed men in the land—men the beſt qualified to know the ſtate, the wants, and the expectations of the kingdom. Mr. Huſſey Burgh and Mr Grattan, names which no man could mention but with the ſincereſt and moſt cordial reſpect, were the authorities on which England proceeded, and on which ſhe relied But this, it ſeems, however ſpecious and natural, was not the proper method of aſcertaining the wants or wiſhes of another kingdom. The true and only means of finally concluding all diſputes with Ireland, is to ſend a ſtranger there, and order him to addreſs himſelf to their Senate in ſuch language as this "Hear me, ye men of ignorance and credulity! You know nothing of what you want, what you wiſh, or what would be good for you—truſt yourſelves to me—I am perfect maſter of all your infirmities—here is the ſpecific that will cure you, the infallible noſtrum for all ailments." It ſeems that this is the only conciliatory expedient for adminiſtering to the relief of a diſordered ſtate—not to ſuffer the inhabitants to ſpeak, but to ſend a man amongſt them ignorant at once of their exigencies, their grievances, and their policy, to propoſe wild ſchemes of extravagant ſpeculation, and preſcribe for the diſorder, without the painful tediouſneſs of trying to underſtand it. In compliance with this new idea, Mr. Orde, an Engliſh gentleman,

gentleman, the ſecretary to an Engliſh nobleman, the Lord Lieutenant for the time, riſes up and propoſes a ſet of reſolutions which he pledges himſelf to carry into complete execution. Theſe reſolutions are brought to England, and after two months diſcuſſion are completely and fundamentally altered. Upon theſe reſolutions the right honourable gentleman thinks himſelf warranted to ſay that the ſyſtem will be final. The right honourable gentleman ſaid, he muſt have a fund of credulity who believed all the evidence which the manufacturers had given at the bar. In like manner I ſay, that he muſt have a fund of credulity indeed, who can believe on ſuch premiſes that the Iriſh will be content with this ſyſtem, or that the general intereſts of both countries can be promoted by its eſtabliſhment.

"It is poſſible," ſays the right honourable gentleman, "that one country may loſe what another may gain." I am ready to agree with the right honourable gentleman, that in ſimilar manufactures, or even in the ſame manufacture, one country might open channels of commerce unknown to another, the one acquire riches without the other ſuffering diminution. but it ſo happens, that between England and Ireland, under theſe reſolutions, this cannot be the caſe. Their channels of conſumption are preciſely the ſame, and a mutual participation in all markets is the leading principle of the agreement. Ireland, therefore, cannot make a ſingle acquiſition but to the proportionate loſs of England. I defy the right honourable gentleman to mention any one article, and he has not mentioned one, in which Ireland may gain without England ſuffering a loſs. This, Sir, conſtitutes the diſtinct and prominent evidence of the impolicy of the ſyſtem. It is this which will ſtir up jealouſy between the two countries, and make Engliſhmen and Iriſhmen look at one another with cold hearts and ſuſpicious eyes. If any one thing demands more than another the cautious deliberation of the Committee, it is that of guarding againſt inſidious competition; to take care that the new ſyſtem ſhall not make the countries rivals inſtead of friends.

Another objection requires a more ſatisfactory anſwer than it has yet obtained. We have gone great lengths for the ſuppreſſion of ſmuggling, and have loaded our conſtituents with a commutation tax of a moſt heavy and unequal kind, merely to cruſh the contraband trade on our coaſts. Upon the very heel of a moſt oppreſſive and unequitable expedient for the prevention of ſmuggling, we are preparing to adopt a

new ſyſtem, that will give to every ſpecies of this indirect and contraband commerce ten times the vigour and the generality that it ever poſſeſſed in the country. This is the right honourable gentleman's conſiſtency. In one year he loads the ſubjects with the moſt intolerable impoſition to which they were ever expoſed, and the ſingle motive, as well as the only poſſible excuſe for it is this, the prevention of ſmuggling. The next, he introduces a new meaſure, the obvious and undeniable tendency of which is, to encourage all illicit trade to an extent hitherto unknown in any period of our hiſtory, for by means of this new intercourſe, no laws, no watchfulneſs, no penalties will have power enough to prevent the revival of every ſort of contraband trade. I ſhall mention only a ſingle article or two, to ſhew you the facility which theſe new reſolutions will give to the exerciſe of ſmuggling. At preſent, ſo anxious are we to guard againſt the illicit importation of French gloves, that we have had recourſe to a prevention of unexampled rigour and ſeverity. Beſides the penalty, which is uncommonly high, the perſon in whoſe cuſtody ſuſpected gloves are found, is obliged to prove that they were made in this country. The *onus probandi* lies upon the perſon accuſed, an inſtance of ſeverity unknown to the general penal proviſion of our ſtatutes. When this communication with Ireland is opened, what will be the conſequence? The perſon has only to ſay that they are Iriſh. It will be in vain that you call upon him to prove that they are manufactured there — and thus you will have articles of every kind poured in upon you. Silk ſtockings is another article of the ſame kind. Diſtinctions will be impracticable, and every ſpecies of light goods, of ſmall package and eaſy tranſfer, will flow in upon us, to the ruin of our manufactures.

I ſhall conclude, Sir, with ſupplicating the Committee to take time to deliberate, and to inquire fully before they decide on this ſyſtem, which muſt make an entire revolution in the whole ſyſtem of Britiſh commerce. We have ſeen the benefits of delay. Let us be wiſe from experience. It is impoſſible that Ireland can object to our deſiring a ſober deliberation on a ſubject ſo infinitely important. It is ſaid, that Ireland is out of temper, and that ſhe has been irritated almoſt beyond her bearing. Miniſters are anſwerable for this irritation, if ſuch irritation exiſts. The violences which they committed in Ireland deſerve the moſt marked and general reprobation. Their attacks on the liberty of the preſs; their

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endeavours to prevent the legal and quiet meetings of counties to deliberate on the beſt peaceable means of amending their deficient repreſentation; their proceeding againſt men by ſummary attachment: all were violences which, perhaps, may have inflamed Ireland, and now Miniſters are deſirous of avoiding the conſequences of imprudent inſult by imprudent conceſſion — but let us be cautious how we aſſiſt them in a deſign which may eventually turn out as inſidious to that country as it would be ruinous to this; a deſign which may, perhaps, involve in it another commutation, and that a more pernicious one, even that well-known and univerſally-execrated meaſure which now bears that name — a commutation of Engliſh commerce for Iriſh ſlavery.

Let us remember, that all the manufacturing communities of Britain are avowedly againſt the ſyſtem. So general an union never took place as on this occaſion. So large a number of petitions never were preſented from the manufacturers on any former occaſion; and what is ſtill more remarkable, there is but one ſolitary inſtance of any manufacturing body having expreſſed a ſyllable in its favour. The voice of the whole country is, therefore, againſt the reſolutions. It is within the memory of all men, that ſometime ago the right honourable gentleman was an advocate for the voice of the People — "What," ſaid he, when a number of petitions were preſented againſt the India bill which I had the honour to move, "will you perſiſt in this bill againſt "the voice of the People? Will you not hearken to the pe- "titions upon your table?" — It was ever my opinion, Sir, that petitions ſhould be heard, and moſt ſeriouſly attended to; but it was not my opinion, that they ſhould always be implicitly complied with. A diſtinction ſhould be made between petitions, as temporary circumſtances, or the cauſualties under which they are preſented, ſhould ſuggeſt; and I ſhould certainly be at all times more inclined to pay reſpect to them, when they applied to ſubjects of which the petitioners could, from their habits or otherwiſe, be conſidered as competent judges — much more ſo, beyond all queſtion, than when they ſpoke merely from vague repreſentations, and on topics with which they had no means of being at all converſant. The right honourable gentleman is of a contrary opinion. It is only when they come againſt the India bill that he thinks them worthy of notice. When hundreds of thouſands come to our bar, deprecating the countenance of a ſyſtem, which, from their own knowledge, they pro-

nounce to be rumous to the manufactures of England; he treats them with ſomething that merits a ſeverer term than diſdain. Mr. Wedgwood, Mr. Richardſon, Mr. Walker, and the other great manufacturers, and who from opulence and every other conſideration, are worthy to be ranked with the beſt men in this houſe, have received from the right honourable gentleman every ſpecies of ill treatment and indignity that the lower or moſt degraded characters could receive, or the moſt contemptuous and violent could beſtow. Their intelligence on their reſpective manufactures ought to give weight to their petitions as well as to their evidence, and to enſure them, not only a decent hearing, but a moſt attentive regard. The right honourable gentleman, however, conſiders the voice of the People only as ſacred and commanding where it is exerted againſt things upon which the petitioners are not competent to decide. For inſtance; if when theſe gentlemen (who, I dare ſay, during the rage of oppoſition to the India bill, alſo ſigned petitions againſt it) were at the bar, they had been aſked if they objected to that bill, and they had anſwered in the affirmative, would their teſtimony in the one caſe have been deſerving of the ſame notice as on the intereſts of their particular manufactures? Surely not. In the one caſe they ſpoke from what they heard, or from what they conjectured; in the other, from what they knew. Can the Committee think that they know more of the Mancheſter manufacture, than Mr. Richardſon and Mr. Walker?—of the iron manufacture, than the gentlemen that we have heard this day?—and of every other manufacture, than the perſons who have ſpent their lives in the ſtudy, and embarked their fortunes in the progreſs? If we do know better, let us in the name of heaven diſcharge our conſciences, and ſpeak as we think, againſt thoſe manufacturers; but at any rate let us deliberate, let us take time to think before we act. Our deciſion will not be leſs efficacious for being the reſult of inquiry; nor is it poſſible that any evil can ariſe from a delay which affords ſome interval for decent diſcuſſion.

Before I ſit down, Mr. Gilbert, it may not be amiſs to ſuggeſt to gentlemen, that the preſent is a ſubject from which, above all others, private partialities or perſonal attachments ought to be totally excluded. This is not a queſtion of perſonal ſtruggle between man and man, a conteſt for power, nor the mere war of individual ambition. It is a queſtion of life and death for the country—not for the official exiſtence of this or that miniſter, but for the political exiſtence of Great

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Britain itſelf. In the conſideration of ſuch a queſtion, therefore, let gentlemen ſtrip themſelves at once of prejudices and predilections—let them guard their minds equally againſt an undue bias of every denomination, whether of political ſympathy with the Miniſter, or of attachment to oppoſition—whether of individual reſpect for gentlemen on that ſide of the houſe, or on this—let them recollect that the Miniſter has, by his conduct this day, ſhewn and demonſtrated to the Houſe, that implicit confidence in him is as dangerous as it is abſurd, that infallibility is no more the prerogative of the right honourable gentleman than of the reſt of the world. He has introduced ſixteen new propoſitions, the general object of which is to correct and to qualify his original ſyſtem, and the particular aim of ſome of which is to change the very eſſence or vital nature of his previous plan. Let us ſuppoſe, then, that this principle of implicit confidence had prevailed in the minds of gentlemen, when this ſyſtem was originally propoſed to the Houſe, if they had acceded to the propoſitions, in the ſhape and formation in which they were at firſt preſented (and that it was for a long time the Miniſter's intention to obtrude them upon this Houſe with all their original infirmities upon their head, is well known to us and to the world) what would have followed? Why evidently this—That this confidence ſo repoſed, would have led gentlemen to do that, which in the opinion of the Miniſter himſelf would have been wrong. Let this example, therefore, of the demonſtrated and acknowledged peril which reſults from blind predilection and the total reſignation of perſonal judgement, warn gentlemen how they fall into the ſame error a ſecond time. The Miniſter himſelf tells them this day, that they would have been in the groſſeſt and moſt pernicious error in which the legiſlators of a great country were ever involved, if they had truſted entirely to him on a former occaſion. I will take upon me to tell them that their error will not be leſs groſs, nor leſs pernicious, if they truſt him too implicitly on this. I ſhall only add, Sir, that he who can underſtand ſo complicated and ſo extenſive a ſubject upon ſo ſlight and tranſient a view of it, poſſeſſes an intellect not common to the general body of mankind, and which certainly cannot be the general characteriſtic of this Houſe. For one, I can truly ſay, he muſt poſſeſs an underſtanding of infinitely more quickneſs and acumen than any to which I pretend. He that votes for the propoſitions without underſtanding them,

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is guilty of ſuch a deſertion of his duty and his patriotiſm as no ſubſequent penitence can poſſibly atone for—He ſacrifices the commerce of Great Britain at the ſhrine of private partiality, and ſells his country for the whiſtling of a name. The Miniſter who exacts, and the member who ſubmits to ſo diſgraceful an obedience, are equally criminal. The man who, holding the firſt ſeat in His Majeſty's Council, can ſtoop to ſo diſgraceful and fallacious a canvas, as to reſt his miniſterial exiſtence on the deciſion of a great national queſtion like this, muſt be wholly loſt to all ſenſe of dignity, of character, or manly patriotiſm; and he who acquieſces in it from any other inducement but that of cautious and ſincere conviction, ſurrenders every claim to the rank and eſtimation of an honeſt and independent member of Parliament, and ſinks into the meanneſs and degradation of a mere miniſterial inſtrument, unworthy the ſituation of a ſenator, and diſgraceful to the name of an Engliſhman.

Mr. Jenkinſon.

Mr. *Jenkinſon* ſaid, that in the amendments made in the propoſitions, the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox) arrogated to himſelf a merit that by no means belonged to him. The alterations made were in conſequence of a fuller deliberation, and the circumſtances which aroſe in the courſe of the various examinations. He had alſo taken an opportunity of alluding perſonally to him; but in no inſtance could he charge him with any thing more than a ſteady and faithful attachment to the party with whom he had the honour to act. Much had been ſaid, and a great weight laid on the number of petitions which appeared againſt the preſent meaſure; but to ſhew how little gentlemen were intitled to pride themſelves on that circumſtance, he took the pains to make out a liſt of the number of petitions preſented againſt the propoſitions which paſſed in favour of Ireland during the adminiſtration of the noble Lord in the blue ribband. On that occaſion fifty-ſix petitions were preſented; and on the preſent, of which ſo much had been ſaid, the number was no more than ſixty-four. He concluded with expreſſing himſelf ſtrongly in favour of coming to a deciſion without any farther delay.

Mr. Dempſter.

Mr. *Dempſter* ſaid, in the exhauſted ſtate which the Houſe muſt feel themſelves at ſuch an hour, he would be much to blame if he detained them long, and would content himſelf with expreſſing the ſatisfaction he felt in the alterations this night propoſed in the reſolutions; at the ſame time remarking, that there were alſo other objects of much concern to both

both countries which ought to be included in the preſent arrangement. one related to the fiſheries on the coaſt, in which much diſturbance continually prevailed, by the Iriſh ſailors ſpoiling the nets and otherwiſe ill-treating the Engliſh fiſhermen, and the latter retorting in their turn. He then read a reſolution, which he intended to propoſe to the Houſe on this ſubject. Another ſubject, which he thought ſhould alſo be attended to on this occaſion was, an extraordinary duty impoſed in Ireland on Britiſh lawns and linen gauzes. This he ſtated to have taken place, at a time when Ireland was actuated by vindictive motives againſt Scotland, where this manufacture was in a flouriſhing ſtate.

Lord *North* replied to Mr. Jenkinſon, by ſtating, that in ſome alarm ariſing on the ſubject of the propoſitions which were offered in favour of Ireland when he was' miniſter, ſeveral petitions were preſented, perhaps to the number of fifty-ſix, but the event was, that the petitions were not followed up, as the entire buſineſs was arranged between the manufacturers, an Iriſh agent, and His Majeſty's Miniſters; ſo that the petitions came againſt what was ſuppoſed might have been the extent of the propoſitions, not in fact againſt the propoſitions themſelves. His Lordſhip then, after remarking the time of the morning in which the Houſe was engaging itſelf in ſo important a diſcuſſion, and the very imperfect conſideration which they were enabled to give a ſubject which came in its preſent ſtate ſo lately before them, moved, "That the chairman report progreſs, aſk leave to "ſit again, and then that the Houſe adjourn." Ld North.

The Lord Advocate ſpoke on the ſame topic as Mr. Dempſter, and preſſed the neceſſity of attending to theſe conſiderations.

The cry then becoming very loud for the queſtion in the Miniſter's ſide of the Houſe, Mr. *Fox* roſe and aſſured thoſe gentlemen who ſeemed ſo exceedingly deſirous of coming to an iſſue, that if after all that had been ſaid, they perſevered in oppoſing an adjournment, they muſt make up their minds to wait many hours longer, though it was then five o'clock, for they were dividing on a queſtion of the utmoſt importance to this country, the conſequence of which, if once adopted, would be extremely prejudicial. Then addreſſing himſelf to the Chairman, he told him that he muſt inſiſt on his preſerving order in the Committee; the queſtion was big with ruin to the ſubjects of this empire, and ſhould be moſt ſeriouſly attended to. Mr. Fox.

Mr.

Mr. Dundas. Mr. *Dundas* ſaid, that the appearance of the morning was pleaſing in the higheſt degree, and the houſe were yet in good ſpirits; there was then nothing to prevent the right honourable gentleman from entertaining them with a ſpeech of two or three hours if he thought proper; it was a circumſtance to which he was accuſtomed, and the Houſe certainly always felt the greateſt pleaſure in hearing him. He treated the whole of the oppoſition as only intended for delay, and ſaid, he knew of no way of conſidering the reſolutions but by printing them firſt.

Mr. Rigby. Mr. *Rigby* thought that manner of proceeding by no means the beſt on ſo grave and important a ſubject:—it certainly well deſerved the aſſiſtance of every man in the Houſe: but when gentlemen, inſtead of contributing their counſel, and encouraging others to do the ſame, proceeded in that way which was likely to irritate and inflame, very little was to be expected from the reſult of their deliberations. He was by no means inclined to come to any deciſion on this ſubject at preſent, and wiſhed for time to compare and conſider the new propoſitions this day offered.

Some altercation here took place between Lord Frederic Campbell and Mr. Vyner, in which Mr. North and Sir William Cunynghame ſpoke to order. At length Mr. Vyner being allowed to ſpeak, declared, that for his part, he could have no pretenſion to an opinion on the preſent queſtion, when two men of the firſt abilities in the houſe (Lord North and Mr. Fox) acknowledged that there were parts in the new propoſitions which they did not underſtand. He was not aſhamed to confeſs the ſame, nor need he be backward in confeſſing, that his mind was as much embarraſſed, and his opinions as much upon the float, as thoſe of any gentleman in the houſe. He was therefore well pleaſed that the noble Lord had ſpared him the trouble of moving to have the debate adjourned, and in this he hoped the Houſe would agree.

Mr. Scott. Mr. *Scott* made ſome obſervations on the ſummary proceeding which the honourable gentleman wiſhed in this caſe to adopt, which might be properly called Vyner's Abridgement—And as to the temporiſing expedients attributed to a noble Lord, in being ſatisfied, if he provided for the buſineſs of one ſeſſion, he was apprehenſive they could not be exemplified in this caſe, as it appeared that the noble Lord did not wiſh this buſineſs to paſs the preſent ſeſſion, at any rate.

Mr.

Mr. *Brickdale* ſaid, it was ſhameful to call on the Committee for a deciſive vote on the important ſubject in the very moment when ſo many alterations were made, and which were ſo little underſtood. Mr. Brickdale.

The Earl of *Surrey* ſaid, he had greatly diſliked the propoſitions as opened originally to the Houſe; but that he approved ſo much of ſome of the ſixteen reſolutions that had been read by the right honourable gentleman, that if he had time allowed him to examine them, he verily believed he ſhould be induced to vote for part of the propoſitions, though he certainly could not vote for the whole His Lordſhip ſaid, the right honourable Chancellor of the Exchequer dealt out one meaſure for himſelf, and another for the Houſe. He had brought in the ten propoſitions, and ſuffered upwards of two months to be employed in hearing counſel, examining witneſſes, and receiving petitions. The conſequence was, the Houſe had received a large body of uſeful information; and yet, with ſuch ſtrong conviction of the advantage derived from avoiding raſhneſs and precipitancy, the right honourable gentleman had that day come down and read his ſixteen reſolutions to the Houſe, all of which, he ſurely would allow, were extremely important, and yet he wanted the Houſe to vote a leading queſtion on the inſtant, without examination, and without inquiry, as to what conſequences the queſtion might go to His Lordſhip remonſtrated on the inconſiſtency and unfairneſs of this ſort of conduct in a matter where deliberation and caution were ſo particularly neceſſary. He took notice that, in the courſe of the debate, ſome perſon had remarked that there was no petition from the county of York. In anſwer to that obſervation he ſaid, it became neceſſary that he ſhould ſtate to the Committee, that a very large meeting of the cloth manufacturers of the county of York had been held, that a petition againſt the Iriſh propoſitions had been ſigned thereat by a large number of manufacturers of cloth, and that letters had been ſent up to the two repreſentatives of the county, deſiring them to preſent the petition to the Houſe; the two members had written letters back, declining to preſent the petition, and among other reaſons for declining to preſent it, had declared that they ſhould vote for the propoſitions in conſequence of their confidence in the Miniſter. He had ſince, his Lordſhip ſaid, been applied to to preſent the petition, but had not yet received it. The Earl of Surrey.

Mr. *Wilberforce* roſe to ſatisfy the Houſe as to his conduct in reſpect to the fact ſtated by the noble Lord, and began by obſerv- Mr. Wilberforce.

obſerving, that he had too much gratitude to his conſtituents to ſtand in need of the noble Lord's interference to ſtimulate him to do his duty. He was proceeding to ſtate, in glowing terms, his ſenſe of his obligations to his conſtituents, but overcome with ſenſibility, the fatigue of having ſat in the Houſe ſo many hours, and with the preſſure of infirmity, he ſunk upon his ſeat.

Mr. Powys. Mr. *Powys* ſaid, his conſtitution would not permit him to continue in the Houſe any longer. He approved, as the noble Lord did, of the reſolutions that had been read by the right honourable gentleman, and believed they would induce him to vote with the right honourable gentleman, if he were allowed time to examine them and underſtand them, which he really did not as yet. To vote, therefore, for what he did not underſtand, was a circumſtance to which he could not, with any regard to his conſcience, accede. Mr. Powys ſtated ſome of the particulars of the reſolutions that he did not correctly comprehend. He aſked if there were not many gentlemen in the Houſe in the ſame ſituation with himſelf? And if there were, they would not act conſcientiouſly if they did not vote with him. On the contrary, they would be traitors to their country, and loſt to every principle of honour and honeſty, if they gave a vote upon a queſtion of ſuch infinite importance, acknowledging at the ſame time that they did not underſtand it.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt. Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* roſe with conſiderable warmth, and ſaid, whether the noble Lord choſe to charge him with dealing out one meaſure for himſelf, and another for the Houſe, or the honourable gentleman thought proper to riſe with an affected parade both of phraſe and manner, to boaſt of his conſcience, his honour, or his honeſty, there were, he truſted, many honourable gentlemen in the Houſe, every way as reſpectable for their characters, their property, and their integrity, as the honourable gentleman, who could ſafely and conſcientiouſly lay their hands upon their hearts and vote with him upon the queſtion. Mr Pitt added ſome other terms in reprobation of what he termed the inſulting tones and manner of the honourable gentleman, which he neither merited, nor was he diſpoſed tamely to ſubmit to. Having gratified his reſentment, Mr. Pitt declared his intention was to take the ſenſe of the Committee upon one queſtion only, and that intention he truſted the Committee would have the goodneſs to enable him to fulfil.

Mr. *Powys* declared, he did not mean to have encroached on what he preſumed the right honourable gentleman conſi-

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dered as his ſpecial prerogative, the right of uſing inſulting language to the members of that Houſe, neither had he wiſhed to have broken in upon what the right honourable gentleman might poſſibly eſteem his peculiar privilege, the cuſtom of throwing ſeverity and ſarcaſm on every honourable gentleman who ventured to differ in opinion from the right honourable gentleman, with every other perſonal affront that could ſuggeſt itſelf to a mind prone to irritation, and eaſily inflamed. Mr. Powys having expreſſed himſelf in terms like theſe, declared, when he roſe before, he had no idea of ſaying any thing that ſhould have given the ſmalleſt offence, much leſs, that could have provoked ſo unſeemly a reply from the Miniſter. Mr. Powys explained what he had before ſaid, and repeated, that, in his opinion, thoſe gentlemen who did not underſtand the reſolutions any more than he did, and yet were ready to vote for the queſtion, could not anſwer it to their conſciences.

Mr. *Lowther* declared himſelf to be one of thoſe who did not underſtand the reſolutions, yet who was ready to vote directly for the queſtion, upon grounds of confidence in the Miniſter. Mr. Lowther ſaid, if he had not miſtaken, Mr. Powys had uſed ſuch terms, as "principles of honour or honeſty," in his firſt ſpeech, which ſurely was throwing an imputation on every gentleman, who, under the ſame circumſtances, meant to vote as he ſhould. Mr. Lowther.

Mr. Powys roſe once more to explain.

Mr. *Fox* made a ſhort ſpeech in ſupport of Mr Powys, and in condemnation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, declaring ſuch language as he had held very improper for a Miniſter to hold to any gentleman who thought proper to differ with him in politics. Mr. Fox.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt ſaid a few words in reply.

Sir *Gregory Page Turner* ſaid, he came down to the Houſe with his mind made up to vote for the queſtion; that he did not underſtand the Reſolutions, but could vote with a ſafe conſcience from his confidence in the right honourable gentleman Sir Gregory Page Turner.

Mr. *W. Stanhope* ſaid, he certainly wiſhed to vote with the right honourable gentleman, but it would be impoſſible for him ſo to vote, the words "an equal participation" ſtanding part of the queſtion, whereas, if the reſolutions paſt, one of them contained words that rendered it impoſſible that Ireland ſhould have an equal participation of commerce with us. Mr W. Stanhope.

Mr. *Wilberforce* read to the Houſe the letter which he had received from his conſtituents at York, relative to the petition Mr. Wilberforce.

that had been alluded to by Lord Surrey. Mr. Wilberforce ſaid, he and his colleague had only received it on their coming down to the Houſe.

The Earl of Surrey. The Earl of *Surrey* ſaid, luckily he had the letter in his pocket, and he had read it over ſince he was upon his legs before, and thought it due to the honourable gentleman to ſtate, that he found he had been miſtaken in a part of his former aſſertion.

The Attorney General. The *Attorney General* (Mr P. Arden) expreſſed, with ſome degree of earneſtneſs, his ſurprize at the noble Lord and his friends complaining ſo loudly, ſo vehemently, and ſo repeatedly, of the precipitancy in puſhing the meaſure to a deciſion which had been three months before the Houſe, and many weeks under deliberation, when it muſt be in the recollection of the noble Lord, that above fifteen months ago he and his friends had puſhed through the Houſe at a very late hour, upon the ſudden, and without notice, three propoſitions of an extenſive and moſt ſerious nature, and ſuch as at the time were likely to have thrown the country into confuſion.

Mr. Eden. Mr. *Eden* ſaid, that his learned friend purſued a ſtrange line of argument in defending the violence of the preſent meaſure, by ſtating, that on ſome former occaſion others had adopted a conduct equally reprehenſible the learned gentleman's reaſoning muſt mean either that or nothing. In anſwer to that, he would only remark, that he never yet had ſeen in Parliament any inſtance of ſuch precipitancy, which did not ultimately recoil on thoſe who were concerned in it. He would remind the learned gentleman of a caſe in point —A majority of the Houſe, which probably did not vary much in any reſpect from the expected majority in the preſent debate, had thought proper in the triumph of party, and in the delirium of political zeal, to force a vote reſpecting the Weſtminſter ſcrutiny, at the ſame ill-fated hour of ſix o'clock in the morning, which vote was conſidered at the time as a glorious victory, but which now, in the opinion even of thoſe who were concerned in it, and certainly in the ſentiments of the Public, was treated as a diſgraceful meaſure, never to be mentioned but in terms of ſhame or of indignation. As to the ſtruggle of the preſent debate, in which ſuch intemperate efforts were making to force the Houſe blindfold into the adoption of an unknown and moſt complicated meaſure, profeſſedly involving the neareſt and deareſt intereſts of two kingdoms, he was ſorry to ſay that it was an unworthy and an idle attempt. It might ſerve indeed to ſhew a numerous hoſt

hoſt of friends ready to reſiſt the reaſonable propoſition of adjournment · but the queſtions were infinitely of too much magnitude to be reſted on the ſtrength of numbers, and the menace of perſevering at all events to go through the propoſitions, or in other words, to make it a conteſt of bodily ſtrength and conſtitutions, rather than fair argument and manly diſcuſſion, ought not to make any impreſſion. For his own part he had much to ſay on the altered propoſitions, ſo far as he was able to comprehend the alterations. From the curſory ſtatement of thoſe alterations, they were very comprehenſive and important, and went pointedly to remove ſome principal objections which had been ſtated by himſelf and others originally. But the alterations were ſo various and ſo extenſive, and ſo connected and interwoven with the whole of this new ſyſtem of national commerce, that it would be preſumptuous in the higheſt degree to pretend on the ſudden to form any competent judgement reſpecting them. It was eaſy at the firſt ſight to ſee however ſome material omiſſions, good care was now taken to fix upon Ireland all future laws reſpecting trade and navigation; but no meaſure was ſettled relative to the impreſſing of ſeamen nothing was done or propoſed as to equalizing the duties on import of iron, ſilk, and other raw materials · a bounty was given on the exportation of Iriſh linen from England, but none in return on Engliſh linen ſent from Ireland. Many other matters might be ſtated, but ſurely it would be impoſſible to think of perſiſting in urging forwards the reſolutions till they had been printed, and a few days given for conſidering them in all their bearings and probable conſequences. Much benefit had already reſulted from delay and deliberation, and much more might be expected

Mr. *Sheridan* charged the Chancellor of the Exchequer with extreme obſtinacy, and indecent pertinaciouſneſs **Mr. Sheridan.**

The queſtion of adjournment was now put, and the Houſe divided,

Ayes - - - - - - -	155
Noes - - - - - - -	281

After the diviſion againſt the adjournment, Mr. *Pelham* firſt propoſed to divide the general reſolution into two, which was conſented to. He then voted unanimouſly the firſt. Mr. Pelham then moved to amend the ſecond, by inſerting after the words "commercial advantages," "As far as may be "conſiſtent with the eſſential intereſt of the manufacturers, "revenue, commerce, and navigation of Great Britain." **Mr. Pelham.**

The

This amendment was ſeconded by Lord Surrey, and was, after a ſhort debate, rejected.

Ayes - - - - - - - 125
Noes - - - - - - - 249

Mr. Sheridan. After Mr. Pelham's amendment was negatived, Mr. *Sheridan* roſe to propoſe one, which, he ſaid, he ſhould not trouble the Committee to divide upon, as he meant to renew it upon the report, nor would he violate the ſyſtem of the day, by endeavouring to make the Houſe underſtand the purport of his oppoſition before the queſtion was put upon it. He accordingly moved to leave out part of the paragraph from the words "whenever a proviſion," &c. and to inſert

"Great Britain confiding in the experienced good faith, "generoſity and honour of Ireland, that in proportion to "her growing generoſity, ſhe will contribute to the ne- "ceſſary expences of protecting the general intereſts of the "empire."

This amendment, which was grounded on ſome words of the addreſs moved in 1782 by Mr Grattan, in Ireland, was negatived without a diviſion. The propoſition was then voted. The Houſe reſumed, and adjourned till Wedneſday next The Committee on the Iriſh propoſitions to ſit again on Thurſday next.

It was agreed that the amended and new propoſitions ſhould be printed.

The firſt diviſion took place at ſeven in the morning, the ſecond at eight, and the Houſe roſe between eight and nine.

The following is a correct Liſt of the Minority on this occaſion.

A'Court, W. P. A. Eſq. Heytſbury
Adam, William, Eſq Kintore
Amcots, Wharton, Eaſt Retford
Anſon, George, Eſq. Lichfield
Anſtruther, John, Eſq. Anſtruther
Bamfylde, Sir Charles Warwick, Bart. Exeter
Baſſet, Sir Francis, Bart. Penryn
Beckford, Richard, Eſq Arundel
Bentinck, Lord Edward Charles, Nottinghamſhire
Benyon, Richard, Eſq. Peterborough
Blackburne, John, Eſq. Lancaſhire
Bouverie, Hon. W. H. New Sarum
Brickdale, Matthew, Eſq. Briſtol
Bridgeman, Sir Henry, Bart. Wenlock
Bridgeman, John, Eſq ditto

Bridgeman,

Bridgeman, Orlando, Eſq. Wigan
Brown, Launcelot, Eſq Huntingdon
Bullock, John, Eſq. Eſſex
Burgoyne, Right Hon. John, Preſton
Burke, Right Hon. Edmund, Malton
Carnegie, Sir David, Bart. Aberdeen
Caſwall, Timothy, Eſq. Brakley
Cavendiſh, Right Hon Lord G. A. H. Derby
Cavendiſh, Right Hon. Lord George, Derbyſhire
Charteris, Francis, Eſq. Lauder
Clive, Lord, Ludlow
Clive, William, Eſq Biſhops Caſtle
Codrington, Sir William, Bart Tewkſbury
Coke, Daniel Parker, Eſq Nottingham
Coke, Edward, Eſq. Derby
Colhoun, William, Eſq. Bedford
Cornwall, Sir George, Bart. Herefordſhire
Cotes, John, Eſq Wigan
Cotsford, Edward, Eſq Midhurſt
Courtenay, John, Eſq. Tamworth
Creſpigney, P. Champ, Eſq. Aldborough
Crewe, John, Eſq. Cheſhire
Cruger, Henry, Eſq. Briſtol
Cunynghame, Sir W. A. Bart. Linlithgowſhire
Damer, Hon. George, Dorcheſter
Davenport, Sir Tho. Bart. Newton, Lancaſhire
Davers, Sir Charles, Bart. St. Edmund's Bury
Delme, Peter, Eſq. Morpeth
Dickenſon, William, Eſq Rye
Dundas, Sir Thomas, Bart. Stirlingſhire
Dundas, Charles, Eſq. Richmond
Dundas, Thomas, Eſq. Orkney
Eden, Sir John, Bart Durham County
Eden, Right Hon William, Heytſbury
Egerton, John William, Eſq Brackley
Egerton, William, Eſq Hindon
Ellis, Right Hon. Welbore, Weymouth
Elphinſtone, Hon G. K. Dumbartonſhire
Erſkine, Sir James, Bart. Morpeth
Evelyn, William, Eſq. Hythe
Ewer, William, Eſq Dorcheſter
Featherſtonhaugh, Sir Harry, Bart. Portſmouth
Fitzherbert, Thomas, Eſq. Arundel
Fitzpatrick, Right Hon. Richard, Taviſtock
Fletcher, Sir Henry, Bart. Cumberland

Foley,

Foley, Hon. Edward, Worceſterſhire
Foley, Hon. Andrew, Droitwich
Fox, Right Hon. C. J Weſtminſter and Kirkwall
Francis, Philip, Eſq Yarmouth
Frederick, Sir John, Bart. Chriſtchurch
Hare, James, Eſq. Knareſborough
Harley, Right Hon. Thomas, Herefordſhire
Howel, David, Eſq. St. Michael's
Hunt, Thomas, Eſq. Bodmyn
Huſſey, William, Eſq New Sarum
Jervois, Jervois Clerke, Eſq. Hampſhire
Jolliffe, William, Eſq. Petersfield
Jolliffe, Thomas Samuel, Eſq ditto
Keene, Whitſhed, Eſq. Montgomery
Knight R. P Eſq Ludlow
Ladbroke, Robert, Eſq Warwick
Lee, John, Eſq Clithero
Leeds, Edward, Eſq. Ryegate
Liſburne, Earl of, Cardiganſhire
Liſter, Thomas, Clithero
Lloyd, Maurice, Eſq Gatton
Long, Dudley, Eſq Great Grimſby
Mackenzie, F. H. Eſq. Roſſhire
Mackworth, Sir Herbert, Bart. Cardiff
Maitland, Viſc. Malmſbury
Marſham, Hon. Charles, Kent
Maſters, Thomas, Eſq. Glouceſterſhire
Meadows, Charles, Eſq Nottinghamſhire
Melbourne, Viſc. Malmſbury
Middleton, Sir Wm. Bart. Northumberland
Milford, Lord, Haverfordweſt
Monckton, Hon Edward, Stafford
Montagu Rt. Hon Frederick, Higham Ferrers
Morant, Edward, Eſq Yarmouth
Morgan, Charles, Eſq. Breconſhire
Morſhead, Sir John, Bart. Bodmyn
Moſtyn, Sir Roger, Bart Flintſhire
Moyſey, Abel, Eſq Bath
Newnham Nathaniel, Eſq. London
Nicholls, John, Eſq Blechingly
North, Right Hon. Lord, Banbury
North, Hon. G A. Wootton Baſſet
Onſlow, Hon. Thomas, Guildford
Orde, John, Eſq. Wendover
Owen, Sir Hugh, Bart. Pembrokeſhire

Owen, Hugh, Eſq Pembroke
Owen, Wm. M Eſq Montgomeryſhire
Page, Francis, Eſq Oxford Univerſity
Palmerſton, Viſc. Boroughbridge
Pelham Charles, An. Eſq Lincolnſhire
Pelham, Hon. Henry, Lewes
Pelham, Right Hon Thomas, Suſſex
Penrhyn, Lord, Liverpool
Penruddock, Charles, Eſq. Wiltſhire
Philipps, J G Eſq Caermarthen
Plumer, William, Eſq Hertfordſhire
Powys, Thomas, Eſq. Northamptonſhire
Rawlinſon, Sir Walter, Bart. Huntingdonſhire
Rawlinſon, Abram, Eſq Lancaſter
Ridley, Sir M. W Bart. Newcaſtle
Rogers, John, Eſq Bolſton
Ruſhout, Sir John, Bart Eveſham
Ruſhworth, Edward, Eſq. Newport, Hants
St Aubyn, Sir John, Bart Penryn
Salt, Samuel, Eſq Aldborough, Suffolk
Saville, Hon R. L. Lincoln
Sawbridge, John, Eſq London
Scott, Thomas, Eſq Bridport
Scudamore, John, Eſq Hereford
Skene, Robert, Eſq Fifeſhire
Sloper, Wm. Chas Eſq St Albans
Sneyd, Walter, Eſq. Caſtle Riſing
Spencer, Rt Hon. Lord Charles, Oxfordſhire
Spencer, Rt Hon Lord Robert, Oxford city
Stanley, Thomas, Eſq Lancaſhire
Strachey, Henry, Eſq. Biſhops Caſtle
Stuart, Hon James, Buteſhire
Sturt, Charles, Eſq Bridport
Surrey, Earl of, Carliſle
Sutton, Sir Richard, Boroughbridge
Tempeſt, John, Eſq Durham city
Thiſtlethwayte, Robert, Eſq. Hants
Thorold, Sir John, Lincolnſhire
Van Neck, Sir G W. Dunwich
Vaughan, Hon John, Berwick
Vaughan, Evan Lloyd, Eſq. Merionethſhire
Vyner, Robert, Eſq Thirſke
Walpole, Hon Horatio, King's Lynn
Waltham, Lord, Malden
Walwyn, James, Eſq Hereford

Weldel, William, Eſq Malton
Whitmore, Thomas, Eſq. Bridgenorth
Windham, William, Eſq Norwich
Wraxall, N. W Eſq Luggerſhall
Wrightſon, William, Eſq. Ayleſbury
Wynne, Sir W. W. Bart. Denbighſhire.

Thurſday, May 19.

A ſhort debate occurred on the firſt reading of the ſhop-tax bill, but Mr Fox and other gentlemen ſaid, they would reſerve their arguments againſt it until it came to the ſecond reading.

Lord Penrhyn. Lord *Penrhyn* called the attention of the Houſe to a petition he lately had the honour to preſent from Mr Fuller, agent for the inhabitants of Jamaica, complaining of the hardſhips they ſuſtained by a deprivation of that intercourſe they formerly had with the colonies of North America In the detail of their grievances, there were three heads, under which they might be divided, of which the loſs of that intercourſe before mentioned made one; the ſecond was, the high duty on ſugar which they wanted to have reduced, and the third was, a ſimilar complaint of the high duty on rum On the two latter articles he dwelt very ſhortly, but on the firſt he expatiated In conſequence of a report of the Privy Council to which this buſineſs was referred, the preſent reſtraint on their uſual intercourſe firſt took place. A petition, ſimilar to the preſent, had been ſubmitted to them, but very little regard was paid to it. It was ſuggeſted to the Privy Council, and with much ſucceſs, that the provinces of Canada and Nova Scotia would be ſufficient to ſupply the iſland of Jamaica with every neceſſary article which they before had from the provinces in general; and it was ſaid, that Canada alone would be able to ſupply 300,000 barrels of proviſions yearly But on an average of many years, the real fact was, that Canada was unable to ſupply more than about 10,000 barrels. Indeed a right honourable gentleman (Mr Jenkinſon) had ſome time ſince confeſſed that little was to be expected from Canada in that reſpect, owing to the rigour of the climate, Nova Scotia was calculated to contribute in a proportion much ſmaller, and the ſame might be ſaid of the other provinces. From the experience of laſt year, it was manifeſt that the intercourſe muſt again be opened, as the Governor was obliged, by the very great diſtreſs of the inhabitants, to act in contradiction to the orders of Council, and

ſuffer

ſuffer the importation of proviſions in American bottoms. He therefore moved, that the ſaid petition be read, which being done, he moved, that it be referred to a Committee of the whole Houſe

Mr. *Jenkinſon*, in oppoſition, ſaid, that at this period of the ſeſſion the Houſe could not, without ſacrificing much of their own convenience, enter on ſo important a buſineſs as that which was now propoſed to them, but conſidering the influence, which ſo important a duty as that on rum and ſugar muſt have on the revenue, much inquiry and inveſtigation muſt undoubtedly precede any deciſion on the ſubject, and as that was the caſe, he would leave thoſe two articles at preſent out of the queſtion. On the ſubject of the intercourſe he remarked, that nothing could be more injurious to any ſyſtem of trade or commerce, than by any derangement or alteration to divert the regulations for carrying it into effect. Thus the conduct of the Governor of Jamaica, in admitting the ſhips of the United States to ſupply it with proviſions, contrary to expreſs orders of His Majeſty's Privy Council, could not fail of doing it private miſchief, for the veſſels which ſailed from England finding the place already ſupplied, were under the neceſſity of ſelling below prime coſt and the American veſſels alſo met with their diſappointments, which were likely ſo to operate as that neither of them would be very ready to go out until ſome more regular and final arrangement ſhould be made. This intercourſe, of which they ſeemed ſo deſirous, was, in his opinion, to be avoided; for the American veſſels, inſtead of taking in return the produce of the iſland, ſold their cargoes for ready money, and afterwards went to traffic on that to the French iſlands. He alſo ſtated, that on an average of the exportation of rum from Jamaica, in the ſeven years preceding the war, it amounted to little more than 400,000 puncheons. But in one year it evidently roſe to 800,000, in the laſt year, when the intercourſe with America was entirely cloſed, the exportation roſe to 1,200,000 puncheons. He entered into calculations to ſhew that the provinces remaining to the Britiſh empire would be fully adequate to the ſupport of Jamaica, and at all events contended that this was too late a ſeaſon to enter on ſo ſerious a buſineſs. Mr Jenkinſon.

Lord Penrhyn replied

Lord *North* agreed with the right honourable gentleman in the principle, that an interruption of any ſyſtem muſt have bad conſequences, but in the particluar circumſtances now alluded to, the Governor was perfectly juſtifiable. His Lordſhip, Ld. North

ſhip, after arguing ably on the ſubject, agreed that this was too late a period of the ſeſſion for entering on ſo important a buſineſs.

Alderman Watſon

Mr. Alderman *Watſon* argued, that the Britiſh provinces in America would be ſufficient for the ſupplies of Jamaica On the articles of lumber and ſtaves, he was well convinced that New Brunſwick alone was competent to ſupply them, at all events it would be proper to try every other means before we ſhould give extraordinary advantages to the American States There was nothing in their conduct either in preſerving the faith of their treaties, in their uſage of the unhappy ſubjects, or in their ſwindling traffic with the iſland of Jamaica taking goods and never paying for them, but receiving ready money for their own, there was nothing in all this which ſhould induce the Houſe to ſacrifice to them the advantages which were better preſerved to the ſubjects of the Britiſh empire; he would therefore oppoſe the preſent motion

Mr. Fox.

Mr *Fox* did not ſee any reaſon why the preſent motion ſhould be rejected it would not only lead the Houſe immediately to a deciſion on the meaſures beſt to be adopted, which would undoubtedly take ſome time to conſider—but it offered that information to the Houſe, which would be neceſſary to direct them in future proceedings When the Houſe came to decide upon a meaſure, it would ſurely be their duty to deliberate coolly and diſpaſſionately, without any of that virulence which the honourable alderman ſo highly poſſeſſed Without conſidering what would be advantageous to America, they were to weigh the intereſts of the Britiſh empire, and though America might have taken it amiſs, it was not the buſineſs of the Houſe to imitate them in what was reprehenſible, or proceed on vindictive principles. They ſhould neither adopt a meaſure becauſe it was injurious to them, nor reject it becauſe it was ſerviceable For the preſent he would recommend to go into a Committee on the petition, as a preliminary to future inveſtigation.

After ſome farther converſation the queſtion was put on Lord Pembyn's motion, and rejected without a diviſion.

The previous buſineſs having been thus concluded, the order of the day, for going into a Committee on the Iriſh Propoſitions, was called for and read the Speaker left the chair of the Houſe, and Mr. M A. Taylor took the chair of the Committee

Mr Chancellor Pitt.

Mr Chancellor *Pitt* roſe, and without making any preparatory ſpeech, moved the following reſolution, the third of the

the propoſitions which he had opened to the Committee on the former day

" That towards carrying into full effect ſo deſirable a ſet-
" tlement, it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth
" or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, ſhould be im-
" ported into each kingdom from the other reciprocally, un-
" der the ſame regulations, and at the ſame duties (if ſubject
" to duties) to which they are liable when imported directly
" from the place of their growth, product, or manufacture;
" and that all duties originally paid on importation into either
" country reſpectively, except on arrack and foreign brandy,
" and on rum, and all ſorts of ſtrong waters not imported
" from the Britiſh colonies in the Weſt Indies or America,
" ſhall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other "

As ſoon as the chairman had read the reſolution,

Lord *North* role he obſerved, that though he had taken Ld North.
the liberty on Thurſday laſt, or rather on Friday morning, to addreſs the Committee on the ſubject of the Iriſh propoſitions, yet his arguments went rather to prove the propriety of delay, than the impolicy of the ſyſtem the alterations that had been introduced on that day had ſo completely changed the nature of the original propoſitions, that he thought time ought to have been allowed to Parliament and to the Nation, to conſider them very maturely, before the right honourable gentleman ſhould preſs for a final deciſion upon them, however, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer was determined not to wait till the country could be appriſed of the alterations, he conceived it to be his duty to ſtate to the Committee the objections that ſtruck him on this very important buſineſs his right honourable friend (Mr. Fox) had entered ſo largely into it on Thurſday, and handled it with ſo much ability, that he ſhould not on this day be under the neceſſity of taking up much of the time of the Committee in making the remarks that occurred to him on this occaſion, he knew it was not regular for a member to ſpeak to any reſolution that was not immediately before the Houſe; but as he wiſhed not to trouble the Committee more than once this day, he hoped he ſhould be permitted to ſpeak againſt the different parts of the ſyſtem, though a particular part only was at that moment under conſideration. The propoſitions which formed the baſis of the ſyſtem, that was finally to adjuſt the intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland, were generally, but erroneouſly, called the Iriſh Propoſitions; every man acquainted with the hiſtory of the buſineſs knew that they did not originate with Ireland, that Ireland

land never called for them; but that they were offered to that country by a gentleman (Mr. Orde) who, though he was at that time a member of the Iriſh Parliament, moved the reſolutions under the weight and authority of the Engliſh Miniſtry. This new ſyſtem of intercourſe was therefore the free-will offering of England rather than the demand of Ireland, and conſequently it could not be ſaid, that in opening to the Iriſh the Britiſh market, the Miniſter could with any decency urge the plea of neceſſity, for he was giving what had never been aſked, what had never been thought of but by himſelf. Indeed no man could ſuppoſe that Ireland would aſk for it, ſhe could not aſk for it *ex debito juſtitiæ*, if ſhe could, he would readily admit the claim, he would do her juſtice, let the conſequence be what it might—*fiat juſtitia, ruat cælum:* but juſtice was out of the queſtion, this country had done many things liberally and generouſly towards Ireland, ſhe had admitted her to trade to the Britiſh colonies, and what was an act of generoſity in the Parliament of England, ought not to be made the ground of a claim of right on the part of Ireland to a ſhare in the Britiſh markets, which ought to belong excluſively to the Britiſh manufacturer. No man could be farther than he was from wiſhing to deprive Ireland of any commercial advantage, on the contrary, he would moſt gladly admit her to a participation of every advantage in trade, provided ſhe was ſo connected with us as to form one people with us, under one government, one legiſlature, were the two countries perfectly united under one Parliament, he ſhould, as in duty bound, conſider their intereſts as one and the ſame, undivided and inſeparable; but until the happy day ſhould come, that ſhould make the two kingdoms one, he did not conceive it to be either juſt or equitable that the one ſhould be enriched at the expence of the other, and yet this muſt neceſſarily be the caſe, if the Britiſh market was ever thrown open to the Iriſh; for then Ireland would impoveriſh the Engliſh manufacturers, by whom the immenſe taxes of this country were paid, whilſt ſhe would not contribute from her wealth to the public burden The right honourable gentleman, (Mr. Pitt) who never miſſed an opportunity of attacking him, had vindicated his conduct by ſaying, that the noble Lord in the blue ribband had already given away ſo much to the Iriſh, that very little remained to be given to them. It was remarkable that he thus wiſhed to exaggerate what had been done in 1780, when the free trade was given but the right honourable gentleman ſoon forgetting this, had aſſerted on a former occaſion, and this he would have underſtood

ſtood as the ground of his juſtification, that the noble Lord in the blue ribband had done ſo little for Ireland, that without what was propoſed now in her favour, ſhe would reap no advantage from the pretended free trade that had been voted to her Here were two very ſtrong contradictions, for the conceſſions of 1780 were, as occaſion required, repreſented as giving every thing and nothing. Truth, perhaps, was not to be found in either of theſe propoſitions, it probably lay between both. Much was given in 1780, and much was propoſed to be given in 1785. To prove the former, he had only to point out to the Committee the ſtate of the importation of ſugars into Ireland, by a direct trade from the Weſt Indies, for the four laſt years, in 1781, the year after the trade was opened, the importation of ſugars was no more than ſeven thouſand hundred weight, in 1782, eighteen thouſand; in 1783, thirty-three thouſand; and in 1784, it fell to twenty-ſeven thouſand. Every man muſt ſurely admit, that this direct trade, which had not been enjoyed before, muſt have produced very conſiderable advantage to Ireland, and therefore it was not true that ſo little had been granted in 1780, that without what was now called for, it could be of no ſervice. He had very ſtrong objections to any extenſion of the colony trade beyond what was marked out in 1780, and for very ſubſtantial reaſons. He was of opinion, that it was on the moſt politic and rational grounds that the monopoly of the Britiſh market had been ſecured to the Britiſh Weſt-India planters they contributed in a very great degree to the revenue of this country, and in a great meaſure enabled it to bear the heavy burdens with which it was loaded it was politic therefore, it was juſt, that they ſhould have no competitors in this market, he knew very well, that there were perſons who were hoſtile to this monopoly, who were hoſtile, indeed to every monopoly, and who thought that rivalſhip and competition ought to be encouraged in every ſtate for the benefit of the people. Among the enemies to monopoly in general, he would claſs a very reſpectable man, and a very able writer, who had long laboured for the public good; he meant the Dean of Glouceſter but ſtill, notwithſtanding this great authority, he would not conſent that the monopoly of our market, enjoyed by the Weſt-India planters, ſhould be deſtroyed, and ſo ſtrongly had he always been attached to this monopoly, that he would not ſuffer prize ſugar, taken during the war, to be brought into market and conſequently he could not be a friend to the meaſure now under conſideration; for though many modifications, ſuggeſted

by

by the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms, had been adopted by the right honourable gentleman, who had ſo far rendered his propoſitions leſs objectionable, ſtill he had reaſon to apprehend that Ireland, by being permitted to ſupply the Britiſh market, by circuitous trade, with ſugar, might ſend into this country great quantities of foreign ſugars, and his apprehenſions were far from being without foundation, for, in the firſt place, the Iriſh, ſhould they be inclined to carry on an illit trade with the French colonies, and merchants generally purſued their own intereſts in preference to thoſe of the State, might ſupply themſelves with French ſugars at 16s a hundred, when the ſame quantities would coſt 25s in the Britiſh iſlands Here then was a great temptation to the Iriſh to trade with the former rather than the latter, though contrary to law The right honourable gentleman had indeed guarded againſt this, as far as he was able, by providing checks that ſhould prevent the importation of French ſugars into England or Ireland, but the ſecurity that was to be derived from theſe checks to the Britiſh planters would be deluſive and imaginary.

It was propoſed that every ſhip touching at Ireland on her way from the Weſt Indies ſhould be provided with a certificate from the officers of the Cuſtoms in the iſland, that the cargo was the product of Britiſh colonies, that each ſhip, on her arrival in England from Ireland, ſhould produce this certificate, and that if ſhe did not bring all the cargo at once, ſhe ſhould be at liberty to bring it at ſome other time, on being furniſhed with ſufficient documents to prove that the ſecond cargo was part of the firſt ſtated in the original certificate, ſo that for inſtance, if having on board twenty thouſand weight of ſugar upon leaving Jamaica, ſhe ſhould land fifteen hundred in Ireland, and carry the remainder to England, ſhe would then get credit for the fifteen hundred ſo left in Ireland, which ſhe would be permitted to bring over at any other period; and under pretence of importing Britiſh, ſhe might import French ſugar to that amount for after having been refined, it would be abſolutely impoſſible for the Engliſh Cuſtom-houſe officers to aſcertain whether it had been, when in its moiſt ſtate, brought from a Britiſh or French iſland; and therefore, to open this market to Iriſh ſhips with ſugars on board, after having touched at Ireland, would be opening a door for the admiſſion and ſale of French produce, to the great prejudice of the Engliſh planters, who deſerved ſo well of this country, and were well entitled to every indulgence and privilege that could be beſtowed upon them. In a matter of ſo much moment, he would not truſt

to the diligence of Iriſh officers: if he could place the ſame reliance on all officers of revenue in Ireland, that he did in the gentleman who was at the head of the revenue in that country, than whom there was not a more able, a more upright, or a more honourable man in any kingdom; or that he could in the Board of Commiſſioners, who were men of ability and integrity, perhaps he would feel the objection on this head greatly diminiſhed; but it was well known that it was only in Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and a few other great towns, that the revenue laws were ſtrictly enforced; it appeared from the report of the Iriſh Commiſſioners of revenue, then on the table, that in other parts of the kingdom the laws were ill obeyed, nay, that it was almoſt impoſſible to enforce them. Where then could be the ſecurity, that the checks provided in the propoſitions, to guard againſt the importation of French ſugars, would be ſtrictly obſerved in thoſe parts of Ireland, where the Commiſſioners confeſſed that their own revenue laws were diſobeyed? He was aware that the right honourable gentleman might reply, that formerly this country truſted to the Iriſh Cuſtom-houſe officers the execution of the revenue laws, for when a ſhip from the Weſt Indies, touching at Ireland, landed goods there and was then permitted to invoice her ſugars to Great Britain, the officers might be corrupted, and enable the owners to evade the law. But this reply could not be deemed ſatisfactory, for when this could have happened, Ireland was under the control of this country, and had any abuſe of that nature been diſcovered, the Iriſh Commiſſioners, and all thoſe who derived under them, might have been puniſhed, as they were all amenable to the ſuperintending authority and juriſdiction of the Britiſh Parliament but this was not the caſe at preſent; Ireland was now an independent country, ſhe had a ſupreme and ſovereign legiſlature of her own, to which, and to no other, were all the different boards and departments of Iriſh revenue ſubject and reſponſible, therefore the grounds on which the Britiſh Parliament had truſted to Iriſh officers for the execution of the laws for years back, having been deſtroyed by the recognition of the independence of the Iriſh Parliament, no argument could be drawn from the former truſt for a continuation of it, under circumſtances totally different. Whilſt the control of this country over Ireland exiſted, abuſe might have been corrected; and if no other remedy could have been diſcovered, England could have enacted, that no Iriſh ſhips bringing ſugars to this country

from the Weſt Indies ſhould touch at Ireland, or break bulk there, and thus the grievance would have been eaſily remedied; for it was not in conſequence of any compact that the trade from the colonies to England, by a direct navigation, was open to Iriſh ſhips, but becauſe from the firſt enacting of the navigation laws they had been conſidered as Britiſh; and he hoped he ſhould never ſee the day when they would ceaſe to be conſidered as ſuch. It was not in conſequence of any compact that Iriſh ſhips laden with rum and ſugars were permitted to land the former in Ireland, and then proceed with the latter to England; and therefore this country might, without the violation of any agreement, reſume what had been given only through indulgence, and forbid theſe ſhips from ſtopping in Ireland. this therefore was a check at that time againſt abuſes, but it would be loſt for ever, ſhould the preſent plan be adopted by Parliament; for as it was to be final, ſo it would tie the hands of this country, and take from her the power of making any alterations in future, however neceſſary they might be, without the concurrence of the Iriſh Parliament. It was therefore the more incumbent on the Committee to pauſe a while, leſt they ſhould commit an error, for which they could not of themſelves apply a remedy: they had a lucky eſcape already; for had the propoſitions paſſed ſoon after they were at firſt propoſed, England could not have renewed the Eaſt-India Company's charter for an excluſive trade to the Eaſt, without the concurrence of Ireland. The right honourable gentleman had ſaid on a former day, that though it ſhould be put in the power of Ireland to ſupply the Britiſh market with Weſt-India commodities, ſtill it was very improbable that ſhe would ever do ſo; for though ſhe had a free trade to the iſlands ſince 1780, ſhe had not imported a ſufficient quantity of ſugar for her own conſumption, much leſs for exportation; and ſhe had drawn a very conſiderable ſhare of it for her own uſe from England. But he was not to be deceived by this ſpecious mode of reaſoning: he admitted that Ireland had been ſupplied ſince 1780 with great quantities of ſugar from this country, but he contended that there was good ground for thinking that this would not have happened had Ireland been at liberty to ſupply Great Britain; for it had been acknowledged by the right honourable gentleman, that Ireland having once had the Britiſh market open to her, might indulge in ſpeculations, and conſequently import from the Weſt Indies ſugar enough not only for her own conſumption, but alſo to ſend to England,

whenever

whenever there ſhould be a ſcarcity of that commodity in the latter. But to do away the force of this obſervation, the right honourable gentleman had alſo obſerved, that there was one thing that would operate ſtrongly againſt Ireland in ſuch a ſpeculation, and that was the double freight: for the price of freight and inſurance from the Weſt Indies was the ſame to Ireland as to England; the Iriſh merchant therefore would be ſubjected to the expence of landing, re-ſhipping, and another freight and inſurance to England, together with double port duties; and thence the right honourable gentleman would infer, that the Iriſh merchant could not, with advantage to himſelf, ſupply the Britiſh market; but ſurely he muſt have forgot, that even at this moment Ireland drew a great part of her ſugar from England; and if his principle was true, the latter could not ſupply her to her own advantage, for ſhe could do it only by double freights and double inſurances therefore the very circumſtance of Ireland's being ſupplied from England with ſugar, demonſtrated, that even under double freights and inſurances a profitable trade could be carried on. But he would go a ſtep farther, and aſk, who would undertake to ſay that the price of freight and inſurance would always remain as high from the iſlands to Ireland, as from them to England? The probability was, that it would be conſiderably reduced, and the force of the right honourable gentleman's argument would proportionably diminiſh. Hitherto he had ſpoken of the trade of Ireland with England, in articles the growth or produce of the colonies; he would now beg leave to ſay ſomething with reſpect to the intercourſe in the exchange of manufactures. It was by theſe that the revenue and greatneſs of this kingdom were upheld; and therefore whatever ſhould tend in any degree to affect the one, would neceſſarily affect the other. The Committee ought therefore to proceed with the utmoſt caution in the buſineſs, leſt they ſhould inconſiderately give a blow to the manufactures that would recoil upon the revenue. In Ireland the manufacturer was in the poſſeſſion of advantages, which were unknown to thoſe who were employed in the ſame line of buſineſs in this country; labour and proviſions were cheaper in the former, and this circumſtance could not fail to give the Iriſh a ſuperiority in our market. It had been ſaid indeed, that the benefits ariſing from the cheapneſs of labour and proviſions in Ireland were ſufficiently balanced by the ſuperior ſkill and capitals of the Engliſh manufacturers. But did gentlemen recollect, that notwithſtanding this ſuperiority,

manufactures had been eſtabliſhed in Ireland, which at this moment rivalled the like branches in England? That they had thriven and advanced to maturity and perfection under the diſadvantages ariſing from ſmall capitals and inferior ſkill? What then would be the caſe, ſhould the opulent manufacturers of England emigrate to Ireland, and carry with them their ſkill, their workmen, and their capitals?

The Committee could not forget, that it had been given in evidence, that invitations had been ſent, and encouragement held out by people in Ireland, to the Engliſh manufacturers to go over and ſettle there, and it was in the recollection of every member, that Captain Brooke, in his letter on that ſubject to a perſon in England, had aſſured him, that proviſions and labour were much cheaper in Ireland than in England. He was aware indeed, that it was in evidence before the Committee, that in ſome branches of manufacture the wages of the workmen were as high there as in great Britain, and that in Dublin they were even higher but gentlemen would give him leave to obſerve, that though high prices might be given to very ſkilful workmen, in the infancy of an eſtabliſhment, yet when it ſhould once have taken root, and the number of perſons inſtructed in the manner of manufacturing become great, who would ſay that the wages would continue as high as at preſent? No one ſurely would venture to aſſert, that in a country where proviſions and living were very cheap, the price of labour would long remain as high as it might be there even at this moment. He had good ground therefore for apprehending, that ſhould the Engliſh market be thrown open to the Iriſh, the Engliſh manufacturers muſt neceſſarily ſuffer, and with them the revenue of this country—a matter of ſerious alarm and weighty conſideration to the Committee.—The inducement held out to gentlemen to adopt the preſent ſyſtem was, that it would finally ſettle all the diſputes between the two countries, and eſtabliſh a laſting peace and harmony on the ruins of jealouſy, diſcontent, and reſentment. A very deſirable object unqueſtionably—but he did not know that it might not be obtained at too heavy an expence, if the proſperity and eſſential intereſts of the manufacturers of this country were to be put under contribution in order to defray it.—Suppoſing, however, that he ſhould, for the ſake of permanent harmony, conſent to all the propoſitions, he had very ſtrong doubts whether that ſo-much-wiſhed-for harmony would be obtained. He found in the 16th reſolution an expreſſion

He did not perfectly underſtand what was meant by ſupporting a miniſter in the general line of his politics, and not participating in the merit or demerit of his meaſures. He doubted at the ſame time, whether ſome of theſe, at leaſt, did not in part originate with a right honourable gentleman (Mr Jenkinſon) whom he ſaw in his place He had moved for the extraordinaries of the army, and army eſtimates, which conſtituted moſt of the expence incurred by that fatal war, certainly this was bearing a part in accompliſhing the ſyſtem which it was ſtill part of the preſent politics not to forget Where therefore the right honourable gentleman's mighty diſtinction between thoſe who befriended one party, and thoſe who befriended the other, lay, he knew not. But the truth was, his right honourable friend had made a coalition which he had avowed and defended, while the right honourable gentleman oppoſite to him took every opportunity of declaring, that he had made a coalition with a ſet of men whom he was aſhamed of. As to the tax, it ſtruck him as every way objectionable The right honourable gentlemen imagined that it would not be evaded, becauſe, in the caſe of ſingle ſervants, it was only half a crown, and in no caſe above ten ſhillings. But he wiſhed gentlemen to recollect, that in many families one ſervant was often kept rather out of charity than from any very urgent neceſſity Her wages, to be ſure, was trifling; but ſhe would, in conſequence of this tax, ſubject the family where ſhe was to thirty ſhillings a year more than they would otherwiſe have. He thought therefore that the tax operated againſt humanity, and he would certainly give it all the oppoſition in his power, both in this and every other ſtage of its progreſs.

Mr Jenkinſon. Mr *Jenkinſon* avowed his ſupport of the American war, and the generality of the meaſures adopted by the noble Lord in the blue ribband. But this he did, becauſe it was popular to a very high degree, and ſupported by a large majority in that Houſe. The honourable gentleman however betrayed his ignorance of public buſineſs, when he inferred, that becauſe he moved the extraordinaries of the army, &c. that therefore he was a principal in the buſineſs Theſe all were orders from the Treaſury, where they originated, and he only moved them officially He then recurred to the tax, which he inſiſted would affect only the maſters of families, not the ſervants, and he was ſure no man would turn away any ſervant for half a crown. He truſted that therefore the tax would be admitted.

Mr.

Mr. *Sheridan* replied, that the right honourable gentleman had certainly miſtaken the point in queſtion, as no one had ſuppoſed that a family would turn off a ſervant for half a crown; but that where three were kept, one of them would probably loſe her place, that the tax, which would otherwiſe be thirty ſhillings, might by that means be reduced to ten: conſequently the tax fell on the female, whom, in this manner, it deprived of bread. Mr Sheridan.

Mr. *Courtenay* ſaid, the circumſtance of a tax impoſed on women was of itſelf a ſufficient inducement to him to ſtand up in their defence. Of all taxes that ever were introduced it was the moſt unprecedented, and that from which the worſt concluſions muſt be drawn. For ſurely it muſt be ſuppoſed that all other commodities were taxed to the utmoſt extent, when a meaſure was directed to that commodity at which no other Chancellor of the Exchequer ever publicly preſumed to point. It was an object from which he adviſed the right honourable gentleman to deſiſt in time, and be warned by a precedent, which he would repeat to him, as extracted from a celebrated book, entitled Bryant's Mythology. In this the celebrated ſtory of Orpheus was explained in a manner not the leſs probable for being new; for it ſays that Orpheus was ſome Chancellor of the Exchequer in one of the States of Greece, and not being ſo indulgent to the ladies as might be expected, they inflicted on him that puniſhment which the poets repreſented as ſo exceedingly ſevere. This was to him a more natural account of Orpheus than the other ſtory of his following his wife Euridice to Hell, and looking back at her from an impulſe of affection; at leaſt he was confident it was more in the manner of modern times, few huſbands exclaiming in the language attributed to Orpheus by Virgil, Mr Courtenay.

> Ah miſeram Euridicen! anima fugiente vocabat
> Euridicen, toto referebant flumine ripæ

He would recommend to the right honourable gentleman to be tender of meddling with the ſex; their enmity was fatal; for however Orpheus's death may be accounted for, it was certain that it was occaſioned by women, and even that his own wife had a hand in it. An attempt of this kind terminated once before in the death of a miniſterial man, and happened in the reign of Richard II. The idea which the Chancellor of the Exchequer now reſumed was at that time firſt ſtarted of taxing female commodities. It was alledged againſt the tax, that the commodity was not yet liable to it,

not

not having arrived at ſufficient maturity to be liable to the operation. On this an exciſeman was ſent to examine into the affair, and firſt conſulting the then Maſter of the Rolls, he gave it as his opinion that ſuch a ſcrutiny was legal. However the unfortunate emiſſary was interrupted in the progreſs of the ſcrutiny, for it not meeting with the approbation of a man famous in thoſe days, and whoſe ſtory is well known yet, called Wat Tyler, he put the exciſeman to death, and afterwards raiſed a violent commotion, which was happily ſuppreſſed by the Lord Mayor of London Now as this example ſeemed to be followed pretty cloſely in theſe days, where was the impoſſibility that the circumſtances might not more fully concur? And as a ſcrutiny was conſidered very legal by ſome eminent lawyers now, it was natural to ſuppoſe that ſome young girl, perhaps not more than eleven or twelve years old, might plead that ſhe was not yet taxable commodity. Then it being a ſubject of great importance, inſtead of an exciſeman, perhaps the Secretary of the Treaſury might be ſent on the ſcrutiny; and ſhould he meet the ſame fate as the exciſeman, what a loſs would it be to the Crown and the Public! The reſtriction had given him ſo much diſquiet, that he had already, thought of an epitaph, which, though written in monkiſh times, would well accord both with the circumſtances and perſon. The epitaph was firſt intended for the fair Roſamond, and was in the following words

Hic jacet in tumbâ
Roſa-mundi, non Roſa-munda.

for after the ſtain of the ſcrutiny, it could be no longer *munda*. After the unſucceſsful attempt to tax this commodity, which he before recited, it was not again attempted till the time of Sir Cecil Wray, and it was ſurely an act of friendſhip in the Miniſter, ſince he could not introduce the perſon of that great man into Parliament, to give him at leaſt the conſolation of introducing his opinions. Though it was no great recommendation to a bill that it came from a reprobated candidate for Weſtminſter, yet to a man of Sir Cecil's diſappointments, it was a conſolation not to be denied; and he was remarkable for his gratitude, there was no doubt but he would make it the ſubject of his muſe, and thus immortalize the tranſaction. Now with reſpect to what had fallen from a right honourable gentleman (Jenkinſon) as to the tax not being worthy of evaſion, becauſe it was trifling, he could aſſure the Houſe, that

perſons,

perſons, however exalted their rank, however great their fortunes, notwithſtanding they had ſix or eight ſinecure penſions, had thought proper to block up moſt of their windows to evade the commutation tax, (alluding to a gentleman's having ſhut up more than one half of the windows of his country ſeat near Croydon.) There were men in that Houſe, who, though not Cabinet Counſellors, were perſons who had the honour of being ſent for, to give their advice to His Majeſty, and had boaſted that they did give advice: to be ſure they were right in making ſuch a boaſt, and probably His Majeſty was right in taking their advice at ſuch a particular juncture; for Solomon, who was another wiſe King, had ſaid, "The counſel of a good man is worthy of attention." Even men of that deſcription, who, during the American troubles, had held the poſt of Secretary at War, and moved for moſt of the ſums expended on that unfortunate affair, had thought it neceſſary not to contribute to the taxes that were laid in conſequence of the debt incurred by that war, but were mean enough to ſhut up their windows to avoid the payment of a ſum that they otherwiſe would have paid. Surely then, if ſuch great, ſuch wiſe, and good men thought proper to evade a tax, it was natural to expect a man in a middling ſphere of life would do the ſame, unleſs it was thought (which generally was the caſe) that men of that deſcription were more honeſt than thoſe of whom he had been ſpeaking, Now the reaſon why the right honourable gentleman (Pitt) always was ſo fond of introducing the American war, aroſe from the following circumſtance when he firſt made his entré into politics, he made a point of reprobating the American war; and his language and manner in doing it was ſo good, that he met with applauſe from his foes as well as his friends. By conſtantly ſpeaking on the ſubject, it became familiar; and in reading Locke, on the Aſſociation of Ideas, he there found a philoſophical reaſon for the right honourable gentleman always uſing the topic, although the war was over. In that book, which he made no doubt the right honourable gentleman had read long ſince, it was related, that a young gentleman, fond of dancing, for the want of company, uſed to dance to an old trunk that ſtood in one corner of the room; ſo conſtant had he been in that practice, that when the trunk was removed he could no longer dance; and it was juſt the ſame with the right honourable gentleman, for as he had been taught to ſpeak upon the American war, if deprived of that as a part of his oration, he would be totally dumb, unleſs he could

could be taught ſome new ſtep. He had many reaſons beſides thoſe already urged, for requeſting the right honourable gentleman to forego this project, and he had the greater hopes of ſucceſs, as it was the firſt requeſt he ever made to him. Ireland was a country to which he, in common with the right honourable gentleman, had ſome attachment, and he aſſured him the preſent was by no means an Iriſh propoſition. There was nothing to render him more unpopular in Ireland than taxing this commodity; and nothing could give him (Mr. Courtenay) more favour there than being the inſtrument of making him give up the point. The right honourable gentleman was not among thoſe whom he ſhould be apt to ſuſpect of encouraging proſtitution. He might perhaps join with him if there was now any occaſion, but it appeared to be in ſo forward a ſtate already, that to countenance it any farther would be needleſs. He ſaw no reaſon for introducing freſh blood into their veins, to make them more liable to proſtitution than before. Not that he was of that rigid way of thinking as the wife of Bath was, who thought

> The Conſtitution ne'er could thrive,
> Till all the whores were burnt alive.

On theſe grounds he was determined to oppoſe the motion, and he made no doubt of having at leaſt the ſupport of every Iriſh member.

Sir Richard Hill. Sir *Richard Hill* hoped the noble Lord (Surrey) would not perſiſt in dividing the Houſe in that ſtage of the buſineſs, but wait to ſee whether ſome modification could be made ſo as to make it palatable; he aſſured the noble Lord, that he was againſt the tax, unleſs modified, but wiſhed to ſee it go to a Committee.

Mr Dempſter. Mr. *Dempſter* was ſtrongly againſt the tax, and wiſhed the Miniſter to turn his mind to aboliſhing the total uſe of franking; for a variety of frauds were committed, by having letters come to improper perſons under the cover of a member of Parliament. to obviate which, he propoſed that no double letter ſhould come or go free, unleſs it was ſuch as contained parliamentary proceedings, and they might be open at the one end for the Poſt-office to ſee. He likewiſe thought a tax might be laid on all perſons wearing watches; and, in fact, a variety of other modes might be adopted preferable to the one propoſed on maid ſervants; however he wiſhed to ſee the bill brought in, and referred to a Committee.

Mr. Rolle was likewiſe againſt the tax.

Mr.

Mr. *Whitbread* reprobated the tax, and thought the Mi- Mr. Whitbread.
niſter ſhould turn his mind to enforcing the receipt tax, which certainly was the beſt ever invented, and would, if properly collected, bring in a million of money.

Mr. *Powys* likewiſe was againſt the tax, but wiſhed not to Mr. Powys.
oppoſe it in the firſt inſtance, and hoped that the noble Lord (Surrey) would not divide the Houſe upon it.

Lord *Surrey* ſaid, he certainly ſhould divide the Houſe, as Ld. Surrey.
any regulations to be made, of the kind propoſed by his right honourable friend (Fox), muſt be in another bill.

Mr. Roſe was of a different opinion

Mr. *Crewe* thought the tax a bad one, as it would affect Mr Crewe.
farmers in the country who were compelled to keep many maid ſervants in their dairies, &c.

Mr. Fox, Mr. Roſe, and Mr. Pitt, ſaid a few words by way of explanation; after which

Alderman *Watſon* oppoſed the tax, but promiſed he would Alderman Watſon.
do it in a way that ſhould not have any effect on the riſible faculties of any member in the Houſe (on which a loud laugh took place,) and the Alderman proceeded to ſtate, that inſtead of women, men milliners, barbers, ſtay-makers, and every effeminate perſon throughout the kingdom, ought to be ſeverely taxed; likewiſe a double tax ſhould be laid on foreign ſervants, as it was ſhameful to admit them into the inmoſt cabinet or drawing-room.

The Houſe then divided on the reſolution,

Ayes	-	97
Noes	-	24
Majority againſt the women	-	73

The other reſolutions were then read and agreed to.

Wedneſday, May 11.

A petition was received from the tanners in London againſt the Iriſh reſolutions.

Mr. *Powys* then moved that the tanners be heard by them- Mr Powys.
ſelves or counſel at the bar.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* objected to the petition being received, Mr. Chancellor Pitt.
as it came ſo late, and appeared to him to be more calculated for the ſake of delay than any thing elſe.

Mr. *Powys* ſaid, that the petitioners did not ſee the danger Mr. Powys.
that the ſeventh reſolution of the Iriſh Parliament ſubjected their trade to until yeſterday.

Some little converſation then took place, when the Houſe divided on the queſtion, whether the petition ſhould be received,

Noes - - - - - - - -	261
Ayes - - - - - - - -	143
Majority - - - - - - -	118

Several other petitions againſt the Iriſh reſolutions were offered, and rejected.

Mr Pitt then moved, "That the Houſe be now called over"

Mr. Marſham moved as an amendment "That the words four months be inſerted, inſtead of the word now," on which a trifling debate took place after which the Houſe divided on the original motion,

Noes - - - - - - - -	241
Ayes - - - - - - - -	213
Majority - - - - - - -	28

Thurſday, May 12.

Mr. Stanley preſented a petition from the manufacturers of Mancheſter and its vicinity, praying that the Iriſh propoſitions may not paſs into a law.

Ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. Eden. Mr *Eden* intreated the indulgence of the Houſe to be exerted in a patient hearing of what he had to propoſe, as it was a ſubject of importance, and demanded every attention. It had yeſterday been the deciſion that no other petition againſt the ſyſtem in agitation ſhould now be received, at leaſt ſo it might be inferred from their rejection of that from the tanners of London But he now had a petition to preſent, which came recommended by ſuch peculiar circumſtances as demanded an exception it was a petition from the iron manufacturers of Warwickſhire, Shropſhire, Staffordſhire, Briſtol, and London, which had been hitherto kept back by a miſconception under which the petitioners laboured. They had applied to a gentleman in office, and therefore poſſeſſed of a proportionate ſhare of authority; they had then ſtated, that as the difference of duties on the importation of bar iron into Great Britain and Ireland amounted to near 20 per cent. in favour of the latter, if theſe duties were not equalized, the conſequence would be a material injury to their manufactures, if not abſolute ruin, were the propoſitions paſſed into a law.

They

They had then received ſuch aſſurances as determined them to remain paſſive, they were informed that every care ſhould be taken of their affairs, and that every precaution ſhould be applied that their manufacture might not ſuffer an injury. Induced by theſe promiſes, they yielded to what they now deemed a fallacy, and when undeceived they now ſtepped forward to claim the protection of the legiſlature They were not men of inconſiderable note; they, on the contrary, were men who gave employment to upwards of 200,000 manufacturers, and paid a duty to Government on the raw materials which they uſed The Houſe had entered, he ſaid, into a haſty determination yeſterday, but that, he hoped, would not impede their attention to the preſent application. They had then reſolved that the petitions ſhould not be received, which were preſented on the eve of the day appointed for the final deciſion of the ſubject But to ſome, even of them, this principle had been wrongly applied. One petition (from Glaſgow) had, to his knowledge, been handed to the honourable and learned gentleman the day before, for the purpoſe of being preſented, that gentleman had thought proper to defer the diſcharge of that duty, and his petitioners were therefore puniſhed by the rejection which followed On the whole, he was of opinion that the petition he had now to preſent, ſtanding on different grounds from thoſe that had been rejected, and conveying a different ſpecies of information to the Houſe from any that had been hitherto exhibited, claimed every exemption from the prohibition which had been made. The Houſe therefore, he hoped, would afford that attention which it deſerved, and concluded with moving, that the petitioners be heard by themſelves or counſel.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* ſaid, that as the petition aſſigned no reaſon of ſufficient importance to determine the Houſe to give it a hearing, its ſole claim to that diſtinction reſted on the aſſertion of the right honourable gentleman who had preſented it, that the petitioners had hitherto laboured under a miſconception. This aſſertion however he did not make from his own knowledge; he did not therefore think it of ſufficient weight to induce the Houſe to act in contradiction to the rule which they had implicitly made by the proceedings of yeſterday. Mr. Chancellor Pitt.

The Lord Advocate of Scotland (Mr. Campbell) defended himſelf from the charge that had been made againſt him of withholding the petition from Glaſgow. It was handed to him, he ſaid, while engaged at the bar of the Houſe of Lords; yet he even then returned with the intention of preſenting it, but The Lord Advocate of Scotland.

was informed, that as the Committee on the Iriſh trade was not to ſit until this day, it mattered not whether it was preſented on Tueſday or Wednesday. Such information, from authority the moſt reſpectable, had determined him to retain it until yeſterday

Mr. Fox. Mr *Fox* ſaid, that after ſuch an apology he could not certainly arraign the conduct of the honourable gentleman, but it happened very unfortunately for the petitioners, whoſe petition, if it had been preſented on Tueſday, when the honourable gentleman received it, might have been heard the following day All the arguments which had been yeſterday advanced againſt hearing it, would have in that caſe been obviated

A pretty long debate occurred on this point, and an altercation enſued on a charge made by a Mr. Gibbon of Briſtol, againſt Mr. Roſe of miſrepreſentation.

After this the Houſe went into the Committee, and after ſome time ſpent in the examination of witneſſes, the evidence was finally cloſed.

The following is a liſt of the different petitions of the manufacturers, dealers, &c. of Great Britain, againſt the Iriſh commercial propoſitions.

Day when preſented	Page of Votes	PETITIONS.
March 3	228	Petition from merchants, &c. of Liverpool
8	311	——— members of the Chamber of Commerce of Glaſgow, Paiſley, &c
11	330	——— merchants, &c of Mancheſter, &c.
14	336	——— callico manufacturers and printers in Lancaſhire
15	344	——— manufacturers and dealers in Britiſh manufactures of London, &c.
		——— merchants, &c of Briſtol
18	361	——— Commercial Committee of Birmingham
	365	——— cotton and callico manufacturers of Blackburn, praying to be heard by counſel
21	379	——— merchants, &c. of Wolverhampton
	380	——— ſociety of merchant adventurers of Briſtol
	381	——— ſugar refiners of Briſtol
	383	——— manufacturers of Nottingham
April 4	396	——— weavers and inhabitants of Paiſley
		——— operative weavers of Glaſgow
	397	——— merchants and manufacturers of Dumfermline
		——— manufacturers and traders of Derby

Petition

was influenced ſolely by the deſire of promoting the joint intereſt of the two kingdoms. He then returned to the hereditary revenue; he ſaid that he ſhould be ſorry it were to be ſo underſtood, that what was now to be done for Ireland ſhould be conditional, viz. that there ſhould be a ſurplus of the hereditary revenue, and that it ſhould be applied towards the ſupport of the navy, for he was very much afraid that no ſuch ſurplus would ever exiſt, and he would ſtate his reaſons for this apprehenſion. The revenue, in the firſt place, did not produce at preſent above 630,000l. and when the expence of collecting, the amount of bounties, and drawbacks operating as bounties, ſhould have been deducted, the remainder would be little more than 333,000l.; now here was ſo little of a ſurplus, that there was a deficiency of 323,000l. which would be wanted, not to make a ſurplus, but to make the ſum of 656,000l. the ſum that muſt be applied to the ſupport of the eſtabliſhments before a farthing of ſurplus could be applied to the ſupport of the navy. Was the right honourable gentleman ready to propoſe to the Iriſh Parliament, to impoſe freſh taxes to the amount of 333,000l. a year? He was ſure he was not, and that Ireland could not bear ſuch an additional burden. On what then did the right honourable gentleman found his hope of making the revenue equal to the demand upon it, and ſuperior too, if a ſurplus was to be expected? Why, on this, that the increaſe of trade would increaſe the hereditary revenue, and ſwell it to the ſize required; but a moment's conſideration would ſhew how deluſive ſuch a hope was. Moſt of the articles on which this revenue was raiſed could not poſſibly increaſe: the old hereditary cuſtoms, granted the year after the reſtoration of Charles II. had not produced more for half a century than they did at the time of the Revolution: tea was not known then, and therefore there was no tax upon it when the hereditary revenue was given to the Crown: the inland exciſe had fallen off very much ſince the people ceaſed to drink beer and ale at their breakfaſt, and had fallen into the faſhion of drinking tea. The Crown and quit rents could not poſſibly be raiſed one guinea higher; they produced now, as they always had produced, and always would continue to produce, 64,000l. and no more: there was therefore little hope that any ſurplus of the hereditary revenue would or could accrue. He next turned his attention to the manufactures; Ireland, he obſerved, was not heavily taxed, and

owed

owed but a ſmall debt: ſhe had not many reſources; but ſtill, with œconomy, ſhe could make an effort occaſionally, that would give this country great relief. But England, on the other hand, was loaded with an enormous weight of debt and taxes; however, ſhe had, in her trade and manufactures, the moſt aſtoniſhing reſources; but ſhould theſe once be taken from her, the immenſe load of debt would cruſh her to atoms; at leaſt it would throw her from her rank among the nations round her, and not leave her wherewithal to defend either Ireland or herſelf. To take from her manufactures would be to deprive her of her reſource, and to effect the ruin of the two kingdoms at once. Ireland, he ſaid, was too prone to indulge in magnificence beyond her ſtrength; ſhe would wiſh to have dock yards; ſhe would have fortifications to defend them; ſhe muſt purchaſe abroad every crooked, aye, and every ſtraight ſtick neceſſary for the building of a frigate; ſhe muſt have ſtores, and an immenſe train of artillery; and ſhe would be completely a bankrupt before ſhe could equip even five frigates. This country, after ages of commerce, was now in poſſeſſion of what he might call an immenſe dead ſtock of ſtores and guns, purchaſed with an immenſity of treaſure to her then would belong the care of fitting out fleets; it ſhould be the buſineſs of Ireland to aſſiſt her in another way, and it was aſtoniſhing how much the latter might do by purſuing a rigid plan of œconomy. He was ſorry to know, that at preſent, in time of profound peace, ſhe was running in debt, her expences greatly exceeding her income. but he remembered, that in the year 1753, ſhe had been able to pay off a conſiderable debt, and had beſides a ſurplus of 260,000l. in her treaſury but what was truly aſtoniſhing, and he had been a witneſs of it himſelf, ſo ſoon after as the year 1761, ſhe was enabled, by her prudent ſyſtem of œconomy, to keep an army of 24,000 in pay, of which, 8000 were ſent by her to fight the battles of Great Britain abroad, whilſt 16,000 remained in the kingdom for home defence ſhe alſo ſent 33,000 recruits, her own natives, at her own expence, to fill up regiments in the Britiſh ſervice, and ſpent above 600,000l. in Germany for the ſupport of the war. This was an effort from which England had reaped the greateſt advantage; and ſuch might the future exertions of Ireland be in time of war, if ſhe was to lay down a ſyſtem of œconomy in time of peace.

Mr.

Mr. Wilberforce.

Mr. *Wilberforce* ſtated, that beſides the wiſh he had long felt, and more particularly ſince a recent incident, to explain to the Houſe the grounds of his opinion on the ſubject of the Iriſh Propoſitions, he was the rather deſirous of doing it at that moment, becauſe the matter had been in a great meaſure brought to the true point of iſſue by the right honourable gentleman, who had immediately preceded him. (Mr. Burke). For his part, though undoubtedly it became the Houſe to examine and weigh with care the commercial conceſſions that were making to Ireland, and that therefore it had very properly gone into the ſtate of the different manufactures, yet he could not help ſaying, that this queſtion had been treated too much as a commercial, and too little as a political one; and in examining into the minutiæ of the detail, gentlemen had not adverted to what was, as had been juſt ſtated to them, the true queſtion, whether on the whole the advantages to be derived to this country from the adoption of theſe propoſitions would repay us for the ſacrifices to be made? This was the ground on which he wiſhed the propoſitions to be tried, that on which he was willing to give his vote for paſſing them. This vote however he could not give, were he of opinion, that for all we were to grant we were only to receive in return the ſurplus of the hereditary revenues above 656,000l. This however was not likely to be that barren, unproductive gift the right honourable gentleman had repreſented it, for if it were true that ſome articles of which it conſiſted were not on the increaſe, there were others, and thoſe to four times the amount of the former, which could not but increaſe with the increaſing proſperity and opulence of Ireland, and he could not but think that many thanks were due to Adminiſtration who had made this firſt attempt to ſecure a certain contribution from Ireland for the common defence of the empire. But the advantages we were to derive from this ſettlement were not merely the hereditary revenue· beſides ſome of a commercial ſort, ſuch as ſecuring for ever the receiving their yarn, and the prohibition of our wool, the ſecuring that they would take all their Weſt-India produce from our colonies, &c. the grand benefit in his mind was, that it eſtabliſhed a final and permanent ſettlement, and by aſcertaining the reſpective claims of the two countries, tended to ſtop all future jealouſies, and eſtabliſh harmony and good will. If ſomething was not now done, he was convinced that a revival of protecting duties and non-importation agreements would bring about a commercial warfare, and who was there, that

was prepared to ſay the miſchief would end there? Gentlemen, becauſe they were not at this moment under the actual preſſure of diſtreſs, ought not to treat theſe apprehenſions as imaginary. The right honourable gentleman had ſaid, that it was for the intereſt of Ireland to continue connected with Great Britain, becauſe ſhe was too weak to truſt to her own ſingle ſtrength, and therefore ſhe would ever continue ſo connected. But ſurely this argument might have been urged with equal weight to the right honourable gentleman, when three years ago he gave Ireland a complete legiſlative authority independent of Great Britain, as he ſtated with infinite pain and reluctance, without aſking any thing in return for it; it might then have been ſaid, Do not fear theſe hoſtile appearances, for it is the intereſt of Ireland not to diſſolve her connection with Great Britain; but either this argument was not then urged by the right honourable friend and the right honourable Secretary of State; or, if urged, the force of it was not admitted. States, like individuals, too often acted from motives of caprice and paſſion; and fooliſhly would experience prove him to argue, who ſhould maintain that they would take ſuch and ſuch a line, becauſe it was conceived to be their intereſt to do ſo. Theſe, then, were the advantages which England would reap from this ſettlement; but what were the objections which had been made to it? They had been either general, as founded on the lower price of labour, of proviſions, &c. &c. giving ſuch advantages to the Iriſh manufacturer as would enable him to underſel the Britiſh manufacturer in the foreign market, and even in this country: as far however as the ſupply of our own market was concerned, he thought we were completely guarded by the countervailing duties, making the direct impoſitions equal, whilſt the difference in labour, proviſions, &c. &c. were more than compenſated to us by the greater ſkill, ingenuity, and ſtill more, the greater capital of our manufacturers. He begged, however, that the admonition of his right honourable friend, in a former debate, might be attended to, and that the Houſe would not haſtily conclude, that of neceſſity commodities muſt be dearer, where the neceſſaries of life and labour were high: the contrary had been proved by a very ingenious author, both from theory and experience. He enlarged on this idea, mentioning the caſe of our ſending our iron manufactures to Sweden, though the raw material came from thence, ſubject to high duties there, and higher here; and with theſe diſadvantages, and others of two freights,

double inſurance, he believed many of them were ſold cheaper there than the ſame articles of their domeſtic manufacture.

Mr. Wilberforce particularly diſcuſſed the ſubjects of the iron and the woollen manufacture; with regard to the former, he ſeemed to think the preſervation of that trade an object ſo eſſential to us, that rather than loſe it, we ought to keep it, by granting a bounty. With regard to the woollen manufacture, he confeſſed, that whenever he thought of its infinite importance to this country, and recalled to his mind the population, the wealth, the ſpirit which it produced in the county he had the honour to repreſent, he felt himſelf more ſtrongly impelled to paſs the reſolutions, knowing, that if any thing was to interrupt the harmony between the two nations, this would be the firſt point in which Ireland would ſuffer her jealouſy to operate, that the Houſe knew that protecting duties had been talked of, and perhaps only warded off by the appearance that the Iriſh queſtion would ſhortly undergo a complete diſcuſſion. Mr. Wilberforce ſpoke of the pain he felt in differing from a part of his conſtituents, but truſted they would give him credit for acting from upright and honourable motives. He deſired to take this opportunity of correcting a miſtake which had gone into the world, that a noble Lord in a preceding debate had charged his colleague and himſelf with refuſing to preſent a petition which had been tranſmitted them by their conſtituents. This charge the noble Lord had never made; the fact was, the only petition againſt the Iriſh propoſitions out of Yorkſhire had come from Sheffield, which Mr. Duncombe and himſelf had, as was their duty, taken the earlieſt opportunity of laying before the Houſe. He then returned to the queſtion, and replied to an argument of Mr. Fox's, reſpecting the encouragement to frauds in the revenue, which would be given by theſe propoſitions. Theſe objections however being ſhewn to be of no weight, it did not follow, that what we gave to Ireland was little or nothing, becauſe we ſhould not loſe much by it ourſelves Ireland already enjoyed every thing in her intercourſe with foreign nations before, that ſhe would after the paſſing of the reſolutions; but beſides many other benefits which had been ſo much enlarged on by others, that it was unneceſſary for him to trouble the Committee with a repetition of them. He then adverted to the meaſure of an union which had been alluded to, confeſſing it was, in his opinion, the beſt ſcheme, but at the ſame time abſolutely impracticable; who would think that Ireland, with the proud

ideas

ideas ſhe entertains of her Parliament, would conſent to ſend deputies to our Parliament? This was the moſt unfavourable moment for the attainment of this meaſure, when England, from having been uſed to exerciſe ſupremacy over the Iriſh, would be likely to give leſs; and Ireland, from having juſt freed herſelf, as ſhe ſtated, from Britain's yoke, would be likely to be more inſolent in her demands. He begged the Committee would obſerve, that moſt of the objections to the propoſed ſettlement applied equally to the caſe of union. He alſo hoped the Committee would bear in mind, that the adoption of this ſcheme by no means rendered an union impracticable, which the noble Lord had ſtated as a meaſure to the embracing which the Iriſh would be induced by a regard to the Proteſtant intereſt, and other motives, the effect of which would be by no means weakened by the paſſing of the preſent propoſitions. Mr. Wilberforce then renewed the line of argument with which he had ſet out, imploring gentlemen to conſider well what they were about, when they rejected the plan for a permanent ſettlement with Ireland: there were, he ſaid, many conſiderations, both to alarm our fears, and to animate our hopes: the former was an unpleaſing ſpeculation, but he could not help deſiring the Committee to go into it: when the diſadvantages of a rupture with Ireland were ſtated, it ſeemed to have been entirely forgot that there were other countries with whom ſhe might form commercial and other connections, which might be attended with fatal conſequences to England, and he was free to ſay, in the end to Ireland herſelf, but it was an ungrateful diſcuſſion which he had rather fly from, and leave theſe hints for every man's mind to ruminate on, he had more ſatisfaction in conſidering the happy conſequences that might reſult from the reſtoration of good fellowſhip and harmony between the two countries. He truſted theſe propoſitions would manifeſt to Ireland that we conſidered her not with the jealouſy of a rival, but the affection of a ſiſter kingdom; and that mutual confidence and good will would produce an unity of efforts for the promotion of the common proſperity and welfare of both countries; this, he ſaid, would infinitely repay us for any ſacrifices we were then called on to make; one advantage he had forgot to ſtate would reſult from the increaſing wealth of Ireland, viz. that we ſhould have a rich cuſtomer inſtead of a poor one. Mr. Wilberforce begged the Committee would not be ſcrupulous in fixing their eyes on any trifling defect, if any ſuch ſhould be found in this

great and extenſive ſyſtem. He would borrow the right honourable gentleman's alluſion, he ſaid, of the ſtatue and the pedeſtal, and apply it to the preſent caſe. The moſt celebrated ſculptor of antiquity had finiſhed a ſtatue, which was laying on the ground; and one perſon found one fault, and another another, here a ſpeck, there a ſlaw, but when placed on its pedeſtal, all theſe little deformities and irregularities of the ſurface diſappeared, and every one, when it was placed in its true point of view, and was ſeen altogether, was ready to acknowledge the ſymmetry of the proportion and the beauty of the whole figure. Mr. Wilberforce ſtated, that he believed this was the caſe even in the preſent moment, that in ſpite of the petitions which had been preſented, the majority of the People of England were friends to the plan propoſed. Mr. Wilberforce concluded by ſtating, that he thought great thanks were due to his right honourable friend for his having boldly brought forward a ſyſtem for a ſettlement with Ireland, undaunted by the certain oppoſition it muſt meet with from the other ſide of the Houſe, and the miſrepreſentations of it which were now to be ſpread through the country, he truſted his right honourable friend would thus always hazard his own ſituation for the public good; and obſerved, that the difference between his boldneſs and that of the right honourable gentleman, was, that the one could not be ſhewn to be influenced by any but diſintereſted motives; whereas, from accident no doubt it had happened, that the bold meaſures of the right honourable gentleman were ſuch, the India bill, the coalition, &c. as were likely at the ſame time to ſerve the country, and promote the particular intereſts of the right honourable gentleman and his party.

Mr. Pelham

Mr. *Pelham* declared, that he never knew party attachment more exemplified than in the conduct of the honourable gentleman who profeſſed himſelf ſo much exempt from it, nor could he conceive through what other medium he could view thoſe propoſitions in ſo favourable a light. He diſcuſſed the former proceedings reſpecting Ireland, and was particularly pointed on Mr. Grenville's expreſſion of the former reſolutions being carried by the point of a bayonet. Declarations ſuch as this, he ſaid, came not with the beſt grace from that honourable gentleman, when it was remembered, that the doctrine of total renunciation was ſupported in this Houſe by him, when he was the Miniſter of Ireland. Whatever conceſſions might be thought neceſſary from this country to Ireland was due to it, in its dependent ſtate; but now being independent,

dependent, and a ſeparate imperial kingdom, it had no right to partake of our reſources, without participating equally of our burdens. The advantage of trade already extended to her had proved injurious to England, by depriving it of three fourths of that trade which it before had in exporting to Ireland. After touching on the unpopularity of the meaſure, he proceeded to ſhew, that labour was much cheaper in Ireland than here, though the contrary was ſo much contended for. The Committee had heard the depoſitions of two manufacturers, one of whom had his manufactory in England, and paid 10,000l. per annum to the revenue, which, at the rate of 15 per cent. on his capital, muſt prove him to have from 120,000l. to 130,000l. in the buſineſs, which gave employment to 6,000 hands the other an Iriſh manufacturer, with a capital of 80,000l. to 40,000l. his own, and as much more borrowed of the Iriſh Parliament and what put the cheapneſs of labour beyond a doubt was, that theſe men, on the ſmaller capital, employed 10,000 hands. Adverting then to the compenſation from the hereditary revenue, he argued that it was only ideal, there being nothing to prevent the Iriſh Parliament from expending the full ſurplus, if there ſhould be any, to the encouragement of their own manufactures by bounties. For theſe reaſons he declared himſelf an enemy to the propoſitions, and was determined to vote againſt them.

Mr. *Grenville* explained the neceſſity of his ſupporting the total renunciation of legiſlative authority over Ireland, as every man in the country was of opinion the ſimple repeal of Poyning's law would be inſufficient, even while it was voting by the Parliament of Ireland. Mr. Grenville.

Mr. *Hammet* ſaid, his opinions were unfriendly to the propoſitions, from an apprehenſion for the iron trade, but now having aſſurances that the difficulties in that particular would be removed, he was reſolved to vote in favour of them. Mr Hammet

Mr. *Sheridan* obſerved, that as ſeveral freſh petitions came in, and that gentlemen, not ſufficiently acquainted with the ſubject, would wiſh for more time, he would move, that the Chairman report progreſs, and aſk leave to ſit again. Mr Sheridan.

Mr. Powlett ſpoke in favour of the propoſitions.

Mr. *Fox* roſe when the queſtion was going to be put, ſaying, that after having expreſſed his ſentiments ſo fully on a former day, and after hearing his noble friend diſcuſs them ſo ably to-night, he ſhould not have troubled the Committee at this time with any remarks, if ſome obſervations had not fallen, Mr. Fox.

fallen, in the courſe of the debate, from gentlemen on the other ſide of the Houſe, directed ſo perſonally to him, that not to take ſome notice of them would be pleading guilty to the charge. It was not without ſome aſtoniſhment that he heard the propoſitions defended on the ſcore of their popularity, and that aſtoniſhment was increaſed when he reflected on the quarter from whence that defence came. The honourable gentleman, who was repreſentative for the county of York, and who could not be unacquainted with the ſentiments of his conſtituents on the preſent meaſure, as they inſtructed him to vote againſt it, expreſſed the diſapprobation of his numerous and reſpectable conſtituents in the ſame breath that he aſſerted the popularity of the meaſure. That circumſtance alone ſhould have inſtructed him better, if he was not to be informed by the petitions which crowded the table, containing the ſignature of ſome hundred thouſands. There was a time when the opinions of the People were apparently collected from a leſs numerous and leſs voluminous body of evidence. There was a time when collected opinions were oppoſed to meaſures and when theſe opinions were conſidered deciſive on a queſtion to which the epithet of riſh was this day added, while the more lenient agreeable epithets of courageous and bold were applied to the ſubject now under conſideration. But without taking to himſelf the credit of much ſagacity, he could not be ſuppoſed totally ignorant of the danger to which he expoſed himſelf in his ſyſtem for the government of India. Perhaps the charge of raſhneſs was not ſo ill-founded as he at firſt imagined, when it was conſidered that he neglected to ſupport himſelf on the pedeſtal on which the right honourable gentleman was erected, and reſting on conſtitutional ſupport, or the good opinion of Parliament, and the confidence of His Majeſty ſignified in the arrangement of that Miniſtry, it was ſurely the extremeſt weakneſs to abandon that pedeſtal, to which he ſhould look as the atlas of Adminiſtration. If ſuch was the honourable gentleman's meaning, he gave him credit for his ſincerity; and he acknowledged that his India bill was a meaſure of very great riſque. But unpopular as that bill was, as much as it was decried, he was ready at all times to defend himſelf on it, and the experience of another ſyſtem, which was more ſucceſsful, gave him no reaſon to change his opinion. He gave gentlemen credit for the adroitneſs and dexterity with which they contrived to introduce this bill, and blend it with every other ſubject, he was alſo prepared to hear the American war

adverted

adverted to, however foreign to the ſubject. But among the many advantages of youth, it was no inconſiderable one, that in affairs of which they knew little but by report, in tranſactions in which they never bore any part, young gentlemen, after taking their ſeats in Parliament, were at liberty to chooſe whatever ſide ſhould then be moſt popular, in a queſtion that was long before diſpoſed of. To hear ſuch perſons talk, who would not ſuppoſe that they partook in the toil of reſiſting thoſe meaſures in their progreſs? Who could hear the declamation of the honourable gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) but muſt be of opinion that to him belonged the merit of concluding the American war? But theſe were auxiliaries which never failed of being called in to ſupply the abſence of reaſon and of argument. An honourable gentleman (Mr. Grenville) in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, replete with invectives and declamation, uſed no other arguments except what were before urged by the right honourable gentleman who moved the propoſitions nor did he reply to any argument againſt them, but what conſiſted in miſrepreſentation; and indeed, for the beſt of reaſons, becauſe the arguments uſed in oppoſition to them were perfectly unanſwerable. In the preſent arrangement, whenever there was advantage, it lay on the ſide of Ireland; but to this country every proviſion was adverſe. It was curious reaſoning to account for the clauſe by which Iriſh linens, which was their ſtaple commodity, ſhould continue to be imported, duty free, into England, by ſaying that the ſame exemption from duty ſhall be there extended to Britiſh linens. It would be as reaſonable in France ſhould ſhe treat with them on ſimilar terms, to ſay, you ſhall ſuffer our wines to be imported duty free into Great Britain, and we in return will admit your wine duty free into France, whenever you may have any. There were but two ways by which this country and Ireland might meet on equal terms, either to take off all duties, and admit every indiſcriminate article from either country, or to lay general duties, *ad valorem*, on every commodity. The ſixteenth propoſition, if worded with a view to promote cavil and increaſe ambiguity, could not be more ſucceſsful, nor could any words be uſed more likely to be productive of diſpute than "effectual preference." And the alteration of the fifth propoſition to the twelfth was liable to the ſame remarks. The idea of countervailing duties, carried an abſurdity on the very face of it, for as it was not only neceſſary to equalize the duty of the internal exciſe, but to bring it to a fair balance,

lance, it would alſo be neceſſary to conſider all the attendant and incidental expences to which the Britiſh manufacturers were unavoidably expoſed. There were ſome taxes in this country which it would be impoſſible to countervail, as the houſe, the ſervant, and commutation tax, &c. &c. He ſaw none of thoſe beauties in contemplating the ſtatue, of which an honourable gentleman ſo much boaſted. The commercial complaint of Ireland he always conſidered ill founded, though he thought otherwiſe of their political ones, but whatever ground of complaint they might have, this certainly was not the meaſure which could in any degree ſatisfy them. They wanted not this participation; they looked for protecting duties; and were the advantages ten-fold, he would not pay the price demanded for them, except he loſt ſight of that ſpirit of liberty with which that country was of late years particularly inſpired. He was ſorry to hear an honourable gentleman inſinuate that a rupture might be the conſequence of refuſing this ſyſtem to Ireland. He confeſſed, that though the powers of that country were much inferior to this, if unemployed elſewhere, he could not without horror reflect for a moment on the poſſibility of ſuch an event, and there was ſcarce any thing he would not ſurrender to prevent it. In his own perſon he entertained the moſt unbounded national partiality for Ireland; he had the moſt particular attachments there, and there was an excellency in their character which muſt always endear people of that country to ſuch as had theſe attachments; yet he was ſo much of an Engliſhman, that he could not part with thoſe reſources and advantages, on which our national exiſtence depended. He then took a view of the general queſtion, mentioned the circumſtance of an union as extremely deſirable, but what could ſcarcely be obtained, and was thrown at a greater diſtance than ever by the proviſions of this arrangement. Adverting to Mr. Wilberforce's remarks on perſonal confidence, he ſaid, the honourable gentleman having profeſſed himſelf to be influenced only by his judgement in this day's vote, deſerved to be commended, and the more ſo as he exerciſed that judgement in oppoſition to the opinions and inſtructions of his conſtituents. But other members of Parliament did not heſitate to expreſs that they were unacquainted with the merits of the queſtion, but were ready to vote for them, repoſing in the confidence and attachment they bore to His Majeſty's Miniſter; and in doing this, they made that ſacrifice, which was the laſt a member of Parliament ſhould

ſhould yield to; they not only ſurrendered their own opinions into the hands of the Miniſter, but at the ſame time they ſurrendered the opinion of their conſtituents.

If a member could form no opinion of his own, he ſhould rather adopt the opinions of thoſe conſtituents who ſent him into Parliament, and whoſe intereſts he was engaged to conſult, than yield himſelf to the direction of any individual. In complimenting the Miniſter, it was judicious to adopt invectives againſt others. His popularity, if he poſſeſſed any, had a greater foundation in the conduct of others, than in any action of his own. No meaſures of his had any merit to recommend him to popularity; even his moſt zealous advocates were obliged to abandon him in one of the principal tranſactions of the ſeſſion; but the miſconception of the conduct of others was the baſe on which his merit was erected, it was his

"Gay hope by fancy led."

There were now petitions before the Committee which ought certainly to be attended to before they decided on the queſtion. It appeared in evidence at the bar, falſe and deluding expectations were held out to the manufacturers; and though it was attempted to be controverted in the abſence of one of the parties concerned, he was now in London, and ready to corroborate what was ſtated before. Diſapproving ſo much as he did of the preſent ſyſtem, he was determined to give it all the oppoſition in his power; for which reaſon he intended to try the force of amendments with which he was prepared, and which, if adopted, would at leaſt qualify the reſolutions, and render them leſs dangerous

Mr. *Dundas* declared he had been a friend to every propoſition that had been made in favour of Ireland in that Houſe, from the time that Earl Nugent ſtated his propoſitions in 1778, to thoſe of the preſent day. He ſtated minutely what had happened upon each, and ſaid, from the arguments that had been held by the gentlemen oppoſite to him at the different periods when the ſubject had been agitated, he was at a loſs to imagine upon what ſound principle of reaſon or argument any one of them could object to the preſent propoſitions. He recapitulated the language of Lord North when Earl Nugent had made his propoſitions which had been loſt; and he had himſelf in the year 1783 made thoſe ſelf-ſame conceſſions, which the noble Lord had then thought proper to oppoſe himſelf. He read from a manuſcript an extract of Mr. Mr Dundas.

Fox's ſpeech in the Houſe about the 9th of April 1782, when Mr. Eden had come over in ſuch a hurry from Dublin to propoſe the repeal of the 6th of George the firſt, and when Mr. Fox had complained of his having taken that buſineſs out of his hands, which he declared he meant to have brought forward in a day or two. He ſtated what happened upon that occaſion, and mentioned what had been the meaſure propoſed by Mr. Fox a day or two afterwards, reading at the ſame time the words of a reſolution Mr. Fox had then moved. He afterwards turned to Mr. Eden, and read a part of his ſpeech on the 9th of April to which he had alluded. Having finiſhed this extract, he remarked that his right honourable friend was well known to have turned author on the ſubject, and expreſſed himſelf in very particular terms, when as a Mentor he had inſtructed his political Telemachus upon the ſubject of Ireland. He argued upon theſe different topics, and endeavoured to deduce from them, that, to be conſiſtent, Lord North, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Eden, muſt neceſſarily vote for the propoſitions. He entered into a defence of them, and contended that a ſecurity in our ſituation with reſpect to Ireland, the money ſpent by the Iriſh in rents here, and a great variety of other advantages would accrue to this country in conſequence of agreeing to the propoſitions. He praiſed Mr. Pitt's private virtues, and ſaid, it was his political enemies, and not his friends, that he ever laid the laſh upon, or to whom he ſhewed the ſmalleſt ſhare of that haughtineſs, ſeverity, and ſarcaſm, which gentlemen on that ſide of the houſe were always imputing to him. He retorted on Oppoſition for their attack on Mr. Pitt, and ſaid, the ſupport the right honourable gentleman oppoſite and his friends truſted to was not ſo conſtitutional; but ſuch as it was, he would not mention it, as it was unfit to be mentioned there. With regard to the pedeſtal and ſtatue Mr. Burke's fancy had formed of the young Miniſter ſtanding on Mr. Jenkinſon's ſhoulders, he ſaid the right honourable gentleman oppoſite to him (Mr Fox) he ſhould conceive had alluded to the pedeſtal upon which he had endeavoured to place himſelf, and to have buried the ruins of the Conſtitution under it.

Mr. *Fox* ſaid, that he found it difficult to underſtand what the right honourable gentleman could mean by a conſtitutional ſupport of an Adminiſtration, that was of too delicate a nature to be named; for his part, when he was in office, there was no myſtery in the ſort of ſupport which he looked and wiſhed for, and that he flattered himſelf he obtained,

obtained, which was the confidence of the Sovereign, expreſſed in his appointment, and the confidence of Parliament manifeſted in his ſupport.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* roſe, he ſaid, to ſay a few words relative to a ſubject which he had often heard a good deal of, as well in this and the former ſeſſion, as in the laſt ſeſſion of the late Parliament, but which had that night aſſumed a more poetic and ornamental appearance than he remembered it to have worn on any former occaſion, in that happy alluſion to a ſtatue and its pedeſtal with which a right honourable gentleman had ſo ingeniouſly entertained the Houſe, and after having profited by it ſo much in argument, he hoped the right honourable gentleman would ſhortly let him ſee it in a different dreſs, as he thought it highly calculated to gratify another ſenſe, if it were oiled with proper colouring, and exhibited, as he ſuppoſed it would be, in ſtriking caricature for the edification of the multitude. He animadverted on Mr. Dundas's alluſion to the proper conſtitutional ſupport of an Adminiſtration. He ſaid he could not but imagine that the right honourable gentleman had wilfully miſtaken his right honourable friend, in ſtating his doctrine to be, "that a Miniſter might have a conſtitutional ſupport, which it would be indelicate to mention in that Houſe" this, he ſaid, was by no means his right honourable friend's ſentiment. He and his right honourable friend were ready at all times to avow what they looked upon to be the true conſtitutional ſupport of a Miniſter, but which widely differed from that ſupport which the right honourable gentleman had wiſhed to obtain for his adminiſtration, and which delicacy towards the right honourable gentleman had prevented his mentioning. That ſupport which he ſhould himſelf always look up to as the beſt and moſt conſtitutional he could conceive, was the confidence of the Crown, the confidence of Parliament, and the confidence of the nation. This was, he ſaid, a ſupport which it ought to be the pride of every Miniſter to enjoy, and which none could ever be aſhamed or afraid to avow. But could there be ſuppoſed to exiſt a ſet of men capable of forming an unnatural and almoſt incredible combination, and by the ſtrength of united numbers forcing out a Miniſtry, whoſe ſober plans and well-digeſted arrangements were found incompatible with the aſpiring views of this newly-cemented phalanx, ſhould they be ſuppoſed, after having ſtormed the Cabinet, though neither called there by the choice of the Crown nor the voice of the People, and diſtributed among

Chancellor Pitt.

themſelves, according to each man's capacity, or ambition, the ſeveral departments of Adminiſtration; and then, as ſoon as they found themſelves ſeated in the Councils of their Sovereign, not ſatisfied with perſonal inſult and contempt of his feelings, had commenced a regular and uniform ſyſtem for degrading him from his importance, as firſt executive magiſtrate, to the rank of a cypher in the Conſtitution. [Here the gentlemen oppoſite ſeeming to diſclaim any ſuch idea, Mr. Pitt ſaid, he was glad to find they had changed their political creed, but that he much feared, if the period of their triumph and proſperity had continued, that they would not have ſtooped ſo much below the towering principles on which they acted, as even to paſs by, on the preſent occaſion, an opportunity of avowing them.] Having made this attempt on the dignity of the Crown, ſhould they proceed to look for ſuch a ſupport as would ſecure to them the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of their ſituation, and not ſatisfied with or deſirous of obtaining it through the royal confidence, ſeek it by ſuch means, as while they overturned every balance and every bulwark of the Conſtitution, by erecting a new and unconſtitutional executive authority, and inveſting it with a new and unconſtitutional weight of patronage, ſhould afford them the fruit and reward of their ſtruggles, their efforts, and the dangers they had encountered, and at the ſame time lay a foundation for permanency, ſtability, and impunity; ſhould ſuch a ſet of men be found, he deſired to know whether their motives, and the ſupport they ſought for, could, with any ſort of decorum, be mentioned in that Houſe?

Another topic, he ſaid, had formed a conſiderable ſhare of the arguments of the gentlemen oppoſite, which it was neceſſary he ſhould ſay a few words upon, though it was with great reluctance that he again treſpaſſed on the time of the Committee, after having been already indulged with ſo many, and ſuch patient, hearings. Two right honourable gentlemen finding little or nothing objectionable in the plan, as contained in the whole of the reſolutions, the new as well as the old, had ſpent a great deal of time in pointing out the defects of the former, and afterwards in ſounding their triumph, at having been the authors of whatever improvement the ſyſtem had acquired by the acceſſion of the latter. With regard to ſeveral of thoſe improvements, he declared that many of them were coeval in his mind with the whole of the plan, and particularly that part of it which related to the preſerving to the Eaſt-India Company their excluſive commerce

merce beyond the Cape of Good Hope. Why then, it had been objected, were not all thoſe amendments laid before the Parliament of Ireland, in order to their paſſing upon the whole of the arrangement that approbation or diſapprobation which they had been obliged, from ignorance of its extent, to confine to a part only? Becauſe, he ſaid, as it was firſt neceſſary to know what Ireland would take from this country in point of commercial privileges, and what ſhe would be ſatisfied to give in return, it next became neceſſary for England to regulate and modify the conceſſions ſhe was to make in ſuch a manner as to ſecure her own intereſts, and to preſerve to herſelf her full portion of that general benefit which the final adjuſtment promiſed to the empire at large. What Ireland would accept was contained in the Iriſh reſolutions, and was the foundation of the treaty, in what manner, and under what regulations and conditions Great Britain would concede, was the ſuperſtructure, and therefore to have reverſed or altered the order in which they had been brought forward, would have been a moſt flagrant breach of propriety and uniform procedure. With regard to the triumph which the gentlemen over the way expreſſed at having been themſelves the authors of the ſeveral amendments, it was a triumph which, however he might in a great many inſtances do it, he would by no means diſpute with them. His own perſonal character, as far as it was connected with that particular branch of the queſtion, however ambitious he ſhould be of the approbation of the Houſe and the Public, was no great object with him, when put into competition with the magnitude of the ſubject before them. He ſhould indeed deſerve the charge which had been ſo often made againſt him of unpardonable preſumption and arrogance, could he for a moment indulge an anxious thought for his own perſonal importance, on an occaſion ſo highly momentous to his country as the preſent. Could he be ſo far unmindful of the duty which his ſituation impoſed on him as to rely on his own ſolitary judgement, and reject the lights which might be obtained from other quarters, merely to ſupport the vain ambition of acting from himſelf? No! He had received conſiderable helps and great aſſiſtance throughout the whole of the buſineſs, and even ſince he had firſt introduced it into Parliament. The channels through which he had obtained this aſſiſtance, he ſaid, were numerous; although, from the witneſſes at the bar, he remembered nothing new; yet from the Commiſſioners of the revenue

venue he had received ſome information; from his friends, and among them, ſeveral members of that Houſe, whoſe ſupport and confidence he had the honour to enjoy, he had been favoured with much uſeful and practical advice; nay, he had been indebted to the gentlemen oppoſite to him for many valuable ideas that he had obtained from them in the courſe of the buſineſs, the adoption of which had been extremely inſtrumental in bringing his plan to that degree of perfection which it now could boaſt. From hence he obſerved, that the very efforts which had been made to impede and overthrow his ſyſtem would in no inconſiderable degree contribute towards its ſucceſs, by directing him to the diſcovery of ſuch materials as had enabled him to obviate many of the objections which otherwiſe might lie againſt it. Thus it appeared how dangerous it was to give too great a latitude to our eagerneſs in purſuit of any favourite object; for in the extreme avidity of gentlemen to create difficulties, and to throw obſtacles in the way of this arrangement, they had themſelves greatly contributed towards diminiſhing the objections, and of courſe weakening the oppoſition that it was to meet. He was notwithſtanding, however it might have been intended, under a conſiderable obligation to thoſe gentlemen, whoſe ſeverity had been productive of much benefit, and he ſincerely wiſhed that their correction, whenever they ſhould think him deſerving of it, might be always attended with conſequences ſo deſirable. But who was the author of thoſe amendments, or how they were ſuggeſted to him, was an inquiry of no conſequence to the Committee; ſo inconſiderable an object as that was not now to engroſs their attention; all that was neceſſary for them to conſider was, that thoſe amendments were a great improvement to the general ſyſtem before them, that they tended more effectually to ſecure and promote the ends for which that arrangement was to be adopted, the general welfare of the empire at large, and a mutual participation of commercial advantages between its two moſt conſiderable members, the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. The motives therefore which had heretofore urged him and his friends to this meaſure, had now acquired new ſtrength and vigour from the ſtill increaſing proſpect of utility, ſafety, and practicability, which thoſe new amendments held out; and he hoped they would alſo operate in like manner on the Houſe, encouraging them with the greater confidence and ſpirit to put the finiſhing hand

hand to a ſyſtem, the neceſſity of which was ſo apparent, and, without which, the mutual good diſpoſitions between the two countries were liable to ſo much danger of being interrupted, weakened, and deſtroyed.

Mr. *Fox* expreſſed ſome ſurpriſe, that the right honourable gentleman, who was handſomely diſcharging his duty to truth, and returning thanks to thoſe, to whom he confeſſed himſelf under ſome obligations, ſhould chuſe to accompany his acknowledgements with abuſe, and that of the ſtaleſt and moſt hackned ſort. Mr. Fox.

Mr. *Pulteney* ſaid, he thought a better plan than the preſent propoſitions might have been fixed on; but he nevertheleſs ſhould vote for them he wiſhed, however, as ſo much good had been done by delay already, that the right honourable gentleman would not hurry them through, but would conſent to report a progreſs, and allow the Committee to riſe without coming to a vote that evening. Mr Pulteney.

Lord *Penrhyn* roſe, in anſwer to ſome remarks that had been made by Mr. Dundas, who had inſinuated that the noble Lord, as Chairman of the Weſt-India merchants, had been exceedingly buſy and active in oppoſing the reſolutions, a circumſtance which he had ſtated to be a ſpecies of infatuation, as the more markets the Weſt-India planters had to carry rum to, and the more cuſtomers they got, the better. His Lordſhip ſeemed hurt at having been ſingled out as Chairman of the Weſt-India merchants. he ſaid, the manufactures, commerce, and revenue of this country, were objects as important in his conſideration as his Weſt-India eſtates. Lord Penrhyn preſſed for more time to conſider the propoſitions. Ld Penryhn

Mr. *Roſe* got up to anſwer an alluſion Mr. Fox had made to what had paſſed in the Houſe the other day, relative to a converſation between Mr. Gibbons of Briſtol and him. Mr. Roſe ſaid, fortunately for him, and moſt comfortably for his feelings, his right honourable friend had that morning found a paper in his drawer, ſtating an account of what had paſſed between Mr. Gibbons, Mr. Reynolds (a moſt reſpectable character) and himſelf, which he had written two days after the converſation happened. This paper fully ſupported what he had ſaid in the Houſe*. Mr. Roſe.

Mr.

* The following is the extract of the paper alluded to

" With reſpect to Ireland, then principal apprehenſion aroſe from " a fear of competition, owing to the difference of duties on the im-

" portation

Mr. Fox ſaid a few words in explanation.

Mr. Brickdale roſe to maintain the high reſpectability of the character of Mr. Gibbons.

The ſtrangers were ordered to withdraw, and the Committee divided on the motion of adjournment,

Ayes - - - - - - -	90
Noes - - - - - - -	195

The Chairman then reported the third reſolution, to which Mr. *Eden* moved two amendments. — The firſt purported to except from the deſcription of goods to be hereafter importable from Ireland into Great Britain; "All goods of the "growth, produce, and manufacture of places beyond the "Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan." Mr. Eden ſtated, that this reſtriction was neceſſary, as it would be found upon examination not to be compriſed within the terms of the ninth propoſition, which ſecures the Eaſt-India monopoly to Great Britain. The other amendment was, "That no drawback ſhould be payable under the new plan, "till certificates ſhould be returned from the country to "which the export is made according to the form at preſent "practiſed." Both amendments were admitted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer after ſome converſation, and then the amended reſolution was voted: thus amended it was as follows:

Mr. Eden.

"That towards carrying into full effect ſo deſirable a ſet-"tlement, it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth

"portation of iron into each country, it is per ton in Ire-"land, and in England, but I explained to them, that "when the direct trade to the colonies was given to the Iriſh, they "agreed to impoſe a duty on the export of their iron manufactures, "of £. per ton, to compenſate for the difference of duty "on the importation of the raw material, and as to the interchange "of manufactures between this country and Ireland, that beſides the "equal duty intended to be impoſed by each country upon importa-"tion from the other, an additional duty would probably be im-"poſed on goods coming from Ireland, to make up alſo for the diſ-"ference of duty upon the importation of iron into the two con-"tries

"One of the perſons who will probably come to-day, is a Mr "Gibbons of Briſtol, by whom the calculation was made of the "quantum of duty which the Iriſh impoſed upon the export of their "manufactures to the Weſt Indies, and who it may perhaps be ad-"viſeable to employ again in the preſent arrangement, he came to "town in conſequence of a letter I wrote him, and at the inſtance of "Mr Reynolds, a great iron founder in Shropſhire."

" or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, except thoſe " of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the " countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits " of Magellan, ſhould be imported in each kingdom from " the other reciprocally under the ſame regulations, and that " the ſame duties (if ſubject to duties) to which they would " be liable when exported from the country or place, from " whence the ſame may have been imported into Great Bri " tain or Ireland reſpectively, as the caſe may be; and that " all duties originally paid upon importation into either " reſpectively, except on arrack and brandy, and on rum " and all ſorts of ſtrong waters, not imported from Britiſh " colonies in the Weſt Indies, or America, ſhall be fully " drawn back on exportation to the other; but nevertheleſs " the duties ſhall continue to be protected and guarded as at " preſent, by withholding the drawback until a certificate " from the proper officers of the revenue in the kingdom to " which the export may be made, ſhall be returned and pre- " paied with the entry outward."

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* then ſtated the fourth reſolution, and ſaid, that he brought it forwards though at ſo late an hour, becauſe he had obſerved from ſome geſtures and other ſymptoms on the oppoſite ſide of the Houſe, that it was likely to be miſrepreſented. in order to obviate which, he would introduce it with an amendment, which ſtated, that the laws of Great Britain to be in force in Ireland, were to be left to the admiſſion and diſcuſſion of the Iriſh Parliament previous to being enacted. Mr Chancellor Pitt.

Mr. *Sheridan* anſwered, that the words propoſed as an amendment, did not, in his opinion, tend to remove the very reaſonable jealouſies which the cauſe could not fail of ſuggeſting, and recommended time for conſideration. Mr. Sheridan.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* then ſaid, that he underſtood other amendments were intended, and wiſhed to know them, that they might be conſidered. Mr Chancellor Pitt.

Mr *Eden* thereupon ſtated ſome farther alterations; and added, that with the aſſiſtance and concurrence of friends, he was prepared to ſubmit ſeveral others on the principle of leſſening the objectionable parts of the plan, in caſe it ſhould be forced forwards, which appeared every hour more difficult, without danger to the commerce of the one kingdom and the conſtitution of the other. Mr Eden.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* anſwered, that as the new matter ſtated had ſome degree of ſubtilty and nicety, and as he by Mr Chancellor Pitt.

no means wiſhed to diſcuſs queſtions of importance in an exhauſted Houſe, he would conſent to adjourn.

The ſeveral dependent buſineſſes were then fixed for different days, and the Houſe adjourned to Monday at half paſt ſix in the morning.

Monday, May 23.

A debate and a diviſion took place on a bill granting the prolongation of a patent to Lord Dundonald, for his invention of extracting tar from ſea coal — In favour of the bill 88, againſt it 28.

In a Committee of ways and means, Mr. Roſe moved for an additional duty of three ſhillings on four-wheel carriages, which brought the duty to ſeven pounds. After ſome debate it was agreed to.

On the ſecond reading of the bill for laying a tax on retail ſhops;

Alderman Newnham.

Alderman *Newnham* expreſſed his averſion to the meaſure, as being of all taxes that was ever propoſed, the moſt partial, oppreſſive, and ruinous, and one which would operate with double injury on his conſtituents. The right honourable gentleman who propoſed it, was unaccuſtomed to trade, and unacquainted with the lower walks of life, was not perhaps aware, that the property of a man was by no means to be eſtimated from the rent of his houſe, and his ability to bear additional burdens was as little ſo. According to the different lines of buſineſs in which men were engaged, they were under the neceſſity of having their in ſhops particular ſituations, ſo that a man might undergo a very heavy rent in a principal ſtreet, whoſe receipts were much inferior to people in different lines of buſineſs, who had no occaſion ſo much to conſult ſituation. In the great ſtreets of London, there were many on whom this tax would operate at the rate of 10l. 20l. and 30l. a year, whoſe means and abilities would be little able to bear it, and who with ſtruggling and difficulty were enabled to live at preſent. There were no means whereby this additional burden could be transferred from the ſhopkeeper to the public; as it would be impoſſible ſo to apportion the advance on every inſignificant article as not to make the public pay infinitely more than the tax was calculated to produce, or to leave the entire loſs to be ſuſtained by the ſhopkeeper himſelf. Beſides, wherever the operation of it was light, it would be ſo only on the great dealer,

dealer, whoſe heavy receipts may enable him to bear the additional tax on his houſe without raiſing the price of his commodity; and the poorer dealer, whoſe income and profits were light, muſt give up his bread, unable to pay ſo heavy a ſum without charging it on his cuſtomers. After uſing many other arguments, he concluded by oppoſing the bill.

Mr. *H. Thornton* ſaid, that though he knew the vote he was determined to give was contrary to the ſenſe of his conſtituents, he would ſupport the bill; and argued, from the univerſal clamour it occaſioned, that it was totally exempt from the charge of being partial: for was it not to fall ſo generally as it would do, and affect every ſhopkeeper in an equal degree, the extenſive dealer would be pleaſed at it as throwing the buſineſs into his hands which the poorer kind could be no longer able to contend with him, and for ſuch an advantage, he would be very ready to pay the ſum which this bill demanded of him; but as all parties appeared intereſted in it, he was warranted to ſay, that all parties would be equally affected. Mr. H. Thornton.

Mr. Alderman *Watſon* condemned the tax in the ſtrongeſt terms, ſaying, it would, if carried into a law, drive many an unfortunate widow, and many an induſtrious tradeſman into beggary and ruin. The metropolis would pay the greateſt ſhare in the preſent tax as well as it had done in the commutation; and now laboured under as many loads as it was able poſſibly to bear. It was cruel to think of the poor and induſtrious part of our traders paying 130,000l. per annum, in addition to every other burden with which they were already oppreſſed: there were many other objects well worthy of being taxed which were entirely exempt from any thing of the kind. It was a complaint once urged, that in the partition of property, the church obtained more than its due proportion, but now the ſame obſervation would apply much more juſtly to the law: in that, the profeſſors obtained ſo great a proportion of the public money, that it ſhould properly contribute ſome ſhare in the relief of its burden. He therefore ſubmitted whether it would not be proper to lay a tax on attornies, or make them take out a licenſe of 30l. each; which, taking the number of attornies in this country at no more than 5000l. would produce a revenue of 150,000l. He alſo remarked, that there now exiſted a prohibition on the importation of cambric, notwithſtanding which, no other than foreign cambric was ſcarcely ever worn: this, Mr. Ald. Watſon.

of courſe, whilſt it diminiſhed the revenue, gave great encouragement to ſmuggling, ſo that he would propoſe the impoſition of a duty on all cambrics imported These, if adopted, would be more than ſufficient to compenſate for this tax, and would be productive of no injury whatever.

Mr. Dempſter. Mr. *Dempſter* ſtated, that it had been alledged heretofore as a reaſon for not taking off the prohibition on the importation of cambric, that there was a growing manufactory in Scotland, but he was able to aſſure the Houſe, that the manufacture did not ſucceed, and was now diſcontinued.

Mr. Fox. Mr *Fox* ſaid, that though not forward to oppoſe taxes in that Houſe, he had ſo many reaſons to diſapprove of this, that he could not poſſibly think of agreeing to it beſides, the opinion he had formed on it himſelf, he underſtood from many of his conſtituents, that the preſent tax, though burdenſome in itſelf, would be doubly ſo from the effects produced on ſhops by the commutation meaſure. For, if he was well informed, that operated on people in trade as a ſhop as well as a houſe tax, and the effect of it was moſt ſeverely felt by thoſe whoſe occupation and buſineſs made it neceſſary for them to have large windows and public ſites for the expoſure of their goods. Taking the preſent tax in various points of view, he proceeded to expoſe the evil tendency, of it, and by way of ſubſtitution, not being at preſent prepared with any thing particular, he would recommend the adoption of thoſe hints thrown out by an honourable Alderman apprehending, however, at the ſame time, the tax propoſed on attornies was taken on too ſanguine a ſtatement

Ld North. Lord *North* ſaid, though he muſt conſider the preſent tax as a very injudicious one, yet he knew ſo well the difficulty of propoſing eligible taxes, that when it came to a diviſion he would not vote againſt it. He recollected a tax which had been ſent to him, and which he adopted in part, but made ſuch exceptions as needed no longer exiſt. He was at that time the readier to make the exceptions, as he did not want the money which they would produce he meant the tax on auctions; which had always exceeded the ſum for which it was originally taken. The exceptions made were the ſales of the Eaſt-India Company, the Hudſon's-Bay Company; and the ſales from the Court of Chancery He merely threw this out from recollection, as being the firſt that occurred, and which he thought much preferable to the preſent tax. The Eaſt-India ſales only, at the rate of three

pence

pence in the pound would produce 60,000l. His Lordſhip much diſapproved of the plan of aboliſhing the occupation of pedlars and hawkers in order to recommend the preſent bill to ſhopkeepers; they were the only checks on the ſhopkeepers in the country parts of England to prevent extortion and deceit: he knew it was alledged againſt them, that they encouraged ſmuggling, and he could not ſay whether they were exempt from the charge; but this he was certain of, that if they did not give encouragement to ſmuggling they were the only trading people in the country who could boaſt of that merit; and, as to their being often receivers of ſtolen goods, he believed that charge would lie more properly againſt pawnbrokers, who were real objects of taxation. His Lordſhip concluded, by remarking, that in his opinion, this bill could not be ſo productive as the Miniſter expected.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* ſaid, though many gentlemen ſeemed this day ſufficiently forward to open their budget, he was ſorry to find, that nothing was offered which carried the ſmalleſt degree of approbation in his mind. There was much difference betwen throwing out looſe hints, and following them into a ſyſtem of complete execution. It was natural for an honourable gentleman, led by prejudices exceedingly popular, or perhaps impelled by vindictive motives, to propoſe a tax of 30l. on attornies, but he would find that meaſure neither practicable nor productive, if attempted to be purſued. The article of cambric was propoſed on much more reaſonable grounds, and yet there were certain relative circumſtances which muſt induce him alſo to forego that. He was well aware, that it was now ſmuggled into this country, but there were ſome reaſons which now obliged him to endure the evil. He was not certain that the Houſe in general knew to what he alluded, but if they did not, he was not now at liberty to make the beſt advantage of the argument. A noble Lord, from, perhaps, a principle of reſentment alſo, propoſed a tax on the ſales of the Eaſt-India Company, together with ſome others, but if the Company's ſituation was ſuch as the noble Lord often attempted to repreſent it, the Public could ſcarcely wiſh to put 60,000l. of their money yearly into their pockets. Mr Chancellor Pitt.

Lord *North* explained, that though he might wiſh the affairs of the Eaſt-India Company better regulated, he could not poſſibly have any reſentment againſt the Company itſelf. Ld North.

Lord

Ld. Hood. Lord *Hood* ſaid, that from what he had heard on the ſubject, he was impreſſed with ſo thorough a conviction of the impropriety of the tax, that both his duty and inclination united in inducing him to vote againſt it.

Mr. Alderman Sawbridge. Mr. Alderman *Sawbridge* ſaid, that though the Chancellor of the Exchequer might have ſtrong motives for endeavouring to oppreſs Weſtminſter, which had ſo imprudently reſiſted his attempts to nominate its repreſentatives, he ſhould not involve London in the puniſhment, which did not ſo much partake of the guilt.

Sir W. Lewes ſpoke againſt the bill.

After ſome more converſation, the Houſe divided on the ſecond reading, when the numbers were,

For it - - - -	142
Againſt it - - -	51

The bill was then ordered to be committed.

About eight o'clock the order of the day for going into a Committee on the Iriſh propoſitions was read; the Houſe accordingly reſolved itſelf into a Committee, Mr. M. A. Taylor in the chair.

The Chairman then read the following reſolution, which had been moved on Friday morning laſt, but the debate on which had been adjourned to this day.

" Reſolved, That it is highly important to the general " intereſts of the Britiſh empire, that the laws for regu- " lating trade and navigation ſhould be the ſame in Great " Britain and Ireland; and therefore that it is eſſential to- " wards carrying into effect the preſent ſettlement, that all " laws which have been made, or ſhall be made in Great " Britain, for ſecuring excluſive privileges to the ſhips and " mariners of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh colo- " nies and plantations; and for regulating and reſtraining " the trade of the Britiſh colonies and plantations, ſhall be " in force in Ireland (by acts to be paſſed in the Parliament " of that kingdom) in the ſame manner as in Great Britain; " and that proper meaſures ſhall from time to time be taken " for effectually carrying the ſame into execution."

Mr. Sheridan. Mr. *Sheridan* aſked if the words " By acts to be paſſed in " the Parliament of Ireland," had really been moved on Friday morning laſt; for he did not recollect to have heard them till the moment the Chairman had read them.

Mr. Taylor Mr. *Taylor* replied, the words alluded to were moſt certainly part of the motion put into his hand on Friday morning by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Lord

Lord *Beauchamp* then roſe and obſerved, that the Houſe could not be too often reminded of the manner in which the buſineſs then under conſideration had originated. It had not, he ſaid, ariſen from any requiſition on the part of the Parliament of Ireland, but had been ſuggeſted on the part of the Miniſters of Great Britain, to the Houſe of Commons in Dublin, by a gentleman, a member of that Houſe, then in high office in that kingdom. The Parliament of Ireland had adopted the propoſitions ſo ſuggeſted, and they had been afterwards propoſed to the Britiſh Houſe of Commons by the Miniſter. Having ſaid this, his Lordſhip declared, he had not hitherto entered at all into a diſcuſſion of the general principle of the ſyſtem in contemplation; but he could not help expreſſing his ſatisfaction, that a final ſettlement was about to take place with Ireland, on the important ſubjects of a commercial intercourſe and a political connection. With regard to the commercial ſyſtem, his Lordſhip ſaid, he was very much inclined to the ſame way of thinking with the right honourable gentleman, and to declare his approbation of the plan adopted by His Majeſty's Miniſters, and followed up in the propoſitions voted by the Parliament of Ireland. He thought the admitting Ireland to a participation of the commercial advantages of this country, a fair, a liberal, and an handſome line of conduct for Great Britain to purſue, and ſuch as could not but tend effectually to conduce to harmonize and cement the remaining parts of the empire, and to give ſtrength, energy, and vigour to the whole. He had, he ſaid, every reaſon of a perſonal nature to wiſh well to Ireland, and he had reaſons equally perſonal to induce him to be anxious for the particular proſperity of Great Britain thus circumſtanced, it was impoſſible for him not to feel with perfect impartiality on the occaſion, and to be ſincerely deſirous, that the future connection between the two countries ſhould be adjuſted on ſuch terms as ſhould give complete ſatisfaction to both, and enſure their mutual happineſs on a permanent baſis. Under this impreſſion he had endeavoured to inveſtigate the whole of the propoſitions, with a hope that no one of them would have afforded the ſmalleſt ground for objection, he was ſorry, therefore to find, that the preſent propoſition was liable, upon the face of it, to very ſerious objection. The laſt time the ſubject had been under conſideration, it happened to have been extremely inconvenient for him to attend, or he ſhould have ſtated his reaſons for diſapproving the fourth propoſition, Lord Beauchamp.

poſition, and have pointed out to the Committee, why he thought it objectionable. The right honourable gentleman had, he found, made an amendment, with a deſire to remove that interpretation to which the propoſition was before obviouſly liable; but though he was ready to admit the right honourable gentleman deſerved credit for his laudable endeavour to remove the objection, yet he muſt confeſs, that the amendment did not at all diminiſh the force of his objection to the propoſition. He would, he ſaid, ſtate to the Houſe his reaſons for thinking ſo, and ſubmit it to their judgement to decide whether they were not of ſome weight. In the arrangement of a ſyſtem of ſo ſerious and important a nature as that under conſideration, every gentleman muſt agree, that particular care ought to be taken in the manner of carrying it into execution, to guard againſt doing any thing that was likely to give riſe to conſtitutional jealouſy on the part of Ireland. Now in the propoſition before them, there were words that he owned ſtruck him as likely to have that effect. From the alteration propoſed by the right honourable gentleman, it was evident they had ſtruck him in the ſame manner, but though he admitted, that it was highly laudable in the right honourable gentleman to endeavour to obviate the objection, yet he muſt contend that the alteration propoſed did not in the ſmalleſt degree remove it; becauſe, if it were allowed, that the declaring that the laws which have been made, or ſhall be made, in Great Britain, for regulating and reſtraining the trade with the Britiſh colonies and plantations, ſhall be in force in Ireland in the ſame manner as in Great Britain, was liable to the interpretation, that it was infringing on the independent right of legiſlating for herſelf, which Ireland poſſeſſed, ſurely it was not leſs ſo, even although the Britiſh laws were to be in force in Ireland, in conſequence of laws to be enacted by the Parliament of the latter kingdom. On the contrary, if Great Britain previouſly bound down Ireland for the future to paſs ſimilar laws reſpecting the trade of the two countries with the Weſt Indies, as Great Britain paſſed, Ireland was in that inſtance abridged of her right of legiſlating for herſelf, and her Parliament became merely the promulgator and regiſter of the edicts of the Britiſh Parliament. His Lordſhip argued this for ſome time, and declared, he was far from ſuſpecting that there had been any deſign in the right honourable gentleman, by the inſertion of this propoſition among the reſt, to play a trick off upon Ireland, and inſidiouſly, as it were, to deprive her of a right, of which

ſhe

ſhe was more proud than of any one privilege ſhe enjoyed; valuing it, as he was perſuaded ſhe did, before all the commercial advantages, to a free participation of which this country had it in her power to admit her. The right honourable gentleman's character ſtood too high not to bear out any ſuch ſuſpicion, and he was very far from meaning to impute it to him: but knowing that ſhe put this degree of eſtimation on the right of legiſlating for herſelf, he thought it his duty to warn the Committee in time of the danger of ſuffering a propoſition to paſs which poſſibly might excite a conſtitutional jealouſy in Ireland, and might ſow the ſeeds of much future diſcontent and diſſatisfaction. He contended, that Mr. Orde ſhould have been inſtructed to have ſubmitted this propoſition to the Parliament of Ireland, previous to the Britiſh Houſe of Commons being called upon to vote it; becauſe, unleſs we were certain, that the Parliament of Ireland were ready to coincide in it, the voting it in that Houſe was not only a ſtep that might, by its future conſequences, turn out to have been unneceſſary to have been taken, but extremely unwiſe and imprudent. His Lordſhip reaſoned upon the peculiar manner in which the propoſition was worded, reminding the Committee, that it was rather extraordinary, that a propoſition, which had not made any part of thoſe ſuggeſted to the Parliament of Ireland, but had been moved even ſubſequent to the firſt day of opening the ſubject to the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, by way of amendment, ſhould be declared eſſential towards carrying into effect the preſent ſettlement. If it were ſo eſſential, it ought undoubtedly to have been ſuggeſted to the Parliament of Ireland, together with the others that had been there ſuggeſted by Mr. Orde, previous to its coming to the Britiſh Houſe of Commons. He dwelt upon this for ſome time, and then ſaid, he ſaw no reaſon whatever for the propoſition making a part of the plan; at any rate, there could not be the ſmalleſt occaſion for inſerting that part of it which, he feared, would give riſe to that conſtitutional jealouſy it was ſo much his wiſh to prevent: he thought it would be enough to make a general declaration, that it was highly important to the intereſts of the Britiſh empire, that the laws for regulating trade and navigation ſhould be the ſame in Great Britain and Ireland; and leave it to the prudence of the two countries to act upon that declaration. By way of impreſſing the Committee with an idea that this might be done with perfect ſafety, he urged the general

readineſs of the Parliament of Ireland to paſs laws for commercial regulations, ſimilar to thoſe paſſed by the Parliament of Great Britain. Having dwelt on this for a conſiderable time, he went ſummarily through a recapitulation of the various arguments he had uſed, and adding ſome farther obſervations, he concluded with ſubmitting to the Committee an amendment, which, he ſaid, appeared to him likely to remove the objections to which the propoſition appeared to be liable in its preſent form; his Lordſhip's amendment was to leave out the words from "Ireland," to the words "and "that proper meaſures ſhould be taken," &c. &c.

Mr. Dempſter.

Mr. *Dempſter* differed in opinion from the noble Lord, and could not help thinking but that his noble friend's objection was ſolely owing to his not having properly conſidered the nature of the compact or treaty then under conſideration. He ſaid, he admired the treaty altogether, and conſidered it as one of the wiſeſt and moſt prudent meaſures that ever was agitated but ſurely the propoſition objected to by the noble Lord, was by no means liable to the objections that the noble Lord had made to it. Did the noble Lord recollect, that it was to be regarded exactly as a treaty between two foreign powers; for it was a treaty between two independent Parliaments, who would exiſt after the treaty was concluded, and therefore it was not like the Union with Scotland, by which the Parliament of Scotland was aboliſhed. In caſe any part of the operation of the plan of Union had proved inconvenient and oppreſſive, there was no party exiſting to treat for Scotland. Suppoſing, on the other hand, for inſtance, that the treaty now negociating between Great Britain and Ireland, ſhould turn out as prejudicial and as ruinous, as he in his conſcience believed it would prove the reverſe, the parties who made it being ſtill in exiſtence, would have it in their power to undo any part of it that, upon experiment, had been found to fail, and to new arrange it in a manner leſs injurious and more juſt. Mr. Dempſter was loud in praiſe of the plan of connection now in negociation, and deſired gentlemen to look at the ſad reverſe of the picture that would preſent itſelf, in caſe the preſent propoſitions were not agreed to. Let gentlemen ſuppoſe Ireland provoked to the extinction of Britiſh manufactures by means of high protecting duties; let gentlemen ſuppoſe her neutral in a time of war; let them ſuppoſe a French fleet lying and victualling in Cork harbour, upon the look out, ready to ſeize upon our ſhips as ſoon as they came

out

out of our ports; let them ſuppoſe the Iriſh forced to ſeek new markets for their produce and manufactures, and coming back from the Continent freighted with contraband goods, which they could bring home with a view to run them into our ports; let gentlemen ſuppoſe them in a ſtill more hoſtile ſtate, and the idea would be melancholy and miſerable in the extreme. Mr. Dempſter enlarged on theſe ſuppoſitions, and urged the Committee, as they regarded the welfare of the empire, by no means to ſet their faces againſt the propoſitions, the not paſſing of which could not, he ſaid, but be attended with the moſt diſagreeable conſequences.

Mr. *Powys* declared, he had not ſaid any thing upon the general queſtion of the propoſitions, but there was one thing which he wiſhed to be aſcertained in, and ſhould be glad of an anſwer —In what ſituation would the ſeamen of Ireland ſtand in time of war? Becauſe, if they were to all intents and purpoſes the ſame as the ſeamen of Great Britain, the queſtion then became conſiderably narrowed it was no longer a queſtion of navigation, but remained merely a queſtion of finance and a queſtion of commerce. With regard to what had fallen from an honourable gentleman on the ſame bench with him, it was impoſſible for him to agree with him in that part of his argument in which, comparing the intended compact with Ireland to a treaty between foreign powers, he had talked of its being a perpetual and permanent treaty, and yet had advanced, that if it was proved to bear hard upon either of the contracting powers, it could be put an end to, and new made. This was, Mr. Powys ſaid, not merely directly the reverſe of what he underſtood to be the nature of the treaty in queſtion, but a contradiction in terms; for how could that be ſaid to be a perpetual and permanent treaty, that was liable to be broken off at the will of either of the parties? Mr. Powys ſaid, he underſtood that it was to be a permanent treaty, and to continue in force for ever. With regard to the queſtion relative to the ſeamen, that he ſhould wiſh to have anſwered, if it were worth the while of the right honourable gentleman to take any notice of a queſtion coming from what was the mere trumpery of the Houſe. Mr Powys

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* immediately roſe, and ſaid, that there was no need of putting ſuch a queſtion to him in ſo pointed a manner, as he ſhould always be ready to anſwer whatever might be demanded of him of that nature, upon the ſlighteſt intimation from any gentleman of a deſire to hear his opi- Mr. Chancellor Pitt

nion. With regard to the queſtion which the honourable gentleman had put relative to the ſituation in which the Iriſh ſeamen were to ſtand after the final concluſion of the preſent depending arrangement, he ſaid, there was no great difficulty in anſwering it. The ſituation of the Iriſh ſeamen with reſpect to this country was to be preciſely the ſame as it was at the preſent moment; for the ſame claims which the King of Great Britain had by the laws of Britain to the ſervices of the Britiſh ſeamen, he would alſo have in his capacity of King of Ireland, by the laws of Ireland, to the ſervices of the ſeamen of that country. Thus the general welfare of the two kingdoms being one and the ſame thing, ſo the principal defence of each, thoſe perſons who ſerved in our navy would be properly under the very ſame head and authority, namely, the King of Great Britain and Ireland. This was the conſtitutional ſituation in which they now were, and would continue to remain under the new arrangement, without any change whatever, but, in another point of view, they would undergo a very eſſential change, becauſe, by becoming more cloſely connected with the intereſts of Great Britain, they would conſequently be found more zealous to promote and ſupport them. There was another ſubject which, though it had already been ſpoken to by an honourable gentleman under the gallery (Mr. Dempſter) in a manner which, from the ſtrength of reaſoning, and the forcible delivery with which it was accompanied, he was certain muſt have made a deep impreſſion on the Committee, it was neceſſary for him to ſay a few words on. This was an anſwer to ſomething that fell from the noble Lord who moved the amendment, which he thought of ſo very extraordinary a nature, as to call loudly for a complete refutation. If he could have thought it poſſible that the propoſition now before the Committee could, by any conſtruction, be made inſtrumental to the deſign towards which it was endeavoured to apply it, the creating an alarm in Ireland, as if a re-aſſumption of the legiſlative authority of Great Britain over that kingdom were in contemplation, he ſhould rather abandon and relinquiſh the whole of his plan, than riſque the dangers which muſt ariſe from ſuch a miſconception. But he would truſt to the good ſenſe of the people of Ireland, that they would by no means ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed upon by ſuch inſinuations, but ſee the propoſition in its true light, that of the only poſſible means by which the connection ſought for between the two kingdoms could effectually and with

with prudence be eſtabliſhed. To communicate to Ireland our trade to our own Colonies neceſſarily implied, that Ireland was to put that trade under ſuch regulations as Great Britain had found neceſſary towards rendering that trade beneficial to herſelf; and it was but common ſenſe and common juſtice that Ireland, in being admitted to a participation of that over which Great Britain had an indiſputable dominion, (her colonial trade) ſhould at leaſt bind herſelf not to exerciſe the newly-acquired right in a manner which the Parliament of Great Britain having judged injurious to her intereſts, and incompatible with ſound policy, had of courſe prohibited to her own ſubjects. He put the caſe of two totally diſtinct and unconnected ſtates, one of which ſhould receive from the other a particular privilege or advantage, in the enjoyment of which it was under a ſtipulation to accommodate itſelf to ſuch limitations and regulations as the prudence of the conceding ſtate ſhould from time to time deem neceſſary. Would this, he aſked, be a relinquiſhment of its independence? If ſo, there was ſcarcely a nation in Europe which had not at one time or other relinquiſhed it, for there was none that had not on ſome occaſion ſubmitted the enjoyment of advantages derived from the conceſſion of other ſtates to the control of that ſtate from which they were derived. No! this was not a ſurrender of independence, nor any ſacrifice of legiſlative ſupremacy, but merely an engagement to exerciſe the legiſlative power in a particular manner, and that for certain advantages, for the acquiſition of which the engagement was entered into. He argued on the abſurdity of ſuppoſing that there could on any occaſion in Ireland be a queſtion as to the adopting a law of Great Britain on the ſubject of the navigation and commerce with the Colonies; for as no law could ever be ſuppoſed to be paſſed in England except for the advantage of England, ſo the adoption of the ſame law in Ireland muſt have the ſame effect there. He ſhould not, he ſaid, after all that he had already offered to the Houſe on the ſeveral preceding debates, enter more particularly into the general buſineſs of the arrangement, but as he had a full and perfect confidence in the good underſtanding of the people of Ireland, that they would not be perſuaded to receive ſo abſurd and ſo ill-founded an alarm, ſo he would truſt to the cool reflection and more ſober judgement of the noble Lord, that he would deſiſt from any endeavours to ſpread it.

Mr.

Sheri- Mr. *Sheridan* roſe next, and contended that it was fair to argue, that the propoſition was a direct attempt to legiſlate for Ireland, and not the leſs ſo in conſequence of the amendment. It was therefore, he ſaid, inſidious in the laſt degree for Mr. Orde not to have ſtated it to the Iriſh Parliament, to whom the buſineſs had been opened in a very different manner. Mr. Sheridan declared that the voting reſolutions to bind Ireland down to paſs ſuch and ſuch laws, without enabling her to go even into a Committee with the bills, was crippling that right of legiſlation which ſhe had claimed and we had admitted, and leaving her the mere ſhadow of independence, as a ſovereign ſtate, inſtead of the ſubſtance. He therefore contended that it was probable in the higheſt degree that the reſolution under conſideration would cauſe great alarm, and excite much conſtitutional jealouſy in Ireland.

Dun- Mr. *Dundas* ſaid, he had gone ſtraight forward all through the buſineſs, and in that line he was determined to perſevere, judging for himſelf upon a full examination of the ſubject matter of the ſyſtem, and giving all the facts that had been adduced, and all the arguments that had been urged, juſt ſo much weight and authority as he was of opinion belonged to them, and no more. Thus had he been undiſmayed by the clamour of the manufacturers, their fears, and their exaggerations, while they were at the bar; and in like manner did he now feel equally undaunted at the alarms and jealouſies which the honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt, and his friends, had endeavoured, by their inflammatory ſpeeches, to excite in Ireland, being perfectly perſuaded that the people of Ireland, and eſpecially its Parliament, had ſome underſtanding, and that they gave that Houſe and the Government credit for a moderate ſhare of underſtanding likewiſe. There was not, he dared to ſay, one man to be found in Ireland ſo completely wrong headed as to ſee the reſolution then under conſideration in the point of view in which the right honourable gentleman had ſo artfully laboured to place it; for, in plain ſenſe, what was its meaning but this? The ſyſtem, of which it was a part, gave Ireland a full and equal participation of our commerce and our navigation trade, and the reſolution ſaid, take our commercial regulations, and our navigation laws, with that commerce and that navigation trade, be upon the ſame footing with us, ſhare the ſame advantages, ſubmit to the ſame regulations! Mr. Dundas took notice of Mr. Powys's addreſs to him about the word trumpery.

trumpery. He did aſſure the honourable gentleman he had not applied that phraſe to him: he had talked of generals and ſerjeants and corporals, and he knew not what; but he was aſtoniſhed the honourable gentleman ſhould have taken the phraſe to himſelf, or have thought that he could have regarded him in any ſubordinate rank, or as any thing leſs than a general. He admitted him to be ſuch: he had ſeen him head armies of obſervation, and even as an admiral of a fleet ſailing under a neutral flag. In all the different manœuvres of political tactics he knew him to be perfectly ſkilful. And what ſtill more aſtoniſhed him, that the honourable gentleman ſhould think he meant him at the time, was, that he was talking of perfect conſiſtency at the moment that he let drop the ſilly expreſſion.

Mr *Eden* ſaid, that he felt himſelf obliged to oppoſe an amendment moved by thoſe with whom he generally agreed, upon a principle adopted by thoſe with whom he generally diſagreed. It had been well ſtated by the right honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt, that if the two kingdoms were to have one trade and one navigation, they muſt alſo have one law, for the purpoſe of preſerving this union of commercial intereſts, otherwiſe it was eaſy to foreſee that it would ſpeedily ceaſe. If then the laws muſt hereafter be the ſame in the two kingdoms reſpecting thoſe extenſive objects, it would be an abſurdity to ſuppoſe that the framing of thoſe laws could be left to both: it muſt neceſſarily be given to one, and the only queſtion was under this ſtatement, as to which ſhould have the preference. Admitting theſe premiſes, which the majority of the Houſe was clearly diſpoſed to admit, it was unmanly to attempt to palliate or conceal the concluſion. Undoubtedly, if Ireland ſhould decide to accept the eſſential conditions of the treaty now brought forward, ſhe muſt wave the independence of her Legiſlature on the points deſcribed in the reſolution, and muſt fairly reſolve and agree to re-enact and regiſter the laws relative to trade, navigation, and plantations, hereafter to be enacted in Great Britain. Nay more: ſhe muſt conſent to be named in thoſe laws, and to be bound by them ſpecifically; for it was mere nonſenſe to ſuppoſe that the intended compact could otherwiſe be carried into execution: and he would venture to aſſert, that if the people of Ireland ſhould think it expedient to ſuſpend their late enthuſiaſm for a freedom of legiſlation, they would do it in the moſt manly avowal, and would diſdain to fritter away the truth of the caſe by refinements and flattering conſtructions. Mr. Eden.

ſtructions. Undoubtedly the embarraſſment was a conſiderable one, but it had required little exertion to prove it from the firſt opening of the propoſitions. When the preſent treaty with Ireland was firſt announced, it had been natural, on the one hand, to ſuppoſe that a great arrangement, brought forwards without any preſſure of diſtreſs, or any claim of right, would be found evidently advantageous to both the contracting parties, on the other, it was difficult to imagine that there could be any ſafe mode of giving an unreſtrained communication of markets between two kingdoms; one of which was obliged to raiſe taxes to the amount of near 50,000 l. a day, and the other hardly to the amount of a twentieth part of that ſum It was evident that ſuch an undertaking would be ſo dangerous to the commerce of the taxed country, that it would ultimately lead to demands dangerous to the free conſtitution of the other kingdom, and, whether carried into effect or not, prove a ſource of permanent uneaſineſs and perpetual diſcuſſions to both kingdoms All the tranſactions of the laſt three months had confirmed this reaſoning, every day exhibited new dangers and new difficulties in the completion of the propoſed ſyſtem; and at length it now appeared ſo radically changed from its original form, that no man poſſeſſing either common ſenſe or one honeſt ſentiment would attempt to ſay, that both the original and the preſent plan, either of negociation or final arrangement, were defenſible, one of them, at leaſt, muſt be wrong And thoſe who, like himſelf, had utterly reprobated the original plan, could not at leaſt be accuſed either of levity or of worſe motives, for the framers and ſupporters of the preſent plan had joined alſo in deſerting it.

As to the preſent propoſition, he had four amendments to propoſe: the firſt would include "all laws concerning ſea-"men" He concurred with a reſpectable member (Mr. Powys) in thinking ſuch a proviſion important, for, without it, Ireland would have it in her power to poſſeſs herſelf of our ſhipping and ſailors by the gradual tranſfer of our trade to Iriſh ports, and Great Britain would, in the opening of future wars, ſee Ireland in poſſeſſion of a large proportion of her ſeamen, and the land of refuge for the remainder. Mr. Eden ſtated, that the words of this amendment were taken from Mr. Yelverton's bill.

His ſecond amendment was to confine the laws required to be re-enacted by Ireland, "to be ſuch only as impoſe the "ſame reſtraints, and confer the ſame benefits on the ſubjects of the two kingdoms."

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He next would ſay, that the laws thus to be adopted by Ireland ſhould be for the ſame duration only as in England.

And laſtly, he would move to omit the two laſt lines of the propoſition, as being at leaſt unneceſſary, if not exceptionable

In the courſe of his ſpeech, Mr Eden took notice of the menaces which had occaſionally been intimated, of the poſſible miſchiefs which might reſult in caſe Ireland ſhould be diſappointed in the preſent treaty. He ſaid, that ſuch diſappointment, if it took place, would properly be placed by Ireland to the charge of thoſe who had engaged her in the recognition without due foreſight, but as to the intimidation, he would neither affront Ireland ſo much as to ſuppoſe her capable of abſurd reſentment, or debaſe the conſtitution of the two kingdoms ſo much as to admit that it was poſſible to carry an abſurd treatment into effect. Gentlemen talked as if the Iriſh Legiſlature conſiſted of two branches only: they would do well to remember, that the Roval Aſſent was alſo neceſſary to the paſſing of Iriſh laws, and that if it were poſſible for that prerogative to be exerciſed to the manifeſt detriment of this kingdom, the Miniſters who adviſed it would be reſponſible with their heads, but he again repeated, that the whole ſuppoſition was inſulting to the Iriſh, who were a liberal, honourable, and enlightened people.

Lord *Mulgrave* ſaid, that not having before troubled the Houſe with his ſentiments on the ſubject of the Iriſh arrangement, he would chuſe the preſent diviſion of it as beſt adapted to that particular mode in which he wiſhed to argue it. That many commercial and political advantages would reſult from the cloſe connection thus to be eſtabliſhed between the two countries, was a truth that he thought had been ſufficiently elucidated in every debate on the ſubject he would, therefore, conſider it profeſſionally, and in that point of view he could not but feel an uncommon degree of ſatisfaction at the proſpect of ſeeing that deſert which now ſeparated the two kingdoms, whoſe ſolitary and uncomfortable expanſe was only exhilarated with here and there a ſtraggling packet or linen veſſel, become crowded with the ſhipping of the two countries, not only facilitating a mutual interchange of their ſeveral commodities, but alſo promoting an union of intereſts, of affections, and of habits, between the ſeveral inhabitants The Iriſh Channel would thus become a moſt valuable nurſery for ſeamen, and the eaſtern coaſt of Ireland, with the weſtern coaſt of Great Britain, would ſhortly afford an equal ſupply of hands for the navy of the empire, as the

Lord Mulgrave.

eaſtern coaſt of this kingdom did already. The acceſſion of Ireland riſing in commerce and in population, in conſequence of the new ſyſtem, would be an acceſſion of one third of the power and importance of the empire; but alienate her intereſts from thoſe of England, and one half, at leaſt, of our ſtrength would be loſt. He declared that he had but one objection to the reſolution before them, which was in the word "equal;" this, he ſaid, he wiſhed was changed into the words "the ſame," becauſe the latter could be liable to no diſpute or uncertainty, and the former might beſides, he thought the word equal pregnant with more cavil and diſunion than the word effectual, which had filled the noble Lord in the blue ribband with ſuch ſevere apprehenſions He laughed at the idea of any pretended delicacy of mentioning the name of Ireland in ſuch acts of the Britiſh Legiſlature as were clearly of the nature of treaties between diſtinct powers, and he ſtated very ſtrongly that Great Britain was juſt as much pledged to Ireland by theſe reſolutions as Ireland was to Great Britain

Ld. North Lord *North* repeated his argument, that the propoſitions were all the better for the amendment, but that, nevertheleſs, amended as they were, they were not ſuch as in his ſober judgement he could approve That the preſent reſolutions were legiſlating for Ireland, there could be no doubt, whether Ireland would or would not conſider it as an inſidious attempt to reclaim and recover a right granted to her by the repeal of the 6th of George I was a matter that would depend upon circumſtances His Lordſhip entered into an inveſtigation of the queſtion, whether Mr. Orde had been to blame or not, for not making the preſent reſolution known to the Parliament of Ireland He ſaid, if Mr Orde was aware that ſuch a reſolution was to be propoſed to the Britiſh Parliament, undoubtedly he ought to have ſtated it, becauſe it was an eſſential ingredient in the ſyſtem, but if, on the other hand, it was an amendment that had been ſuggeſted to the right honourable gentleman ſince the propoſitions had been before that Houſe, no matter by whom ſuggeſted, it certainly was not to be imputed to Mr Orde as any circumſtance upon which blame to him ought to attach His Lordſhip, in a reply to a declaration of Mr Dundas, that Mr. Orde had ſufficiently done his duty in ſtating the outline of the propoſitions to the Iriſh Parliament, and that the minute detail of the particulars was properly reſerved for the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, made great ironical uſe of the term "minute" There were a great many minute particulars

lars which it was not requiſite to communicate originally to the Iriſh Parliament. The trade to the Eaſt Indies was a minute particular from which, though the Iriſh were to be excluded, it was not neceſſary to communicate to them A noble Lord (Lord Mulgrave) had gravely told the Committee, that "equal" and "the ſame" were diſtinct terms. He thought this a ſtrange declaration, eſpecially from a mathematician The noble Lord concluded with ſaying, that he ſhould vote for the propoſition.

Mr *Jenkinſon* maintained that the condition now required did not lay any new impoſition on the Iriſh Legiſlature, by which their independence was either violated or abridged. It was no more than a condition which one independent nation thought it neceſſary to ſtipulate for from another, in a bargain which was to be mutually beneficial Such conditions were frequently required in negociations between rival nations, in defenſive and offenſive as well as in commercial treaties Mr. Yelverton's act pointed out the words which he thought ſhould be uſed in this reſolution, and he did not feel any difficulty in his own mind upon the queſtion that this condition would in any degree trench upon Mr. Yelverton's act. Mr Jenkinſon

Mr. *Samuel Thornton* ſaid, that the reſolution was very proper and neceſſary as a guard to our navigation laws, and ſuch as he thought would by no means alarm the Iriſh nation. They would ſee the propriety and neceſſity of the condition; and in the mean time it would quiet the ſuſpicions of gentlemen in this country. He believed that the Iriſh reſolutions were popular among the merchants of this country, and that they were not alarmed at the dangers which were ſtudiouſly pointed out as the conſequences of the new ſyſtem. Mr Sam. Thornton.

Mr. *Fox* began by obſerving, that when the Iriſh propoſitions (as they had been termed) were firſt laid before the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, the Miniſter declared that the conſequence muſt certainly be that all the complaints of Ireland would be completely ſettled, not only upon fair but upon advantageous terms to Great Britain. That although a participation of our commerce would be granted to Ireland, yet, ſuch was the deliberate wiſdom with which the propoſitions had been framed, that although very great advantages were promiſed to Ireland, we, in fact, ſhould be adding very conſiderably to our own. Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox declared, that as a friend to Ireland, no man had it more at heart than he had to grant every advantage to that country conſiſtent with the ſafety and welfare of his own. That he was perfectly of opinion, the proſperity of Ireland was the proſperity of Great Britain and, on the other hand, he was alſo of opinion, that the proſperity of Great Britain undoubtedly muſt be the proſperity of Ireland

To promote the welfare of Ireland, and to ſee that perfect cordiality and mutual confidence firmly eſtabliſhed, which is ſo eſſential to the proſperity and happineſs of both countries, no man could entertain a ſincerer wiſh, or ſhould exert himſelf with greater zeal than he was ready to do, in order to accompliſh a purpoſe ſo neceſſary for the good of both countries

Mr. Fox declared, that he ſhould ever conſider it to be his duty, as a member of the Britiſh Parliament, not only to view the propoſitions as they may affect the intereſts of his own country, but alſo to ſee in what way they will operate in Ireland; for he conſidered, that if they ſhould tend to injure the intereſts of either country, the purpoſe for which they are intended muſt be equally and certainly defeated

That ſome meaſures were abſolutely neceſſary to eſtabliſh content and mutual friendſhip between Great Britain and Ireland no man could doubt But how little the propoſitions that had been laid before Parliament were adapted to produce ſuch a happy conſequence, every day's examination had more and more confirmed.

That this was the fact with regard to the propoſitions in general, no one could doubt who had given them the leaſt attention; but if there was one propoſition more pregnant with objections, and againſt which both countries had greater reaſon to complain, it was certainly this fourth propoſition now under conſideration of the Committee. This very propoſition would certainly be found to contain matter ſo injurious to both countries, that inſtead of producing any thing like ſalutary conſequences, it muſt, of itſelf, prove the cauſe of endleſs jealouſies, ill blood, and animoſities between the two countries

Mr Fox then adverted to the inſidious conduct of Miniſtry, and what had fallen from his honourable friend behind him (Mr. Sheridan) reſpecting this very propoſition not having been laid before the Iriſh Parliament with the reſt. Mr Fox was certainly of opinion, that no power of language could do away the charge of inſidiouſneſs made by his honourable

nourable friend, when the direct attack againſt the legiſlative independence of Ireland came to be juſtly viewed.

Mr. Fox called upon the recollection of the Committee, by remmding them, that when the original propoſitions were laid before the Houſe, the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) peremptorily declared that they muſt paſs then—that they could not be altered—but that ſuch as they were they muſt ſtand or fall together.

When the Miniſter made this declaration, it muſt alſo be freſh in the memory of every gentleman preſent, with what indecent hurry it had been attempted to carry thoſe propoſitions through the Houſe; as well as with what extreme difficulty he (Mr. Fox) had been able to prevent the Miniſter from ſucceeding in that attempt.

Had the Miniſter been ſucceſsful in carrying the original propoſitions, it is now very well known that ſome of the eſſential intereſts of this country muſt have been ſacrificed, among which, the Eaſt-India Company's charter certainly could not be ranked as the leaſt. Theſe facts plainly proved, how neceſſary it was to take ſufficient time, to weigh well the different effects the propoſitions were likely to produce: ſeveral alterations, called amendments, had already been adopted, which at firſt appeared to leſſen the evils the propoſition contained, but they certainly were not adequate to remove thoſe ſolid objections that ſtill remained againſt them in general, and this fourth propoſition in particular, and without removing which, the worſt and moſt unhappy conſequences muſt neceſſarily follow

Mr Fox declared, that aware, as he undoubtedly was, of the imbecility of the councils by which the Iriſh propoſitions had been framed, and doubtful, as he muſt certainly be, of the wiſdom or even fairneſs of any negociation carried on by the preſent Miniſtry, he owned however, that his apprehenſions had been principally rouſed by that hurry with which the Miniſter attempted to drive the original propoſitions through the Houſe of Commons, and the difficulty with which he had been able to get the opportunity that had been acquired to conſider them with ſome attention.

Added to this, he could not forget, how every ſpecies of obſtruction had been adopted, to prevent information from the different manufacturers from being brought to the bar of the Houſe of Commons, from whom, information of the moſt valuable kind ought to have been looked for in the preſent buſineſs Nor could he forget the duplicity with which ſome of theſe men had been treated by Miniſtry · it

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was the characteriſtic of men who mean to deal fairly, to admit every information; men of a different deſcription do every thing in their power to prevent it. That this has been the conduct of the preſent Miniſtry is ſufficiently eſtabliſhed by every part of their conduct relative to this negociation and yet, ſuch was the confuſed texture of this buſineſs, that what with the ignorance, duplicity, and hurry, which had appeared, it was difficult to ſay which were moſt conſpicuous, but taken altogether, it was highly neceſſary to watch, with the keeneſt attention, the conduct of the Miniſtry.

By the original propoſitions, that Miniſtry had attempted to haſten through the Houſe of Commons, it was now very well known, that they would have given up the power of the Britiſh Parliament, to renew the Eaſt-India Company's charter.

To what motive are we to impute this circumſtance in the propoſitions? Is it to be looked upon as an effect of the Miniſter's ignorance? Or, is it a concealed and ſecret ſacrifice intended to be made of one of the principal branches of the revenue of Great Britain?

If we are to attribute this ſacrifice merely to that ſtupidity which ſo eminently diſplays itſelf throughout the whole conduct of Miniſtry, he ſaid he ſhould be glad to know, what reliance could be placed on any of their meaſures? Were men, capable of ſuch neglect worthy to be entruſted with the concerns of a great commercial nation? If, on the other hand, we were to imagine, that Miniſtry were aware of giving up the power of the Britiſh Parliament to renew the Eaſt-India Company's charter, what muſt the Public think of their fidelity to that Company, upon whoſe ſhoulders they had raiſed themſelves to their preſent ſtation! In either way, Mr. Fox obſerved, the conſequence muſt prove equally fatal to every thing like confidence in the preſent Miniſtry.

But what rendered the conduct of Miniſtry moſt atrocious in the propoſitions that had been attempted to be paſſed, was, that theſe very propoſitions, which ultimately went to the annihilation of the Eaſt-India Company, as a Company, altogether, were introduced by that very man who owed his popularity to the pretence of vindicating their charter, which all the world knew had been abuſed! Whoſe abuſes had been recognized by Parliament, abuſes that never had been denied, nor attempted to be denied! Yet, we have ſeen that very man, who was the pretended friend of the Eaſt-India Company's charter, merely becauſe it was a charter, introducing pro-

propoſitions as a Miniſter, by which, not only the charter itſelf, but by which the very annihilation of the Company, as a Company, muſt have been the conſequence! The Public in general, and that Company in particular, are now ſenſible or ſoon muſt be ſenſible, who are the real friends to the real intereſts of the Eaſt-India Company

Mr Fox begged leave to obſerve, that every ſpecies of miſrepreſentation had been made uſe of, to miſlead the minds of the Public relative to the bill he had the honour to introduce for the better regulation of the Eaſt-India Company's affairs. Theſe miſrepreſentations had been but too ſucceſsful at the moment, but he felt that confidence which fills the mind of every man who is conſcious of having acted upon juſt principles for the good of the empire, that time would open the eyes of the Public, and ſhew them who were the real friends to the true intereſts and proſperity of the country in general, and that Company in particular.

Mr. Fox declared in very animated language, that no man was a firmer friend to perſonal liberty, or held the ſecurity of perſonal property more ſacred than himſelf. That no meaſure of his, ever had, or ever ſhould contain an infringement of either; and, although ſuch an idea had been maliciouſly interwoven with his Eaſt-India bill, yet, that ſuch an idea was falſe and groundleſs, he boldly maintained, and defied any man to prove that there was any founadtion for it

The charter by which the Eaſt-India Company held the monopoly of that trade, was like all other charters, it was a charter granted upon certain conditions, to a certain number of men, for the better conducting a plan for their advantage no doubt, but not merely and entirely for their advantage, but for that of the community at large

The Eaſt-India Company's charter was therefore a truſt, which ſo long as the conditions were fulfilled, and not injurious to the public, ought not to be interrupted or moleſted. But, when that truſt had been abuſed, would any friend to the preſent government pretend to ſay, that it was not the duty of Parliament to interfere? Or that by a violation of the conditions on their part, they did not themſelves forfeit their charter?

The Eaſt India Company's charter is preciſely a truſt, not an irrevocable grant and the conditions upon which Parliament can grant ſuch a charter muſt be conſiſtent with the good of the empire, without which Parliament could not grant a monopoly to any ſet of men whatever; nor could

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Parliament, conſiſtently with its duty to the Public, permit any charter to be continued whoſe conditions had been violated, or become injurious to the public good.

The abuſes of the Eaſt-India Company's truſt, it was well known, had been recogniſed by Parliament, and in this Houſe by a very large majority. Their miſconduct had not only diſgraced this country abroad, but threatened bankruptcy and ruin to their trade at home: and ſuch had been the conſequences, that Parliament had not only been obliged to forego ſome of its claims on the Company, but to adminiſter conſiderable aſſiſtance to ſave it from deſtruction.

To preſerve that trade, which he well knew was eſſential to the Britiſh revenue, he introduced his bill, and Mr Fox obſerved, that in the hour when popular prejudice was at its height, he had always ſtood forward with this declaration That he was ever ready to avow that bill, and he was ſure that time would ſhew its neceſſity, though perhaps too late to effect thoſe ſalutary conſequences, ſo greatly wanted to give ſtability and proſperity to the Eaſt-India Company's affairs.

Mr. Fox obſerved, that his bill was founded on the neceſſity of a regulation of the Eaſt-India Company's charter; not to remove the property or to affect it, but to give it that permanency and ſupport which its tendency to diſſolution avowedly ſtood in need of. But what was the conduct of the right honourable gentleman on that buſineſs? Why, although it was proved on all hands, that the charter had been abuſed, and that the conditions upon which it had been granted had been violated, yet he oppoſed the bill and defended the charter merely becauſe it was a charter.

To ſee groundleſs apprehenſions, excited by men whoſe underſtandings it is impoſſible to reſpect, is not impoſſible. That the right right honourable gentleman was ſucceſsful in exciting thoſe groundleſs apprehenſions is well known; and now let us ſee upon what degree of conſiſtency, and what degree of ſincerity his friendſhip to the Eaſt-India Company is really founded; why, the proofs of them are to be found, and will run for ever againſt him in theſe very propoſitions The firſt negociation he was engaged in as a Miniſter, he made their charter and their exiſtence, as a Company, a ſacrifice, an unneceſſary, an unſolicited, wanton, or careleſs, or treacherous ſacrifice to Ireland. He (Mr. Fox) for one, would never conſent to make a ſurrender of the Eaſt-India Company's charter, and zealous as he undoubtedly was to ſee the proſperity of Ireland, yet he never could conſent to

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place this country in ſo humiliating a ſituation, that it ſhould be obliged to ſolicit the conſent of the Iriſh Parliament for leave to grant a renewal of the Eaſt-India Company's charter. Upon that trade Great Britain depended for a conſiderable revenue, and this the Miniſter ought to have remembered. Was it to be imagined that Ireland would have returned ſo immenſe an advantage, or, that the Iriſh Parliament would have been juſtified in giving it up again, although they had obtained it unſolicited, through the ignorance, or ſome worſe motive, of our Miniſtry, and it ſhould even have appeared without their intention? Undoubtedly it would have been abſurd to expect any ſuch thing. Once gone, there was an end of it for ever.

Of the propoſitions now before Parliament, the fact had turned out, that the more they were conſidered, the more he found them liable to ſerious and inſuperable objections. The Miniſtry, notwithſtanding their boaſted determination of carrying them in their original form, had been obliged to give it up, and thence had proved to all the world, that they could not vindicate them, and that they themſelves now conſidered them as originally inadequate, that they had ſtood upon ground which they found not tenable, and therefore, to make them leſs exceptionable, certain additions and amendments had been adopted.

But could any gentleman take upon him to ſay, that the amendments were ſufficient to remove the evils contained in the propoſitions? certainly not. and it was his opinion, that it would be infinitely better to the peace and harmony of the two countries that no treaty at all ſhould take place, than that the propoſitions now before the Committee ſhould. For unleſs ſuch a plan was deviſed, as ſhould effectually remove the grounds of uneaſineſs, without being materially detrimental to either country, it were better, doubtleſs, that no plan at all ſhould be put into execution.

Mr. Fox then ſaid, that the propoſitions were to be conſidered as a treaty between two independent powers for the mutual advantage of both. It was a bargain going on between them to this purpoſe, "I will give you ſo much for "ſo much."

In the conſtruction of all fair bargains, ſays he, it is ever underſtood that both parties are to be benefited; that neither is to be wronged, that neither is to be injured

But this fourth propoſition poſſeſſes the moſt extraordinary qualities that ever marked a negociation: it promiſes ſo much

to Ireland, that it threatens the exiſtence of many of our moſt valuable manufactories; it alſo demands a ſurrender from Ireland of her legiſlative independence.

To grant Ireland advantages detrimental to the immediate ſupport of the Britiſh empire, can never be required by Ireland, and ought not to be given by us. To grant Ireland advantages and require a price ſhe cannot accede to without relinquiſhing her legiſlative independence, would be an inſult to her underſtanding to expect. Yet ſuch is the abſolute tendency of this fourth propoſition, and ſuch the conſequences that muſt take place if it be carried .

The complaints of Ireland undoubtedly merited every attention, and might, if not removed by wiſe and ſalutary meaſures, prove the cauſe of ſerious conſequences But did any one imagine that her complaints were to be relieved by advantages ariſing from a participation of our trade, when ſhe, on the other hand, was to be obliged to relinquiſh the independence of her Parliament? Would not that reſumption of the legiſlative power of the Britiſh Parliament over that of Ireland, be a means to defeat every advantage to be expected from a participation of our trade? Undoubtedly it would: and in this caſe, Ireland makes an abſolute and certain ſurrender of what is her chief pride, I mean the independence of her Parliament, for a participation, the advantages of which Great Britain can always defeat by her reſumed power over the Parliament of Ireland

That the uneaſineſs of Ireland is worthy of the greateſt exertions of our abilities, and requires immediate attention, muſt be admitted but when the effects of this propoſition ſhall take place on the manufacturers of this country who have applied by petition, are we to image that the complaints of the people of England will be leſs formidable, when they ſhall find their intereſts ſacrificed? Does any man pretend to ſay, that a commotion in England would be leſs alarming than diſcontent in Ireland?

The neceſſity of purſuing this buſineſs with the utmoſt circumſpection, the neceſſity of acting upon deliberation, ariſes from this circumſtance, that the propoſitions, when acceded to by Ireland, would and muſt be final.

An honourable gentleman behind me (Mr. Dempſter) imagines it is neceſſary that theſe propoſitions ſhould be tried, becauſe ſomething was neceſſary to be done, and is clearly in an error reſpecting the nature of the preſent negociation. He conſiders it as differing from the treaty with Scotland (which forms the union) as that cannot be altered, becauſe,

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ſays he, one of the parties who framed it is no more, meaning the Scottiſh Parliament. He imagines that the preſent propoſitions can be altered, becauſe both the Parliaments who agreed to them will ſtill remain

In this Mr. Fox begged leave to obſerve, the honourable gentleman had totally miſunderſtood the fact.

The propoſitions, when agreed to by the Britiſh and Iriſh Parliaments, would form a ſolemn treaty, that neither country could afterwards alter or infringe, without a direct violation of good faith. And in this he held the language and idea of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and in this, and in this only, he agreed with him.

However detrimental the propoſitions therefore might hereafter be found to either country, that country could not redreſs herſelf; for ſuch was the nature of the treaty. Did they not therefore demand the moſt deliberate inveſtigation?

The alterations that the propoſitions had already undergone, were ſtanding proofs, that no dependence ought to be placed in the wiſdom of thoſe who originally offered them to Parliament.

After the declaration made by the Miniſter, upon his firſt laying the propoſitions before Parliament, that they muſt ſtand or fall together, his mortification could not be ſmall, to find himſelf forced to ſubmit to alterations, in order to preſerve that majority, from which he had received ſo many proofs of acquieſcence to his meaſures

Supported as he (Mr. Pitt) often had boaſted he was, yet he had certainly been diſappointed in the preſent buſineſs he had not found the preſent Houſe of Commons pliant enough entirely to forget their duty to their country he had been forced to admit amendments; but, whether with a view to benefit this or that country, or only to maintain that ſtation he now filled, the Public muſt be left to judge.

That the Miniſter had ſolemnly declared, he would admit no alteration in the original propoſitions, is a fact. Did he keep his word? No; but by acting as he has done, it is plain his confidence in the ſupport of the preſent Houſe of Commons begins to abate And there is little doubt, but as they recede from the Miniſter's confidence, they will riſe in the good opinion of the Public For perhaps, a more general and better-founded alarm had never ſpread itſelf all over the kingdom than had been excited by the propoſitions.

The People have been very ſlow in their apprehenſions of the preſent Miniſtry. From the preſent Parliament, un-

doubtedly the People had a right to expect the ſtrongeſt exertions, and the moſt unremitting care for the general good. The majority had been ſent to Parliament under the moſt popular approbation, though founded in deluſion, that ever had marked a general election. Yet, of the Miniſtry, the People have ſhewn by the petitions that croud the table, that they have not now that confidence they once had, and that they are more ſeriouſly alarmed for the ſafety of their trade and manufactures, and in a degree that no Miniſter had ever dared to expoſe them to before.

Little, indeed, could the People ſuſpect, that the ſame man who made himſelf popular by a clamorous ſupport of a charter which had been abuſed, would, when in power, have attempted to hurry propoſitions through the Houſe, that entirely gave up for ever the power of renewing that very charter! For no man would pretend to ſay, it would have been doing leſs, if the Miniſter had been able to paſs the original propoſitions.

But with what aſtoniſhment muſt the People behold him engaged in a buſineſs, by which ſo many manufactories muſt be expoſed to ruin that, at one blow, ſwept away the means of exiſtence to thouſands of the manufacturers of Great Britain!

That theſe were facts, the petitions upon the table proved. And petitions from a more numerous, or more reſpectable body of men (however neglected and inſulted by Miniſtry) had never been preſented to this Houſe before.

Much, though an ill-founded reliance, was placed on the amendments that had been made. But were they adequate to remove the evils with which the propoſitions were loaded? No, Had the petitions ceaſed to come in ſince the amendments had been adopted? No. Had Miniſtry been able to get any one ſet of manufacturers in the kingdom to approve of the propoſitions, notwithſtanding the amendments? No.—They had not been able to obtain one paper of approbation to lay upon that table, that groans with the maſs of petitions againſt the propoſitions? Was the conduct of the Miniſtry ſanctioned by any one ſet of men in the kingdom, who had appeared in the buſineſs? No. Is not every man in an alarm who has the leaſt ſenſe of the danger of the propoſitions? Certainly,

That this fourth propoſition contained in it ſubject of ſerious alarm to the manufacturers of Great Britain was fully eſtabliſhed.

But

But let us ſee how Ireland will be affected. will ſhe only be benefited? Is there nothing prejudicial to her intereſts contained in this propoſition? Undoubtedly yes: for it is made a part of it, that ſhe muſt relinquiſh her legiſlative independence, and adopt again in future, laws made by the Britiſh Parliament.

To take a more direct view of this propoſition, it will be found, that where the Miniſtry have not diſplayed their imbecility; they have been inſidious, where they have not been inſidious, they have been treacherous; and by one or other or all theſe, have they been directed in their proſecution of this very propoſition now before us.

My honourable friend behind me, has clearly eſtabliſhed the inſidious conduct of Miniſtry, in their not having laid this propoſition before the Iriſh Parliament with the others; particularly, as by it, Ireland binds herſelf to reſign her legiſlative independence*.

If it ſhould be pretended, that there was no inſidious intention in not carrying this propoſition before that Parliament, it becomes a proof of their imbecility in not having done ſo, becauſe it is deemed eſſential and therefore it proves, that Miniſtry had not been capable of finiſhing and compleating their ſyſtem to lay before Ireland.

If it ſhould be pretended that there is no meaning in the clauſe which binds the Iriſh to adopt the Britiſh acts of Parliament, and that Ireland will not be bound by it, then muſt the whole be treachery to this country.

As a proof of the imbecility of Miniſtry, and how diſtant this negociation is from the eſtimation due to a well-digeſted plan, Mr. Fox obſerved, that very early in this evening's

* On Mr. Taylor, the chairman of the Committee, reading the fourth propoſition, Mr. Sheridan got up and obſerved, that it was not the ſame that had been read the night before

To which Mr Pitt replied, that the alteration obſerved by the honourable gentleman, had been made in conſequence of a geſture he perceived on that ſide of the Houſe when the propoſition was read.

Mr. Sheridan, in his ſpeech on this propoſition, declared, that this propoſition though declared to be the eſſence of the whole ſyſtem, in not having been laid before the Iriſh Parliament with the reſt, and containing a clauſe to reaſſume the legiſlative power of the Britiſh Parliament over that of Ireland, was a conduct inſidious according to all the worſt definitions of the term inſidious.

debate

debate the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had informed us, that one of the alterations, called amendments, in this fourth propoſition was made in conſeqnence of ſome geſtures he perceived on this ſide of the Houſe when the propoſition was read in the Committee the laſt time of meeting.

Can a ſtronger picture be given how little Adminiſtration is able to rely upon their own deliberations, than is conveyed in this declaration of the Miniſter? That nothing permanent or beneficial to either country could be expected from the councils of thoſe who framed the propoſitions, I well knew. But that ſuch a mark ſhould be ſet upon them by the Miniſter as this, that he had adopted an alteration barely upon perceiving a geſture on this ſide of the Houſe, was an acknowledgement how little they could depend on their own judgements beyond what I could have looked for.

What could the people think of the whole ſyſtem, when a geſture is the avowed cauſe, by the Miniſter, of an alteration in one of the Iriſh propoſitions, which is declared eſſential towards carring into effect the preſent ſettlement, and forms one of the moſt important branches of that ſyſtem which is to give content to Ireland, and mutual happineſs to both kingdoms!

This very ſyſtem, which the ſame Miniſter told us muſt ſtand or fall together, we now find, by the ſame Miniſter, is become ſo weak in their own eyes, that a geſture is a ſufficient reaſon to make an alteration in it Such is the conſiſtency and firmneſs of the preſent Adminiſtration

Notwithſtanding this geſticulated alteration, the original evil ſtill remains. But, like every other alteration made in what is in itſelf radically bad, every amendment (as they are called) only ſhews the original deformity of the propoſitions in ſtronger and ſtronger colours.

This fourth propoſition, as it now ſtands, can never be agreed to. The firſt and ſecond part are incompatible, and it is impoſſible that both countries can agree to it.

In the firſt part Ireland is promiſed a participation of our trade. This muſt afford, at firſt ſight, a fruitful proſpect to her. But what are the terms upon which ſhe is to attain this participation? Why, by binding herſelf to adopt ſuch Britiſh acts of Parliament, hereafter to be made, as Great Britain ſhall think fit to ſend there Will Ireland agree to this with her eyes open? And will they not diſcover the ſurrender demanded of them on the firſt peruſal of the propoſition? Undoubtedly they will; for to ſuppoſe they will not, would be eſtimating them a nation of idiots.

However

However detrimental an unlimited participation of our trade may be to our manufacturers, yet the benefit to Ireland muſt be remote. And Ireland, by this propoſition, in ſurrendering their legiſlative independence, gives up a certain good for an uncertain benefit

If a man were to ſet about framing a propoſition that could contain matter moſt objectionable to both countries, he could not frame one more completely ſo than this fourth propoſition.

Becauſe the advantages held out by the firſt part of it are overbalanced by the demand of a ſurrender of the legiſlative power of Ireland. Hereafter Ireland has no power to conſult her own intereſts, but muſt adopt the Britiſh acts of Parliament, and having once agreed to the propoſitions, ſhe from that time has no alternative, but muſt adopt the laws framed here, and ſent to her.

Is it imagined the people of Ireland will not ſee through this farce as a favour? Will not the mind of an Iriſhman revolt now at the idea of keeping up the form of a Parliament, who muſt regiſter thoſe laws which ſhall hereafter be ſent to Ireland? They can have no alternative, nor can they call one of theſe laws into queſtion, or debate even upon their merits: having agreed to accept theſe propoſitions, they will be bound for ever to obey this condition.

An attempt has been made by the oppoſite ſide of the Houſe to aſſert, that whatever the conſequences may be to Ireland, ſhe will have no right to complain, becauſe the propoſitions originated in her own Parliament.

With reſpect to the fourth propoſition, this argument, mean as it certainly is, cannot be applied, as it did not originate in Ireland. But as to laying any ſtreſs upon the propoſitions coming from Ireland officially, it is well known and generally admitted they ſprang originally from the Miniſtry here. Therefore there can be no advantage taken againſt Ireland on account of the propoſitions coming from her Parliament.

To impoſe upon a people under any pretence, but particularly at the ſame moment you are telling them of granting them advantages which they did not poſſeſs before, could only be attempted by the worſt of men, and the moſt profligate of Miniſters.

Even if ſuch a trick could be ſucceſsful, will any man pretend to ſay that an impoſition is the moſt likely way to heal the diſquietude of the people of Ireland? Does any man

pretend

pretend to ſay that a ſyſtem built upon ſuch principles is capable of eſtabliſhing any thing like an harmonious or permanent underſtanding between the two countries? He muſt be a viſionary in politics indeed, who could entertain an idea ſo abſurd.

In order to illuſtrate this poſition, Mr. Fox begged leave to ſuppoſe a caſe, that we were carrying on a negociation with any foreign power that were friendly towards us, and ſuppoſe that the Miniſter of this country induced that power to prefer ſuch and ſuch propoſals to our Parliament. When they found that they had been trepanned into an impoſition, is it to be imagined they would abide by it, merely becauſe they had been ſeduced by our Miniſtry to be the propoſers of it? Undoubtedly they would not. and indeed, ſo far from thinking themſelves bound to abide by it under ſuch circumſtances, their pride and intereſt would feel doubly wounded, and the treachery of ſuch a Miniſter would operate with double force to make them reject it more firmly and with greater reſentment.

As Ireland by this propoſition muſt be obliged to adopt whatever laws Great Britain in her wiſdom ſhould ſee fit to make for the regulation of that trade which Ireland is to ſhare, is it not the moſt obvious thing in the world, that, having that power, the Britiſh Parliament would abandon the intereſt of this country, if, in framing her laws, they were not particularly attentive to the particular intereſts of Great Britain? No man can doubt it. Yet if we were even to allow that this ſhould not happen, and that it never did happen, yet, ſtill, ſuch is the natural jealouſy of human nature, ſuch the apprehenſion naturally raiſed by giving power to others, that ſuſpicions will unavoidably riſe, and the natural conſequences of ſuch ſuſpicion muſt follow.

The chiefeſt aim of Ireland in all her late endeavours was to obtain an independent Parliament, and ſhe is now poſſeſſed of a Legiſlature independent of Great Britain. Is it to be imagined that, under the idea of getting a participation of our trade, ſhe will relinquiſh that power? It would in fact be yielding up her independency entirely to do ſo, and it would be eſtimating them a nation of idiots, to ſuppoſe they would give up the principal characteriſtic of a free people, or to make a certain ſacrifice for a promiſed benefit they never may be the better for.

Even if Ireland agreed to ſurrender her legiſlative independence, and bound herſelf to adopt in ſilence whatever laws

Great Britain ſhall hereafter think proper to impoſe, are we to expect the ſame obedience to thoſe laws as if they were framed by their own Parliament? There was, Mr. Fox obſerved, a material difference between that kind of obedience, which aroſe from a mind influenced and guided by voluntary and conſtitutional ideas, and that which aroſe from the mind which aimed not beyond that which claimed no higher deſcription than the French gave by the term *par manière d'acquit*. Tedious and ineffectual muſt be the obedience paid to laws framed in this country for Ireland now, when that ſpirit, which alone gives energy and dignity to the execution of all laws, is broken and diſcomfitted.

This fourth propoſition, therefore, is ſo pregnant with evils and objections, that the framer of it ſeems only to have been engaged how to diſtreſs us with the difficulty of enumerating them.

Thus ſtand the objections againſt this fourth propoſition —objections on all ſides unanſwerable, ſolid, and irremoveable—that in the very face and front of them threaten worſe conſequences, and, in future, greater evils than any that can now exiſt.

Mr. Fox begged leave to ſtate before he concluded, that it was the practice of the right honourable gentleman, (Mr. Pitt) in anſwer to any remarks that he (Mr. Fox) had the honour to ſubmit to that Houſe, to take great pains to make it be believed that he, (Mr. Fox) by expoſing the weakneſs and fallacy of the meaſures of Adminiſtration, in effect created them.

Groſs and abſurd as ſuch a mode of argument certainly was, the right honourable gentleman was ſo conſtant in the uſe of it, that he (Mr. Fox) foreſaw that on the preſent occaſion it would form the line of his conduct. Of this it was only neceſſary to obſerve, that it would be incumbent on the right honourable gentleman to prove how the expoſure of an evil could create it.

Mr. Fox, with ſome warmth, declared, that he hoped he was too well acquainted with his duty in Parliament to ſit there merely to regiſter the meaſures of any Miniſtry without examining them to the beſt of his abilities.

If the arguments he had uſed to ſhew the fallacy and inſufficiency of this fourth propoſition, and its direct tendency to injure both countries, be not founded upon facts, the good ſenſe of the people of Ireland will pay no regard to

them. The manufacturers of Great Britain will be contented.

Adminiſtration have taken ſome pains to make us believe that if they can carry this fourth propoſition in the Iriſh Parliament, there is an end of the buſineſs, and an end to all apprehenſions on our part, as the treaty muſt then be final.

But let us not deceive ourſelves with this idea, nor think ſo meanly of the Iriſh, that even if their Parliament ſhould make a ſurrender of their legiſlative independence, that the people at large will agree to it, or remain quiet under ſuch a ſacrifice.

There are recent hiſtorical facts which prove that the acquieſcence of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons is not concluſive. And it was neceſſary to make this remark now, that we might not be deceived into a belief, that by their acceding to this fourth propoſition the buſineſs muſt be finally ſettled.

It was not the acquieſcence merely of this or that deſcription of men that could ſettle upon a firm baſis the terms that were equal to bind and cement the intereſts and proſperity of a great commercial people, if that acquieſcence be given in oppoſition to reaſon and to facts

Salus populi ſuprema lex, was a maxim univerſally admitted. And ſuch was the unfortunate conſtruction of the fourth propoſition, that nothing was more probable than that both countries would be obliged to appeal to it for relief

Incompetent as the propoſitions had been found to quiet the uneaſineſſes, or ſecure the affections of Ireland, and pernicious as this fourth propoſition was, in particular, to the honour or intereſts of either country, Mr. Fox appealed to the candour and good ſenſe of the Committee, whether it would not now be more fair, more manly, and more honourable to addreſs the Iriſh to this purpoſe:—"That, however "deſirous and happy we ſhould be to ſerve you, yet, in juſ-"tice to our own country, we find we cannot grant what "we offered. Without being the ruin of many here, we "cannot ſerve an equal number of you. Without expoſing "our own country and its manufactures and manufacturers "to ruin, or without your yielding up the independency of "your Parliament, we cannot grant the participation offered "to you."

Gloomy, diſgraceful, and fatal as this addreſs would prove to the preſent Miniſtry, yet it cannot be denied but the ſame addreſs is conveyed to the Iriſh indirectly by this very propoſition.

To

To proſecute this meaſure upon terms that never can be adhered to, and, if admitted, can never prove permanent, muſt prove the ſource of endleſs and additional complaints from Ireland, and trouble to Great Britain.

As a generous and liberal people, the Iriſh ought to be dealt with accordingly. They are capable of receiving the worſt with fortitude, but it is by no means to be expected, therefore, that they will be impoſed upon with patience. The proſperity of Ireland is undoubtedly to be conſidered as the proſperity of Great Britain; and there is no Iriſhman of ſenſe but is equally ſenſible that the proſperity of England is the proſperity of Ireland

In our proſperity the Iriſh are as firmly intereſted as we are in theirs, and if they cannot proſper without endangering that trade upon which the revenue of the empire principally depends for ſupport, they would ultimately find it a purchaſe dearly bought.

Yet it is by no means my opinion that the proſperity of Ireland may not be promoted without injury to the Britiſh trade. but this I am ſure of, no good can ever ariſe from the preſent meaſure of Miniſtry towards carrying on the purpoſes ſo much wanted—that of a perfect and cordial underſtanding between the two countries.

Nothing was more plain, and nothing was more true, that the more the Iriſh propoſitions had been inveſtigated, the greater number of objections roſe up againſt them. They promiſed much to Ireland, but take away more than they give. The learned gentleman over the way (Mr. Dundas) has ſaid more to theſe points probably than he intended he avowed a caution neceſſary on his part, to ſay how little Ireland would be benefited, how much Great Britain would be a gainer. This was the miniſterial language here, and it was well known they held another language in the other kingdom. This was only part of that littleneſs of conduct, mixed with duplicity, that diſtinguiſhed all the meaſures of the preſent Miniſtry, and particularly in their conduct through this negociation.

This ſyſtem is pregnant with the worſt conſequences to both countries. Without adminiſtering any certain good to Ireland, it is to be accompliſhed only by a ſurrender of her legiſlative independence. The participation threatens, on one hand, ruin to many of our moſt valuable manufactories, and demands a ſurrender from Ireland, ever too dear for her to pay, for any advantages of trade ſo remote and uncertain as it may prove. A ſyſtem loaded with ſuch objections, and

pregnant with ſuch miſchiefs to both countries, Mr. Fox declared he could not vote for.

For monſtrous as the ſacrifices were that had been attempted by Miniſtry to be made to Ireland, (in particular that of the power of renewing the Eaſt-India Company's charter), deſtructive as this fourth propoſition muſt prove to thouſands of manufacturers in this kingdom; yet nothing was more obvious than this fact, that Ireland would reap no advantage whatever, as the reſumption of the Britiſh Parliament over that of Ireland takes a power that does away every idea of benefit to be expected from the participation of our trade.

Numerous as the objections againſt this propoſition really were, Mr. Fox declared he did not take upon him to ſay that all the objections contained in them were yet found out, for as more of them were diſcovered, the more they ſeemed to multiply, and grow daily ſtronger by their numbers. It was not, therefore, to be wondered that Miniſtry did every thing in their power to hurry them through Parliament; but let them beware of the conſequences.

Impregnated as the propoſitions were with the moſt alarming miſchiefs to both countries, and foreign as they were to effect any one good purpoſe to either country, it was his (Mr. Fox's) duty to oppoſe them; for, inſtead of producing benefits, they would certainly prove the ſource of the moſt unhappy conſequences both to Great Britain and to Ireland.

Mr. Dundas. Mr. *Dundas* ſaid, the right honourable gentleman had miſſtated him when he ſaid that he had aſſerted that thoſe monopolies would counterbalance the value of what the Iriſh were to receive. He had ſaid that thoſe monopolies would be valuable to the Engliſh, and were to be eſtimated in the compenſation. Mr. Dundas then ſtated, that by the conceſſions made to Ireland in 1780, the Iriſh were bound to lay whatever duties the Engliſh might think it wiſe to lay in future upon colonial produce, and this proviſo, though exactly ſimilar to the preſent, the Iriſh did not conſider as degrading, and Mr. Yelverton's act did not do it away.

Mr. Fox Mr. *Fox* ſaid, that this did not apply to the caſe in point. The option by the conceſſion of the colonial trade in 1780 was given to Ireland, and they might, whenever they choſe, get rid of the condition by giving up the trade to the colonies: but having once accepted of theſe reſolutions, the ſyſtem between the two nations was ſettled finally, and it could not be broken without a violation of faith.

Mr.

Mr. *John Scott* defended this propoſition from the charges Mr. Fox had brought upon it, and ſaid that the Iriſh were no more degraded by the conditions for which we ſtipulated, than we were degraded by the conditions on our part, that we ſhall not in any future time legiſlate againſt Ireland. He entered at ſome length into the argument, and delivered his warmeſt eulogiums on the whole of the reſolutions, as a ſyſtem calculated to produce amity betweed the two nations. Mr. John Scott.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* ſaid, that Mr. Fox's argument that the Iriſh might have got rid of the condition annexed to the grant of the colonial trade, with the reſolution which he himſelf moved in 1782, had no affinity. In that reſolution Mr. Fox had ſtated, that "the connection between the two "kingdoms ſhould be eſtabliſhed by mutual conſent upon a "ſolid and permanent baſis." Mr. Pitt deſired to know, therefore, what Mr. Fox meant by that expreſſion of permanency, if it was true, as he now aſſerted, that the Iriſh could relieve themſelves from the condition whenever they liked. Mr. Chancellor Pitt.

Mr. *Fox* ſaid, that he did not think it neceſſary to ſtate what would have been the meaſure which he ſhould have brought forward to ſquare and conclude the commercial relation between the two kingdoms; and all that he had before aſſerted in reſpect to the permanency of the conceſſions in 1780 was, that the option was permanent, and the option was in the Iriſh. Mr. Fox.

The *Attorney General* (Mr. Arden) ſaid a few words in defence of the propoſition, and inſiſted that Mr. Fox had not given the Houſe an idea of what he meant as a permanent ſyſtem between the two countries. The Attorney General.

Mr. *Courtenay* ſaid he would not at that late hour detain the Committee by going into the queſtion at large. He confeſſed that he entertained prejudices in favour of Ireland, which he was not aſhamed to avow in the face of a Britiſh Houſe of Commons, perſuaded that they would have liberality enough to make allowance for theſe prejudices. It was the avowed intention of the preſent propoſition to cement the intereſts of the two countries; but he could point out in almoſt every one of them the foundation of jealouſies and diſſentions. If the preſent propoſition ſhould paſs in the Parliament of Ireland by the ſtrength of a majority, the conſequence would be that it would divide the Parliament and the People. It would reduce that Parliament to the ſituation of the Parliament of Paris, in regiſtering the edicts of the Mr. Courtenay.

Grand

Grand Monarque without the power of making any alteration. Could a bill enacting theſe commercial regulations, in its progreſs through the Houſe, undergo any amendment either at a firſt, a ſecond, or a third reading? Could it be brought into a Committee with a view of improving it? On the contrary, this reſolution, if carried into a law in that country, would bring back the Parliament to its ſtate of dependence and ſervitude during the operation of Poyning's law: it was poſſible the Miniſter might be able to carry the propoſition through by majorities in Parliament both in this country and in Ireland; but recent inſtances might have convinced him that a meaſure repugnant to the general ſentiments of the Public could not be carried through, however countenanced by influenced majorities.

The right honourable gentleman found himſelf reduced to the mortifying neceſſity of abandoning a favourite object, which, however, at the beginning of the ſeſſion, he carried by a decided majority. The Weſtminſter ſcrutiny, though countenanced by that Houſe, was given up for its unpopularity without doors. He would venture to declare from his knowledge of the pride, of the jealouſy, and of the ſpirit of his countrymen, that a propoſition of this ſort would be univerſally ſcouted throughout the country. Zealous and watchful as they were of their new-acquired independence, they could not ſuffer themſelves to be dictated to by any power whatſoever. Diſtinctions would undoubtedly be made between acts of Parliament which met the general ſenſe of the People, and thoſe thruſt down by the hand of ſovereign authority. Of thoſe diſtinctions the Iriſh advocates could not fail to take advantage; and he was perſuaded that the feelings of juries would go in uniſon with them. This he was the more convinced of from a recollection of the conduct of the Dublin juries on the trial of the Hearts-of-Oak Boys, whom they refuſed to convict on the cleareſt evidence, becauſe they were removed from their own vicinage by an Iriſh act of Parliament.

Lord Mahon. Lord *Mahon* contended that the Parliament of Ireland would have much more reaſon to complain of an encroachment on their legiſlative independence, if the reſolution ſhould paſs with the amendment propoſed, than in its original ſtate. He then ſaid, that after all the declarations made by the champion of the People, when he ſtood forward as the defender of Britain, he little expected to find him now converted into an Iriſh patriot. He recollected to have heard

him

him declare, during the adminiſtration of the Earl of Shelburne, that any Miniſter who ſhould adviſe His Majeſty to give the Royal Aſſent to any act of the Iriſh Legiſlature, muſt be reſponſible to the Britiſh Parliament. How he could reconcile that with his Iriſh patriotiſm he left him to ſay.

Mr. Alderman *Sawbridge* ſaid, that a real patriot was a man who entertained the principles of univerſal liberty, without limiting himſelf to local attachment. The noble Lord, he ſaid, had ſtood forth as the champion of the liberties of the citizens of Geneva, while he ſeemed to be an advocate for deſpotiſm at home. Mr. Ald. Sawbridge.

Colonel *Fitzpatrick* ſaid he neither wiſhed nor expected to be under the neceſſity of ſpeaking on the ſubject of the preſent propoſitions; but reflecting on the alterations which theſe propoſitions underwent, and the conſequences that would attend them, he wiſhed to make a few obſervations to the Committee, notwithſtanding the lateneſs of the hour. From the experience which the courſe of his reſidence as well as his ſituation in Ireland afforded him, he knew ſo much of the country as to foreſee that the preſent reſolution, if perſevered in, would be followed by the moſt unhappy conſequences. Should the Parliament of Ireland acquieſce in the preſent reſolutions, they certainly would act againſt the opinions of the People, and little need be ſaid in order to ſhew the danger of ſetting the People and the Parliament at variance. It would readily be perceived that the preſent ſyſtem was a reſumption of that power this country formerly poſſeſſed, of external legiſlation over Ireland. This was what the People of that country were ſo long jealous of, and what they at length ſucceeded in overthrowing, and their patience would ſcarcely brook to have the fruit of all their labour deſtroyed, though even with the conſent of their own Parliament. The appearance of duplicity towards Ireland ſhould, of all things, be ſtudiouſly avoided, and the alteration made in the propoſitions could ſcarcely be viewed in any other light by the people of that country. Convinced by the evidence at the bar, he was ſatisfied the propoſitions were favourable to Ireland in their original ſtate, and the nature of the alterations induced him at preſent to entertain a contrary opinion, and to think they would give ſatisfaction to neither country. Apprehenſive, then, leaſt all the expectations entertained of the good conſequences they would produce of union and friendſhip may be fruſtrated, he was determined to Col Fitzpatrick.

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take the ſenſe of the Houſe on the preſent queſtion, though likely to be left in a very ſmall minority.

After this the queſtion was called for, and the Houſe divided;

For the amendment - - - - -	36
Againſt it - - - - - - - - -	194
Majority - - - - - - - - -	158

Tueſday, May 24.

The Houſe reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe on the Iriſh propoſitions, Mr. M. A. Taylor in the chair. The Chancellor of the Exchequer having moved the fifth propoſition, by way of reſolution,

Mr. Eden. Mr. *Eden* roſe, and propoſed to inſert the words "United States of America," by way of amendment. Mr Eden took conſiderable pains to explain to the Committee the reaſons on which he grounded the neceſſity for inſerting the amendment he had made. He urged the extreme neceſſity there was in this arrangement, to guard and protect the revenue againſt the dangers of an illicit commerce. and he argued, that this country would be left in a ſtate in which it ought not to remain, unleſs ſuch an amendment as he had propoſed was inſerted; becauſe, we ſhould be liable to have New-England rum, and a variety of articles, which he enumerated, the produce of the United States of America, ſmuggled into Great Britain, through Ireland, to the manifeſt prejudice of the produce of our Weſt-India and American colonies

Mr. Ald. Watſon. Mr. Alderman *Watſon* returned his thanks to the right honourable gentleman for having moved ſuch an amendment: had he not done it, the Alderman ſaid, he would have moved one extemely like it himſelf, inſtead of "United States of "America," he ſhould have moved it by the word "States," ſingly, becauſe America had States aliens to this country, that were diſunited, as well as States that were united, he alluded to the State of Vermont The amendment was, he ſaid, exceedingly important, much more ſo than the Committee might have imagined. The Alderman mentioned ſome of the articles that would, if the preſent ſyſtem of arrangement with Ireland went on, be liable to find their way into Great Britain to the prejudice of our colonial produce. Having ſtated this head of his ſubject much at large, there were matters paſſing in America, he ſaid, that he viewed with an

eye

eye of comfort and ſatisfaction. There had been before the war a whale fiſhery all along the ſeas that waſhed the American ſhores; that fiſhery employed great numbers of fiſhermen, quiet, peaceable, induſtrious, hard-working men: men, happy under the government of Great Britain, as formerly eſtabliſhed in North America. Theſe men, he rejoiced to hear, were already diſguſted with the new ſyſtem, and had left their ancient places of ſettlement in great numbers, to come and live again under the Britiſh government in Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Canada, and our remaining colonies and iſlands in North America. Their numbers were daily increaſing, and it was a moſt fortunate circumſtance for this country, becauſe the American whale fiſhery was not only a valuable branch of traffic, but it was alſo important in another point of view, it was important as a nurſery for ſeamen, and might, in a very few years, prove of very eſſential advantage to this country. The Alderman ſtated the quantity of barrels of oil produced, and detailed other channels of advantage that might be traced from it. After an ample account of theſe particulars, he obſerved to the Houſe, that he had not before found an opportunity of ſaying much upon the ſubject of the propoſed ſyſtem of arrangement with Ireland he aſſured the Committee, he had contemplated its probable conſequences with care, and he was not afraid of them Though Ireland had her local advantages, though her weſtern ſhore was nearer the Atlantic, and nearer to America and the Weſt Indies, and her ſouthern coaſt near to France, there was nothing to be deduced from theſe conſiderations, but a concluſion, that with a proper management, cemented and connected by bonds of cordial amity, enjoying mutual benefits, and bearing mutual burdens, the happieſt conſequences were to be expected for both this country and that. With regard to the ſeveral motives that had actuated thoſe who had come forward with propoſitions reſpecting Ireland, he believed they had both of them ſtood nearly on the ſame board of the political ſtage; they had all played parts in the farce of *Le Medicin malagré lui*; but it was enough that they had ſeverally played their characters well. He admired the bridge that had been built acroſs St. George's Channel by the noble Lord in the blue ribband, in the year 1780: he admired alſo the ſuperſtructure now raiſing upon that foundation by the right honourtble gentleman at the head of the Exchequer, but as he was perſuaded both were deſigned ably and for good purpoſes, he did not admire thoſe who laid

the foundation, abuſing the building of the ſuperſtructure, neither did he admire the builders of the ſuperſtructure abuſing thoſe who laid the foundation; they both had their ſeparate merits in the great work they each conſtructed.

He wiſhed the right honourable gentleman ſucceſs in all his meaſures, becauſe he was perſuaded the right honourable gentleman meant well; he ſhould have his hearty ſupport as far as he thought him in the right; where he appeared to be egregiouſly wrong he certainly ſhould vote againſt him. Theſe were the terms on which he offered his friendſhip to the right honourable gentleman; and he was ſure the right honourable gentleman would not accept it on any other, becauſe, every man who had the ſlighteſt pretenſions to common ſenſe, muſt know, that friendſhip on any other footing could neither have a ſure nor a long duration [Mr. Pitt nodded aſſent.] In the preſent buſineſs of arranging a commercial intercourſe with Ireland, he was ſatisfied the right honourable gentleman was proceeding like a wiſe and a prudent ſtateſman. A great deal of alarm had been ſpread in this country, but it was ill founded he had liſtened to the manufacturers when examined at the bar; he had heard them with attention, he had read their evidence with care; it had made no impreſſion on his mind to warrant fear or apprehenſion. He had heard it ſaid, that we ſhould have the ſugars of foreign colonies, of the French Weſt-India iſlands for inſtance, ſmuggled into this country through Ireland. Let thoſe who held ſuch doctrines talk upon the ſubject with merchants competent to converſe upon it, they would laugh in the faces of thoſe who entertained any ſuch idle notions. Merchants knew, that the French would not ſuffer even a caſk of their ſugars to be put on board any bottoms but their own, they knew the value of their carrying trade, and they would admit no nation to ſhare it with them. But, were the fact true, and could all the ſugars the French Weſt-India iſlands produced, be purchaſed and brought here, he ſhould ſay, ſo much the better we ſhould have the carrying of it; our navigation would thrive, and the nurſeries of our ſeamen would thrive with it. The fact was, the French would part with nothing at their iſlands to ſtrangers, but what they could not better diſpoſe of themſelves they would part with their molaſſes, which they ſold to the Americans, and thence the American rum. Having ſtated theſe, and a variety of other intereſting and important particulars, Mr. Watſon repeated his declaration, that he had no dread of the

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plan of arrangement with Ireland, but, on the contrary; the warmeſt hope that we ſhould ſoon feel one common intereſt; that the ſeamen of Ireland, and the growing wealth of Ireland internally, would be found to be the ſource of ſatisfaction and of ſtrength to this country. That a full and free participation of commercial advantages ſhould produce any other conſequences he did no expect the ſkill and ingenuity of our manufacturers; the boldneſs, the enterprize, and the experience of our mariners, the large floating property our merchants poſſeſſed; all theſe were circumſtances to ground a rational hope upon, that with care and attention, œconomy and prudence, Great Britain would riſe rapidly; her commerce was already increating apace, her vigour returning; and her wealth beginning to accumulate. To what then had we to look, but to the pleaſing proſpect of her being enabled ſoon to raiſe her head among the nations.

Mr. *Eden* returned the worthy Alderman his hearty and ſincere thanks for the honour he had done him, in ſeconding his amendment, and for the valuable body of information he had communicated to the Committee. He ſaid, he would very readily embrace the worthy Alderman's propoſed amendment, and let it ſtand "States of America," inſtead of "United States." Indeed ſtrong reaſons had occurred to him that it ought to be ſo within theſe few minutes. Mr. Eden then proceeded to adduce a variety of arguments to ſhew, that the particular ſtate of the tobacco trade, and the different duties under which tobacco was imported into this country, and into Ireland, rendered it highly neceſſary, that ſome guard ſhould be put into the propoſitions on that point. Mr. Eden.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* ſaid, there certainly was a great deal well worth attending to in what had fallen from the right honourable gentleman, and from an honourable friend of his, the worthy Alderman, and he hoped that he had liſtened to neither in vain; but he could on no account conſent to the idea, that they had any right whatever to interfere with the foreign trade of Ireland. It was not the buſineſs of the propoſitions; the aim and object of which went clearly to the providing proper guards and ſecurities for the future regulation of our commerce and navigation with our own colonies. Mr. Chancellor Pitt.

A conſiderable ſhare of argument on the ſubject of tobacco, its duties, its future regulations, &c. &c. here took place, and it ended in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's giving a

formal notice, that he would very ſhortly bring the ſubject of tobacco under conſideration in the Houſe, having much more to ſtate concerning it, than it was either convenient or fit for him to enter upon in that Committee.

Mr. Eden replied, and adduced farther arguments to prove the preſſing neceſſity for the admiſſion of his amendment.

Mr Hammet

Mr. *Hammet* commented Mr. Alderman Watſon highly, declaring, that if the worthy Alderman had not ſeconded Mr. Eden's motion he would Mr. Hammet ſaid, he never had ſat with ſo much pleaſure in his life; what had paſſed had afforded him great ſatisfaction, and he was ſure it would fully quiet the manufacturers of iron, and it would have done ſo ſome weeks ſince, had ſo much been ſaid. Mr. Hammet preſſed the Miniſter, in order to obtain a word or two like a hint, that ſomething ſhould be done, in regard to the iron manufacturers, and thoſe concerned in iron works of different kinds, reſpecting Ireland, but in vain.

At length Mr. Eden conſented to withdraw his motion for the preſent.

The Committee then proceeded with the ſixth and ſeventh Reſolutions, in the courſe of conſidering both of which ſome converſation took place. The principal ſpeakers were the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Roſe, the Attorney and Solicitor General, Mr. Fox, Mr. Eden, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Pelham, Mr. Powys, and others.

Mr D. P Coke

About half after ſix Mr. *D. P. Coke* roſe and ſaid, he had received inſtructions from his conſtituents at Nottingham, to oppoſe the propoſitions and, as he did not wiſh to interrupt other gentlemen, when they were deſirous of ſpeaking, he had waited ſeveral days for an opportunity, and had ſome thoughts of moving for Mr. Taylor to quit the chair, as what he wiſhed to move farther, could not be properly done but in the Houſe. Mr. Coke having ſaid this, proceeded to ſtate, that there was a petition on the table from a large number of his conſtituents, who were concerned in the manufactory of ſtockings, of various deſcriptions; aſſigned a reaſon for their having declined appearing at the bar of the Houſe by themſelves and their counſel, to be heard in ſupport of their petition; and went into a relation of the grounds of their apprehenſions, that the Iriſh propoſitions, if paſſed into a law, would materially affect their intereſts. Mr. Coke prefaced what he had to urge in juſtification of his conſtituents' apprehenſions, with a brief hiſtory of the

cauſes

cauſes which had enabled the Nottingham manufacturers of ſtockings, to make ſilk ſtockings conſiderably cheaper than they could be made either in London or in Dublin. He next aſſigned the ground on which his conſtituents had felt alarm and uneaſineſs: the principal reaſons were, the cheaper price of ſilk in Ireland, the cheaper price of labour, and the cheaper price of food, &c. &c. Having ſtated theſe particulars, Mr. Coke aſſured the Houſe, that thoſe of his conſtituents in whoſe behalf he was addreſſing them, were a moſt numerous and reſpectable deſcription of perſons; that they were actuated by no party or factious motives; a truth ſufficiently evident from their conſiſting of the whole body of Nottingham ſtocking manufacturers, comprehending amongſt them many perſons of very different political ſentiment. Mr. Coke read a motion to the Committee, which he ſaid he would take an opportunity of ſtating to the Houſe. the purport of this motion was, "That the farther conſideration "of the Iriſh propoſitions be adjourned till the next ſeſſion, "or until they ſhould have heard from Ireland, whether "Ireland would be ſatisfied with the reſolutions and their "various amendments or not." Mr. Coke made a few obſervations in proof of the reaſonableneſs of his motion, and then ſat down.

Mr. *Robert Smith* roſe as ſoon as Mr. Coke ſat down, and ſaid, though he was generally better pleaſed to liſten to the opinions of other gentlemen than to trouble the Houſe with any of his own, yet he could not reſiſt the inclination he felt to intrude on the Committee with a few remarks upon what had fallen from his honourable friend oppoſite to him; and, he ſaid, he was the rather inclined to do it, becauſe, conſidering the misfortune he had been under, and he thought it a very great one, of diſagreeing conſcientiouſly, and upon principle, with ſeveral of his conſtituents upon that queſtion, he thought the Houſe would expect a few words from him ſome time or other in the courſe of the inquiry. When he had preſented the petition upon that ſubject to the Houſe, he had, he ſaid, very fully, and very anxiouſly conſidered the effect of the propoſitions; and, as far as it then appeared to him, he had expreſſed his opinion that they would not affect the manufactures of Nottingham. He had ſince had a very long correſpondence with the Committee of manufacturers, and he was ſorry to find, that the reaſons which he had fancied would have changed their opinions, had not done it, but that their objections remaind in full force: at Mr Robert Smith.

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the ſame time he muſt ſay, that the diſcuſſion had converted his own doubts into certainties; and with that irreſiſtible force which a long and ſerious diſcuſſion brings upon the mind. that he was now able to give it as his decided opinion, that the Iriſh propoſitions would not injure the manufactures of Nottingham.

The greateſt mortification he had ſuffered in the courſe of the buſineſs had been, that the Committee of manufacturers had not thought it proper to avail themſelves of the liberty he had ſolicited for them of appearing at the bar in ſupport of their allegations. Without meaning to arraign that deciſion, he could not help wiſhing the matter had been ſeriouſly and ſolemnly diſcuſſed at the bar, and that the Houſe might, as they had done in the caſe of other manufacturers, have attended in a ſolemn manner to the diſcuſſion of that point. With thoſe ſentiments, Mr. Smith ſaid, he hoped it would not be thought diſreſpectful to his conſtituents, if he ſhould ſtate in a few words, ſome of the reaſons for his opinions. Before he began, he wiſhed it to be remembered, becauſe it was material to the preſent inquiry, that when the right honourable gentleman oppoſite to him, and his noble friend near him (Mr. Fox and Lord North) had obtained for Ireland a free conſtitution, the firſt object of that free Parliament was, to give Ireland a free foreign trade; by taking off all partial reſtrictions, and thereby enabling her to meet us in all the markets of Europe with every advantage ſhe could boaſt, of cheapneſs of labour and proviſions, freedom from taxes, &c. Her intercourſe, therefore, with other countries, being then, as it was at that moment, free and uncircumſcribed, it was ſomewhere elſe than to her foreign trade that he muſt look for the dangers of the propoſitions It could therefore be no where elſe but in the intercourſe between the two countries, and in order to ſee that, it would be neceſſary to examine in what manner the preſent intercourſe ſubſiſted, and how it would be altered by the Iriſh propoſitions. At preſent, this country might export all ſorts of ſtockings to Ireland, paying certain duties; the importation of Iriſh ſtockings to England was altogether prohibited, the only alteration, therefore, made by theſe regulations was, that the prohibition ſhould be taken off, and that the Iriſh ſhould have the power of importing into this country ſtockings upon the ſame terms that we ſent them into Ireland.

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The duties paid by this country on the exportation of ſtockings to Ireland, Mr. Smith ſaid, were ten per cent. on thread and cotton ſtockings, thirty per cent. on worſted, and forty per cent. on ſilk. the expence of freight, land carriage, inſurance, &c. might amount to three per cent. more; therefore, as they now carried on a beneficial trade to Ireland in the articles of thread and cotton ſtockings, it was evident that they muſt at preſent manufacture thirteen per cent. cheaper than the Iriſh did, or the Iriſh would ſupply themſelves rather than purchaſe of them; as the Iriſh muſt pay the ſame duty here that our ſtocking manufacturers paid there, it was evident that the Iriſh muſt, in order to do that, manufacture twenty-ſix per cent. cheaper than they did at preſent. This argument was ſtill ſtronger in the article of ſilk and worſted ſtockings, the duty on the exportation of worſted ſtockings to Ireland being thirty per cent. and on ſilk ſtockings forty per cent. Now, though ſo high a duty certainly acted as a prohibition, yet what was remarkable, Mr. Smith ſaid, was, that the greateſt part of the ſilk ſtockings worn in Ireland were the manufactures of this country, much being ſmuggled from hence and yet, notwithſtanding that no duty was paid to the King, the manufacturer was not without additional expence, becauſe he muſt give a compenſation to the ſmuggler, which, he declared, he thought could not amount to leſs than fifteen per cent. If, therefore, we actually ſupplied the conſumption of Ireland with ſilk ſtockings at an additional expence of fifteen per cent., it was evident that the Iriſh muſt work thirty per cent. cheaper than they now did, before they could ſupply us in the ſame manner. If the injury to the manufactures of Nottingham were not in this way, Mr. Smith ſaid, it could be in no other, becauſe, as he had ſaid before, the foreign trade was as open to them as it ever would be. Mr. Smith, in this part of his ſpeech, anſwered Mr. Coke's ſtatements, that labour, food, and lodging, were cheaper in Ireland than in England, by proving, from the evidence delivered at the bar of the Houſe, that though ſilk was imported at an eaſier duty into Ireland than into this country, yet, that, all circumſtances conſidered, in the particular manufacture of ſtockings, they would be made cheaper at Nottingham than in Ireland. Having ſtated this, Mr. Smith ſaid, the difference in the price of ſilk, owing to the drawback given to Ireland, gave them only an advantage in their own conſumption, but did not give them a preference in the foreign market,

market, becauſe we gave an equal drawback to our own manufactured article; nor did it give Ireland an advantage in the trade with this country, becauſe, in addition to the other duties, we were about to put a freſh duty, to countervail the difference of duty on the raw material in the two countries. But he ſhould be told, Mr. Smith ſaid, by the right honourable gentleman, that ten, twenty, thirty, or even forty per cent. will not be prohibitory duties, nay, perhaps in the wildneſs and extravagance of aſſertion, the right honourable gentleman might tell him, as he did before, that even 1000 would not be a prohibitory duty. As the right honourable gentleman gave no reaſon for ſuch an opinion, he would not, he ſaid, attempt to explain what he did not underſtand, but would leave the right honourable gentleman to ſolve his own paradox. The oppoſers of theſe propoſitions, driven from their arguments upon the ruin they would give our manufactures, by the introduction of ſimilar ones from Ireland, ſtated he knew not what dangers to proceed from ſmuggling; and ſtated likewiſe, as a ſerious apprehenſion, that French ſilk ſtockings would, when the prohibition was taken off, come into this country through Ireland. Merely to ſtate this, Mr Smith ſaid, would be ſufficient to ſhew its abſurdity. The French were to ſmuggle ſilk ſtockings into Ireland; for what? Why to carry them acroſs the country, afterwards to ſmuggle them into England; that was, to do that at a double riſque and double expence, and, by a circuitous navigation, which they might do at one riſque and one expence, by ſmuggling them from France to England. Now, though a ſmuggler might not poſſeſs common honeſty, yet, as he generally poſſeſſed common ſenſe, he did not, he ſaid, believe that he could be prevailed upon to ſmuggle in this manner to oppoſe the Iriſh propoſitions. Concluding, therefore, that neither in the home trade nor in the foreign trade could the Iriſh propoſitions affect his conſtituents; Mr. Smith urged the importance of the ſettlement with Ireland, and the ſatisfaction he felt that the manufactures of his conſtituents would not be ſacrificed even to ſuch an object. He muſt, Mr. Smith ſaid, repeat what he had ſaid before, viz. that he thought it a very great misfortune to differ from his conſtituents, ſince no gentleman in that houſe could be under greater obligations to his conſtituents than he was to his. He poſſeſſed their confidence, enjoyed their friendſhip, and would have gone every length but the giving up his principles to have obliged them. He ſaid, by way of concluſion,

that

that he had a ſuperior ſatisfaction in having ſupported, againſt every obſtacle, propoſitions, which in his conſcience he believed were calculated for the happineſs and advantage of both kingdoms.

Mr. Smith added a handſome compliment to his right honourable friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, declaring, however, that he had not voted in ſupport of the propoſitions on mere grounds of confidence in his right honourable friend, though no man repoſed more confidence in him, but becauſe, upon a full examination of thoſe propoſitions, and deliberate inquiry into their probable conſequences, he was firmly perſuaded, that they were intitled to that opinion which he had juſt delivered concerning them.

Wedneſday, May 25.

The Committee proceeded again on the Iriſh propoſitions, and a variety of amendments were propoſed by Mr Eden, Lord North, Mr. Pelham, Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and others.

Thurſday, May 26.

The order of the day being read for going into a Committee on the bill for impoſing a duty on retail ſhops,

Mr. *Jolliffe* roſe, declaring that in no inſtance whatſoever was his conduct influenced by a deſire of popularity, and in this particular leaſt ſo of all others, indeed ſo little had he it in view at preſent, that he would not for that purpoſe be even at the trouble of ſubmitting to the Committee the obſervations he was now about to make The principle and tendency of the tax was that to which he objected, and which he wiſhed to oppoſe. In doing this, he did not think himſelf obliged to abide by that line of conduct which was ſo generally recommended, and particularly ſo by his right honourable friend (Mr. Fox) namely, that in oppoſing a tax, it was neceſſary to be prepared with ſome other by way of ſubſtitute. He conceived it to be the duty of a Chancellor of the Exchequer to find out proper objects of taxation; and ſhould he have occaſion to raiſe a particular ſum, it was his buſineſs, when the Houſe thought proper to diſapprove of any of thoſe he offered, to be ready, *toties quoties*, to propoſe others to replace them. The tax now in agitation, was deficient in all thoſe requiſites which he thought indiſpenſable to conſtitute a good tax, and poſſeſſed all thoſe objectionable properties which Mr. Jolliffe

ſhould always be reſiſted, namely, it was unproductive, oppreſſive, and would impoſe a much greater contribution on the Public than would come into the coffers of the revenue. To prove that it was oppreſſive, he had only to put it in either of theſe two points of view, the ſhopkeeper would be enabled to indemnify himſelf on the Public, or he would not. If he ſhould indemnify himſelf on the Public, it muſt be in a proportion far beyond what the tax impoſed on him, and if he ſhould not indemnify himſelf, then the tax was indiſputably partial and oppreſſive. There were other objects which were much more worthy of taxation, ſome of which, though by no means an obligation on him, he was ready to ſtate to the Houſe. He always conſidered that tax to be beſt which came moſt directly at luxuries, and operated on thoſe beſt able to bear it; for which reaſon, he would recommend an additional tax on carriages, of 3l which would, on the ſmalleſt calculation, produce 50,000l. and much more were it properly collected. a tax on attornies he alſo eſteemed a very proper one, and though he would not take it at 30l per head, yet ſtating it at 20l. per annum for each practitioner, he was well founded in aſſerting, that it would not amount to leſs than 60,000l. The third article which he would propoſe, was not equally certain in the produce, and depended much on the diſcretion in which it ſhould be laid, yet he made no doubt, that it would be a ſufficient addition to the 110,000l. he had already provided for, to leave no occaſion for the impoſition of the preſent duty; he meant what had often been mentioned, but unfortunately in his opinion, not much attended to, a tax on places of public amuſement; without an over-ſanguine eſtimation, the tax may well be taken at 20,000l. The right honourable gentleman had not attended to the ſituation and circumſtances of thoſe who are generally concerned in retail ſhops, or he would know they moſtly conſiſted of ſervants, who had, by being induſtrious, ſaved as much as enabled them to enter on ſome line of buſineſs, ſometimes perſons depending on the charity of Chelſea, and other hoſpitals, or intereſts on ſmall annuities. Theſe people, though little within the knowledge of the right honourable gentleman, and unattended to of courſe, were often obliged to ſtint themſelves of ſome meals in the week in order to make their l[illegible] property anſwer, and ſhould the preſent addition ſucce[illegible] their other burdens, would be totally ruined. He th[illegible]ore ſubmitted to the humanity and conſideration of the right honourable gentleman, whether he would

would perſevere in a tax ſo oppreſſive, ſo odious, and ſo unequal.

Mr. Alderman *Sawbridge* ſaid, he had every diſpoſition to reſiſt a tax ſo partial in its operation, and abandoned in its principle; yet underſtanding that ſome modifications were to take place in the Committee, he was willing to try how far they may extend, at the ſame time reminding the Houſe, that while the tax bore hard on the lower orders of the community, there were not, perhaps, five Members in Parliament whom it would affect. Mr Ald. Sawbridge.

Mr. Alderman *Townſend* ſaid, he underſtood propoſals had been made to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for extending the operation of the tax to all perſons ſubject to the bankrupt laws, by laying a duty of five per cent. on their houſes. Should this mode be adopted, much of the objection on the ſcore of partiality would be removed, and he would therefore agree to going into a Committee. Mr Ald. Townſend.

Mr. Alderman *Newnham* ſaid, while he diſapproved of the tax *in toto*, he thought ſuch a modification as that now mentioned would make the burden more tolerable to thoſe who ſhould otherwiſe conſider themſelves peculiarly and unjuſtly oppreſſed he was therefore induced not to take the ſenſe of the Houſe previous to going into a Committee; and at the ſame time wiſhing to be underſtood as not acquieſcing in the tax by any amendments or alterations he may propoſe in the Committee, but reſerving his direct negative to the bill in the report. Mr Ald Newnham.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* acknowledged that propoſals had been made to him for extending this tax to all ſubject to the bankrupt laws, but he had many objections to this; one of the principal of which was, the difficulty of aſcertaining, with any degree of accuracy, who were and who were not liable to them. Mr Chancellor Pitt.

After this the Speaker left the chair, and Mr. Gilbert took the chair of the Committee; when, on the firſt clauſe being read, Mr. Alderman Newnham moved an amendment, the effect of which would be, to ſeparate the aſſeſſment of the ſhop from the houſe, and make the tax operate on the former only. On this, much converſation enſued, in which Mr. Fox and many others contended, that the tax being entitled a ſhop tax, it would be equally proper as it would be fair to find ſome other criterion of eſtimating the value of the ſhop than by the rent of the houſe.

Sir Adam Ferguſon and the Lord Advocate made alſo ſome objections to it on the particular circumſtances of Edinburgh and Glaſgow; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer perſevering to defend the original mode, a diviſion took place on Alderman Newnham's amendment:

For it - - - - - - - - - -	38
Againſt it - - - - - - - - -	79
Majority - - - - - - - - -	41

After this ſeveral other amendments were propoſed and rejected, one only exempting clauſe being admitted in favour of bakers, who were confined from indemnifying themſelves on the Public by the rate of their bread being aſcertained by the magiſtrates.

The bill being at length gone through, Mr. Gilbert left the chair of the Committee, and the Houſe being reſumed, the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

Mr. Fox then preſented a petition from the maſter ſhoemakers of Weſtminſter againſt the Iriſh propoſitions. Ordered to be referred to the Committee on Iriſh trade.

The Houſe then reſolved itſelf into a Committee on the Iriſh affairs, and went through the remainder of the propoſitions.

About twelve o'clock the whole were gone through; but Mr. Pitt thinking it neceſſary to adopt ſome hints which had been thrown out by Mr. Eden, Mr. Fox, Lord North, Mr. Sheridan, &c. the Houſe was reſumed *pro forma* to receive the report of the propoſitions, in order to re-commit them, which being done, a converſation round the table took place, which laſted ſome time, and in which ſome ſmall amendments were made.

At one o'clock theſe points were concluded, and the report was ordered to be printed for the uſe of the members, and to be taken into conſideration on Monday next.

Friday, May 27.

A debate occurred on the report of the ſhop-tax bill. Mr. Huſſey objected to the tax as a moſt oppreſſive and partial one; Sir Harbord Harbord, Mr. Plumer, Mr. Alderman Newnham, Lord Surrey, and others, ſpoke againſt it—Mr. Chancellor Pitt and other gentlemen ſpoke for it; and on a diviſion, that the report be received, the numbers were,

Ayes - - - - - - - - - -	47
Noes - - - - - - - - - -	26

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The bill was, after ſome farther debate, ordered to be read a third time on Monday.

The Houſe, in a Committee of Ways and Means, came to the following reſolutions, viz.

1ſt. "That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the "duties granted by an act of the laſt ſeſſion on certificates "iſſued with reſpect to killing of game, ſhall ceaſe, deter-"mine, and be no longer paid or payable."

2d. "That every perſon in Great Britain who ſhall take "or kill any ſort of game with a dog, gun, or net, or other "engine for the deſtruction of game, (not acting as a "gamekeeper) ſhall previouſly deliver in an account of his "name and place of abode to the Clerk of the Peace or "Sheriff of the county where ſuch perſon ſhall reſide, and "annually take out a certificate thereof."

3d. "That every piece of vellum, parchment, or ſheet of "paper, upon which ſuch certificate ſhall be engroſſed, "written, or printed, ſhall be charged with a ſtamp duty of "two pounds and two ſhillings."

4th "That the deputation of a gamekeeper, in England "or Wales, ſhall be regiſtered with the Clerk of the Peace, "and in Scotland with the Sheriff of the county, and every "gamekeeper ſo to be appointed ſhall take out a certificate."

5th. "That the vellum, parchment, or paper, on which "ſuch certificate ſhall be engroſſed, written, or printed, ſhall "be charged with a ſtamp duty of ten ſhillings and ſix pence."

6th. "That every perſon exerciſing the trade of a coach-"maker, ſhall be obliged to take out a licenſe, and pay an-"nually for the ſame the ſum of twenty ſhillings."

7th. "That a duty of twenty ſhillings be laid upon every "four-wheeled carriage, upon which a duty of exciſe is now "charged, to be paid by the maker."

8th. "That a duty of ten ſhillings be paid upon every "two-wheeled carriage, upon which a duty of exciſe is now "charged, the ſame to be paid by the maker."

The ſaid reſolutions were, upon motion, ordered to be reported on Monday next.

The Houſe having reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe on the Exciſe Juriſdiction bill, Mr. *Beaufoy* ſpoke to the following effect: —

Mr. Beaufoy.

The bill has undergone ſo little diſcuſſion, and is at the ſame time of ſo much importance, that I cannot help wiſhing, before we proceed to examine it clauſe by clauſe, to point out, with the permiſſion of the Committee, what are its

expreſſion which he feared would be the fruitful parent of diſcord, inſtead of that peace that all the good men in both countries panted for; and before he proceeded to make his obſervations on the expreſſion, he begged leave to read the reſolution, which was in the following words — "That it "is expedient for the general benefit of the Britiſh empire, "that the importation of articles from foreign ſtates "ſhould be regulated from time to time in each kingdom, "on ſuch terms as may afford an effectual preference to the "importation of ſimilar articles of the growth, product, or "manufacture of the other."

The word effectual, in this reſolution, might, he ſaid, create diſcord, inſtead of promoting peace between the two countries. In future, all treaties relative to commerce, &c. with foreign powers, muſt be made by England; who muſt conſult the intereſts of Ireland in ſuch treaties equally with her own. Now in forming theſe treaties, a Miniſter would find himſelf greatly hampered by this word effectual; for he might not know what would exactly pleaſe Ireland, and it might not be fit perhaps, from a variety of circumſtances, to make the treaties known to either kingdom, until they ſhould have been concluded; and then it might happen, that Ireland would think ſhe had cauſe to complain, that an effectual preference had not been ſecured to her in the Britiſh market, and might perhaps reſolve that the compact was broken: where then would be the harmony? But this was not all; for ſhould the reſolution paſs in its preſent form, England would be found immediately to lay a duty upon flaxſeed, madder, lintſeed, and other articles, which are now imported duty free from foreign countries, and as a preference muſt, in conſequence of this reſolution, be given to Ireland, a duty muſt be laid on theſe commodities except when they come from Ireland, for if they ſhould be imported duty free from foreign countries as well as from Ireland, then there could be no preference in favour of Ireland, and conſequently no adherence to the reſolution: the conſequence would be then, that a duty muſt be laid upon them when imported from foreign ſtates, to the oppreſſion of the Engliſh manufacturer, and ſolely for aiding the Iriſh. Now as this would be very unreaſonable, he would, in the firſt place, endeavour to have the reſolution rejected *in toto*; if he ſhould not ſucceed in that, he would, when it ſhould be immediately before the Committee, move an amendment to this effect, "That a preference ſhould be given to Iriſh articles,

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"on thoſe which at preſent are imported duty free into this "country." Another inducement had been held out by the Miniſter to induce gentlemen to paſs the preſent reſolutions, and that was, that they would put an end to the war of bounties between the two countries. But he was far from being ſure that this would be the effect; and the more ſo, becauſe this country was now about to part with the only means ſhe had in her power to prevent ſuch a war. He was ſatisfied in his own mind, that Ireland would be much more injured by a war of bounties than Great Britain could; but he was ready to admit, that both countries would ſuffer very eſſentially by it: it would therefore be prudent in the Britiſh legiſlature to keep in its hands the means by which it could prevent ſo deſtructive a war. He was going to ſpeak upon a delicate ſubject, but on ſuch occaſions it became him to do his duty, and to ſtate what he thought would be for the benefit of his country. Soon after the Revolution, a compact was made between England and Ireland, in conſequence of which, the latter conſented not to interfere with the former in the woollen manufacture; in return for which, England agreed to give every encouragement to Iriſh linens, and had admitted them from that day to this duty free. Great advantage had accrued to Ireland from this encouragement; for 21,000,000 of yards were imported into this country under that agreement; theſe might be valued at 1,500,000l., an immenſe ſum, upon which no tax whatever was raiſed. Whilſt England ſhould remain at liberty to tax the Iriſh linens, or to prohibit the importation of them, this country would have in her own hand a check, that would prevent the Iriſh from laying prohibitory duties on Engliſh commodities ſhe would have that influence that a great cuſtomer would have on a ſhopkeeper to prevent him from uſing him ill, leſt he ſhould carry his cuſtom to another ſhop but the moment the preſent ſyſtem ſhould be adopted, England would loſe the power which ſhe poſſeſſes at this moment over the linens, and with it all the advantages inſeparable from ſuch a power: from the day that the reſolutions ſhould paſs, England could not either tax or prohibit Iriſh linens; though the Iriſh ſhould purſue ſuch a line of conduct as might call for ſuch a meaſure. The Parliament of Ireland might, at a future day, lay on duties under the name of countervailing duties, which would amount to a prohibition, or operate as bounties, and reſolve at the ſame time, that they had a right ſo to do under the preſent agreement,

ment; they had done ſo already in the caſe of ſugars, but there he did not blame them; for according to the equalizing agreement, a heavy duty was laid in Ireland on moiſt ſugars; and in conſequence of that, a proportionate duty was laid on wrought ſugar, as a protection to the Iriſh refineries. He did not think that the duty laid on the importation of printed callicoes and cottons as defenſible: no man would be more concerned or ſorry than he ſhould be ever to have recourſe to the power of prohibiting Iriſh linens; it was, however, a power that he would be equally ſorry to reſign, becauſe he would not wiſh to throw away the means of maintaining peace. He had ſtrong objections to moſt of the reſolutions, on other grounds than thoſe he had hitherto mentioned, he objected for the want of reciprocity; for the advantage was entirely on the ſide of the Iriſh, and there was none on that of the Engliſh the taking off prohibitions was to the benefit of Ireland; for though many exiſted in this country, none or few exiſted in Ireland and if England gave up the power of laying on prohibitory duties, Ireland would be the greater gainer; for if this country ſhould have it in her power to prohibit Iriſh linens, Ireland could only prohibit the exportation of her proviſions, which bore no proportion in value to that of the linens, and England could do much better without theſe proviſions, than the Iriſh could do without the Engliſh market for their linens; England had done entirely without Iriſh proviſions; and it was ſince he had become a member of Parliament, that the law only which prohibited the importation of proviſions from Ireland was repealed: a fooliſh and abſurd law it was; but ſtill it ſhewed, that Iriſh proviſions were not neceſſary to this country. He objected to the reſolutions, becauſe they would facilitate the ſmuggling of an article, on which depended a very conſiderable part of the revenue of this country; he meant the article of ſalt. The Iriſh would get the rock ſalt, the raw material of the manufacture, from England; and manufacturing it in Ireland, and ſending it over here, they might make an enormous profit, not leſs than 500 or 600 per cent. At preſent, an Iriſh ſhip carrying it to England, would be liable to ſeizure; but when once theſe reſolutions ſhould have paſſed, then ſhe might carry it with ſafety to our coaſt: if an opportunity offered, ſhe might ſmuggle it on ſhore; if it was diſcovered on board by the officers, ſhe had then only to enter it and pay duty for it.

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This, of courſe, would naturally operate as a great encouragement to ſmuggling, and conſequently would expoſe the revenue to the riſque of a conſiderable defalcation. He objected alſo to the reſolutions, becauſe they would make this country give up ſecurities for the preſervation of her trade for worſe; becauſe it took the due enforcing of the revenue laws out of the hands of Engliſh cuſtom houſe officers, over whom this Parliament has a control, and transferred it to others over whom it has none. He objected to them finally, becauſe, though it was ſaid, that they would put an end to non-importation agreements on the part of Ireland, he believed they would produce no ſuch effects. The people, ſhould they, on any future occaſion, become diſſatisfied with Government, againſt which the law could have no remedy; and conſequently, all the bad effects againſt which both Parliaments were deſirous to guard at preſent, might continue to exiſt, though the Parliament of Ireland ſhould adhere moſt ſcrupulouſly to the compact with this country, and he made no doubt, but as far as that aſſembly could go, their nice ſenſe of honour, and their well-known generoſity and patriotiſm, would induce them to take care, that both the letter and ſpirit of the compact were obſerved. However, as he had numberleſs objections to it even in its preſent form, in which he admitted it was much leſs exceptionable than when it was firſt opened by the right honourable gentleman, he would oppoſe it *in toto*; but ſhould his oppoſition fail of the deſired ſucceſs, he would move different amendments in the different reſolution, as they ſhould be propoſed and read to the Committee.

Mr. W. W Grenville

The right honourable *W. W. Grenville* ſaid, he had waited with great anxiety for an opportunity to deliver his ſentiments on theſe propoſitions, in which he felt a deep intereſt. When he conſidered the relative ſituation of England and Ireland, he ſhould have conceived it impoſſible, had he not heard the noble Lord in the laſt and preſent debate on the Iriſh meaſures, that any man in his ſenſes could have maintained in a ſerious manner, that the preſent ſyſtem of intercourſe between the two countries could poſſibly ſubſiſt much longer; much leſs, that it might continue for ever, with mutual advantage to both countries. He confeſſed he was much ſurpriſed at the general argument of the noble Lord it was, the noble Lord had ſaid, in perfect uniſon with the whole tenor of his political life it was ſo; but was that, he aſked, a reaſon why it ſhould be better intitled

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to conſideration and reſpect? Was it becauſe it breathed the ſame ſpirit with thoſe arguments by which he ſupported the American war, that grand criterion of the noble Lord's principles and abilities, that a Houſe Commons ſhould, at this day, with all the experience they have had of the noble Lord, ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed upon by him on the preſent occaſion, becauſe he had formerly found means of impoſing on another Parliament? The noble Lord ſeemed to imagine, that Ireland did not call for any alteration in the ſyſtem of commerce with this country, and that it was offered to her, and preſſed upon her by the Government of England. From the opportunity he had from his connection with the noble perſon (his brother, the Marquis of Buckingham, to whom, when he was Earl Temple, he was Secretary in Ireland) who had been in the Lieutenancy of that kingdom ſome time ago, he had an opportunity of feeling the diſpoſition of the people there; and he was ſo thoroughly convinced of the neceſſity of altering and amending the commercial intercourſe between them and the people of this country, that he wrote over to His Majeſty's then Miniſters, his ſentiments on the ſubject; and they would no doubt have turned their attention to ſo important an object as ſoon as the concluſion of the peace had left them a moment's reſpite from the other weighty concerns of the empire had they remained in office their ſucceſſors this day had taken it up, and it would afford him unſpeakable pleaſure, if he ſhould have been in any degree, however humble, inſtrumental in reſtoring harmony and union to the two kingdoms, and as his right honourable friend (Mr. Pitt) had ſaid on a former day, in knitting together the remaining limbs of the empire. Had the noble Lord been but as well informed on the ſubject as he ought to have been when he was in office, he would not have ſtopt where he did in the plan he had laid down for the commercial concerns of Ireland; nor would have waited to produce his plan, ſuch as it was, until it had been forced from him by the point of the bayonet. the *lucida tela* had made him do on a ſudden, what ſound policy ſhould have made him do long before. The noble Lord ſeemed to think, that in the propoſitions then under conſideration, the reciprocity was all on the ſide of Ireland; but his Lordſhip muſt have hazarded the expreſſion without reflection. If England ſhould prohibit the importation of linens, the noble Lord thought Ireland would

retaliate only by prohibiting the exportation of proviſions: but here the noble Lord had ſurely forgot the evidence that had been given at the bar; where it had been aſſerted, that the raw materials of many of the great manufactures of England were brought from Ireland: ſhould the latter then prohibit the exportation of them, what would become of the Engliſh manufactures? Should ſhe prohibit the exportation of woollen yarn, how greatly would the ſtaple manufacture of this country ſuffer? Should ſhe do the ſame with reſpect to raw hides, the different branches employed in the leather trade of Great Britain would be utterly undone.

He obſerved, that however fortified the noble Lord might think this country againſt any hoſtile proceedings of the Iriſh merchants, by the power which ſhe had of prohibiting the importation of Iriſh linens, this was no ſecurity; becauſe, ſuch a prohibition, would operate as much againſt England as Ireland, and ultimately more, becauſe, by that means we ſhould be injured in the article of our ſhipping, and loſe the carrying of the Iriſh linens to the foreign markets. Nor would this be the only bad conſequence, this carrying trade being thus thrown into the hands of the Iriſh, they would thereby contract habits of intercourſe with the States of America, and with other foreign nations, that would by degrees undermine us in our trade to thoſe countries. Thus, it would appear, that though a war of bounties would be highly prejudicial to Ireland, it would be little leſs ſo to England. The noble Lord was of opinion, that the cheapneſs of proviſions would enable the Iriſh to underſel the Engliſh manufacturer at his own door: but he had brought no proof of this, indeed it would have been wonderful if he had, for nobody knew where to find any ſuch proof: on the contrary, it had been proved at the bar, by a very reſpectable gentleman (Captain Brook) who had ſet up an extenſive cotton manufactory in Ireland, that he had always given the ſame wages that was given at Mancheſter, and that he had on more occaſions than one, with difficulty eſcaped with his life from his workmen, who had confederated, in order to compel him to raiſe their wages higher than thoſe that were paid at Mancheſter. So far no greater cheapneſs of labour appeared in one country than in the other: but ſuppoſing the wages were ſomewhat lower in Ireland than in England, he would not admit that as a proof that labour was in fact cheaper, for the true way to eſtimate that point would be to

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ſee what work was done for the money, and if the work was not proportioned, or equal to the price, then labour could not be ſaid to be as low as from the wages it might appear to be. The noble Lord had ſaid, that this country contributed immenſely in taxes towards the ſupport of Government, whilſt Ireland was comparatively untaxed, and would contribute nothing to the common cauſe. To this he would reply, that if England was heavily taxed, ſhe had now, and had had the benefit for a whole century paſt, of a widely-extended trade, from which ſhe had excluded Ireland; and the latter had already given to England, all that ſhe would have made, if, by a barbarous and equally abſurd policy, ſhe had not been debarred from thoſe advantages that God and nature had given her Her poverty occaſioned by this country was one ground of her claim to a participation of that trade too long engroſſed by England; but this was not all, for excluſive of the army, which ſhe kept up in time of peace, and the 3000 men ſhe conſtantly lent to Great Britain, and paid for the defence of the Colonies, in return for this final adjuſtment, ſhe would make a contribution to the ſupport of the navy, by which the trade, to a ſhare of which ſhe was to be now admitted, would be protected.

Mr *Burke* remarked, that the language held out by the right honourable gentleman at the cloſe of his ſpeech, reminded him of ſentiments ſomewhat ſimilar that had been delivered from the ſame bench ſome few years ago relative to the American war, but he hoped he had heard them this day under better auſpices When the American war was opening, the language of the Houſe was, "The ſupremacy of "Parliament muſt be maintained" But alas, this ſupremacy was ſoon renounced, and revenue became the faſhionable word, ſo that the purſuit after contribution had ſucceeded the purſuit after dominion. The ſupremacy of the Parliament over Ireland had been renounced, but the idea of contribution followed cloſely at the heels of the renunciation of dominion: he hoped in God the concluſion of this buſineſs would not be like that of the conteſt with America. After having made this ſhort preface, he ſaid, that what had fallen from the right honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt, made it neceſſary that he ſhould aſk the right honourable gentleman at the head of the Exchequer a queſtion, relative to the fund from which this contribution was to ariſe. Though he was not pleaſed with the notion of making Ireland pay any tribute as a compenſation for what we were Mr Burke.

to concede; yet, ſince ſhe was to pay it, it would be well worth the while of the Committee to be informed of the probable amount of that tribute. He wiſhed to know, then, whether the hereditary revenue was to be ſeparated from every other fund in Ireland, ſo that the charges of the public might not firſt exhauſt this before any other was touched, and alſo, whether the expence of collecting was to be charged upon it, and deducted from it, before any diſpoſable ſurplus could come out of it?

Mr. Chancellor Pitt.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* expreſſed his ſurpriſe, that the right honourable gentleman had been able to find any analogy between the contribution which might be expected from Ireland in conſequence of the adjuſtment that was then under conſideration, and the revenue which ſome gentlemen had had it for object to raiſe in America. The queſtion in the latter caſe was, whether men intereſted in alleviating the burdens of themſelves and their conſtituents, ſhould, by the ſupreme power of Parliament, impoſe taxes upon perſons whom they did not repreſent, and raiſe a revenue to be applied to the eaſe of England, without leaving to the Americans the right of aſcertaining either the quantum of that revenue, or the mode of raiſing it? The contribution from Ireland was to be levied and granted, not by England, but by the very repreſentatives of the people of Ireland, not for the purpoſe of eaſing the burdens of any part of the King's dominions, but to maintain the navy, by which the common intereſts of both England and Ireland were to be defended and ſupported. Could any man ſee any one feature in this caſe that reſembled, in the leaſt degree, the picture of the riſe and progreſs of the American conteſt? He hoped the right honourable gentleman's compariſon of two queſtions that had not a ſhadow of reſemblance to each other, would not be carried over to his native country without this reply to it, or that if it ſhould, the good ſenſe and penetration of his countrymen would prevent them from thinking, that in the application of a ſurplus of the ſinking fund to the defence of the common intereſts of both kingdoms, there was the moſt diſtant idea of making one pay tribute to the other. Having made this remark, he ſaid, he would anſwer the queſtion put to him by the right honourable gentleman. the hereditary revenue, he ſaid, let it produce what it would, ſhould be charged only with 656,000l. all above that ſhould be applied to the uſe of the navy, and the Iriſh Parliament would of courſe add to the 656,000l. ſuch other funds as ſhould be ſufficient for the different eſtabliſhments both civil and military, to this he had only to add,

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this revenue would, of courſe, be charged with the expences of collection.

Mr. *Burke* replied, that the right honourable gentleman had dealt by him as he had done by Ireland, he had given a great deal more than had been aſked: mounted aloft on the ſhoulders of the right honourable gentleman on his right hand (Mr. Jenkinſon) the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſeemed to ſtand in defiance of attacks, and, ſupported by that coalition, to brave every oppoſition he envied not the ſtatue its pedeſtal, nor the pedeſtal its ſtatue. The right honourable gentleman had thought proper to remind him, that he was a native of Ireland; it was true; and he conceived that much was due by every man to the place of his nativity, but this duty ought not to abſorb every other. When another country was generous enough to receive a man into her boſom, and raiſe him from nothing, as this great country had raiſed him, to ſtations of the greateſt honour and truſt, and conferred upon him the power of doing good to millions, ſuch a country had claims upon him not inferior to thoſe of that which had given him birth; it was the duty of ſuch a man to reconcile, if poſſible, the two duties however, ſhould they unfortunately point different ways, it was his bounden duty, either to return the truſt repoſed in him by the adopting country, or elſe conſider its intereſts as paramount to every other upon earth. To conſult the intereſts of England and Ireland, to unite and conſolidate them into one, was a taſk he would undertake, as that by which he could beſt diſcharge the duties he owed to both. To Ireland, independence of legiſlature had been given; ſhe was now a coordinate, though leſs powerful State, but pre-eminence and dignity were due to England; it was ſhe alone that muſt bear the weight and burden of empire; ſhe alone muſt pour out the ocean of wealth neceſſary for the defence of it: Ireland and other parts might empty their little urns to ſwell the tide; they might wield their little puny tridents; but the great trident that was to move the world, muſt be graſped by England alone, and dearly it coſt her to hold it. Independence of legiſlature had been granted to Ireland; but no other independence could Great Britain give her without reverſing the order and decree of nature: Ireland could not be ſeparated from England; ſhe could not exiſt without her; ſhe muſt for ever remain under the protection of England, her guardian angel. From theſe principles, he truſted the Committee would perceive, that in what he ſhould ſay, he

Mr. Burke.

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its principal objects. To ſay the truth, the attention of the Houſe has of late been ſo much engaged in buſineſs more immediately urgent, that a general account of the purpoſes of the bill is not likely to be altogether uſeleſs.

The objects of the bill are,

1ſt. To reduce into one act thoſe various proviſions reſpecting the Exciſe juriſdiction that are now diſperſed, without regularity or the leaſt degree of order, through a great variety of ſtatutes.

2d. To reconcile thoſe proviſions to each other, and render the law conſonant to itſelf.

3d To improve the ſyſtem by giving to the ſubject, on certain conditions, and without certain exceptions that are neceſſary for the ſecurity of the revenue, an optional right of trial by jury in queſtions of exciſe.

The utility of the firſt of theſe objects, the reducing into one act ſuch proviſions in former acts as relate to the Exciſe juriſdiction, will not, I believe, be diſputed. At preſent a knowledge of the powers of the Commiſſioners of Exciſe, and of Juſtices of the Peace in queſtions of exciſe, can only be collected from the perusal of a vaſt variety of ſtatutes, in which judicial regulations are mixed with proviſions of a totally different nature.

If the ſubject is bound to give obedience to any particular juriſdiction, he has certainly a right to know what that juriſdiction is, and what are the limits of its powers, but, at preſent, to obtain that information, he muſt look through all the ſtatutes that compoſe the voluminous code of our Exciſe laws I have therefore endeavoured to reduce into one act the proviſions of former acts; and though I have not ſo much confidence in the ſucceſs of my endeavours as to inſert in the bill a general repealing clauſe, yet I am in hopes that no material omiſſion will be found — and I am happy to ſay, as a much better ſecurity for correctneſs than any diligence of mine, that the bill has been ſubmitted to the inſpection of the Commiſſioners of Exciſe and their ſolicitors, and to that of perſons of the higheſt authority in the law.

My next object, as I obſerved, was to render the different proviſions of the old law conſonant to each other — I found, for example, that in ſome caſes an appeal is given from the judgement of the two juſtices, who are empowered to decide in the firſt inſtance, to the judgement of the juſtices aſſembled at the Quarter Seſſions, and that in other caſes, without any diſcoverable reaſon for the difference, no ſuch appeal

is allowed — it is given, for inſtance, in queſtions ariſing upon malt and leather, and not in queſtions ariſing upon any other commodities.

The bill propoſes to give this appeal in all caſes of deciſion by juſtices of the peace.

In ſome caſes, as the law now ſtands, the Commiſſioners of Exciſe have a power to mitigate penalties to a third of their amount; in others to a fourth, in others to any ſum not leſs than double the amount of the duties; while in practice, they frequently, from motives of compaſſion, mitigate almoſt to nothing — the bill propoſes that they ſhall not be permitted to mitigate any penalty to leſs than a fourth of the whole.

In ſome caſes, as in all adjudications of penalties, the judgement of the Commiſſioners of Exciſe is held to be not only final, but alſo concluſive to all intents and purpoſes — in other caſes, thoſe I mean of goods ſeized as forfeited, it has been held in one of our Courts of common law, but not in the other two, that the adjudication of the Commiſſioners is merely final.

I ſhall have occaſion to explain the nature of the diſpute, which is of more conſequence than appears at firſt view, when the clauſe which relates to it is read; and I ſhall then ſtate the reaſons that induce me to think that, as an optional right of trial by jury is given by this bill in all caſes of forfeiture of that kind to which the diſpute relates, the judgement of the Commiſſioners, if the ſubject takes them for his judges, ſhould be concluſive to all intents and purpoſes.

The bill alſo propoſes virtually to aboliſh the future appointment of Commiſſioners of Appeal, and of Sub-commiſſioners, becauſe, in practice, neither the one nor the other have any exiſtence.

Such are the moſt material of thoſe alterations that are propoſed with a view of giving uniformity and ſyſtem to the old law—I believe they will be found, in all reſpects, conſiderable improvements.—I come now, Sir, to the third and unqueſtionably the principal object of the bill, which is, the giving to the ſubject, on certain conditions, and with certain exceptions that are neceſſary for the ſecurity of the revenue, an optional right of trial by jury in queſtions of exciſe.

The reaſons that have led me to propoſe this change in the law — a change which the learned gentleman near me, in the few words he has uſed on this occaſion, has repreſented as of ſuch fearful conſequence, I ſhall gladly ſubmit to the conſideration of the Committee when this part of the bill is read.

I reſpect,

I reſpect, at all times, the abilities and the character of the learned gentleman; but, with the ancient common law of the land, and our venerable Conſtitution on my ſide, I am much more diſpoſed to meet than to decline the conteſt.

Monday, May 30.

On the report of the reſolutions from the Committee of Ways and Means, Mr. Minchin roſe to expreſs his ſurpriſe at the ſecond-hand budgets which were thus brought forward ſo late in the ſeſſion, and without any preliminary notice to the Houſe. Mr. Roſe explained the reaſons of the new regulations which were propoſed in the Carriage-duty bill, &c. and ſaid the reſolutions could not be conſidered as new taxes. The report was received.

The order of the day for the third reading of the bill impoſing a tax on ſhopkeepers having been moved and read,

The Earl of Surrey. The Earl of *Surrey* roſe once more to object to the tax, and to ſtate that he was authoriſed by a meeting of ſhopkeepers and tradeſmen to propoſe it to the right honourable gentleman to change his tax, and inſtead of keeping it, as at preſent, at the rate of ten per cent. on all the ſhopkeepers, to lay it at five per cent. and extend it to all warehouſes, repoſitories, &c. After ſaying, that if the propoſition he had ſtated, of changing it from a ten per centage on the rents of ſhopkeepers, to a five per centage on the rents of warehouſemen and wholeſale dealers, were acceded to, that the tax would be much more generally palatable than it was, he concluded with moving, by way of amendment, to leave out the word "now," and inſert "Thurſday next."

Mr. Roſe. Mr. *Roſe* ſaid, to accede to the noble Lord's propoſition would be to relinquiſh a very conſiderable part of the ſum for which the tax had been given; and as therefore it would be in the higheſt degree impolitic to adopt the alteration, he declared he would object to the motion.

Mr. Ald. Newnham. Mr. Alderman *Newnham* ſtrenuouſly contended againſt the tax as extremely hard and partial, and as one of the worſt taxes that had ever been propoſed. He ſaid, to his knowledge, a tax had been ſuggeſted to the right honourable gentleman, which would produce a larger ſum, would be eaſily collected, would ſcarcely be felt by the Public, and was every way a more eligible tax. He hoped, therefore, the right honourable gentleman would relax, and conſent to give up the preſent propoſed tax, and ſubſtitute that, in the place of it,

to

to which he alluded; the right honourable gentleman would, he was ſure, underſtand him.

Mr. *Mainwaring* ſaid, he held it to be his duty to oppoſe the tax in every ſtage of it, from motives of juſtice to a great number of individuals, who would be deeply injured by it. Mr Mainwaring.

Mr. *Hammet* followed Mr Mainwaring, and, with great earneſtneſs, oppoſed the tax. He declared that from the firſt moment it had been propoſed, he conſidered it as partial and unjuſt in the extreme, that ſince he had the honour of delivering his ſentiments to the Houſe upon the meaſure, he had had the pleaſure of receiving inſtructions from his conſtituents to oppoſe the bill in every ſtage. Mr. Hammet ſuggeſted a tax of ſix pence in the pound on houſes, as a tax that would bear more equally on property. He ſaid, in propoſing this tax, inſtead of that on ſhops, he had no view to any thing but equality and fairneſs. Mr Hammet.

Mr. *Drake* admitted that taxes were now become a mere option of evils, the taxes on luxuries, he ſaid, were liable to the imputation of not being productive, and the taxes on neceſſaries nearly exhauſted, nevertheleſs, there was ſome choice left. He exclaimed againſt the preſent tax in a ſpeech of ſome length. He paid the Chancellor of the Exchequer compliments on his eminent abilities, his patriotic heart, and his excellent underſtanding, he expreſſed his ſurpriſe, therefore, at his perſiſting to enforce a tax ſo univerſally odious and unpopular. Mr. Drake.

Mr. *Smyth* (Member for Pontefract) ſaid, he had received inſtructions from his conſtituents to oppoſe the tax; and though he thought the paying a blind and implicit obedience to conſtituents, in all caſes, was not only to admit a doctrine dangerous to the independence of that Houſe, but to ſacrifice their own judgement, yet he was of opinion, that the utmoſt deference and reſpect ſhould, on every occaſion, be paid to the wiſhes of thoſe who were to be materially and perſonally affected by any meaſures of Government that were in agitation in Parliament; he therefore ſhould vote againſt the tax. Mr Smyth.

Mr. *Pultney* reaſoned againſt the tax. he ſaid it was liable to much objection; if it was paid by the ſhopkeepers it would operate perſonally and partially on a particular deſcription of perſons, and would be too heavy a burden for them to bear; if it fell upon conſumption, then it would be impoſſible for the Public ever to know how much they paid; they would however pay a great deal more than the Mr Pultney.

tax was given for, which was a bad conſequence of taxation. Mr. Pulteney added ſome other arguments againſt the tax.

Mr Sawbridge

Mr. *Sawbridge* deſired to aſk a queſtion before he proceeded to argue againſt the bill Had not the right honourable gentleman had another tax propoſed to him by the ſhopkeepers, which would produce more, without being equally liable to objection?

Mr Chancellor Pitt

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* ſaid, he undoubtedly had heard of another tax, a tax on ſhoes, to which a worthy magiſtrate had alluded.

Mr. Sawbridge.

Mr. *Sawbridge* reſumed his ſpeech and ſaid, as the right honourable gentleman had admitted that another tax had been propoſed, and as he had named it, he would explain to the Houſe upon what ſort of computation the ſum ſtated to be produced by ſuch a tax was to be aſcertained. The Alderman then ſaid, that it was calculated, that there were eight millions of people in this kingdom; four millions were allowed for children or poor, whoſe ſhoes were exceedingly low priced, of the reſt, two millions of people bought two pair of ſhoes each a year, of the value of from four to five ſhillings the pair; on theſe it was ſuggeſted that a two-penny ſtamp might be impreſſed, which would raiſe 33,000l. 6s. 8d. That one million of perſons purchaſed three pair yearly, from five to ſix ſhillings, upon which a four-penny ſtamp might be placed, and that would produce 50,000l. and that one million of perſons purchaſed three pair yearly of ſix ſhillings value and upwards, upon theſe it was propoſed to affix a ſtamp of ſixpence, which would produce 75,000l. A million pair of boots it, was alſo ſuppoſed, were bought annually, upon theſe it was deſigned to impoſe a ſtamp duty of one ſhilling per pair, which altogether would amount to 280,333l. 6s. 8d.

RESTATEMENT.

2 mill. who bought	2 pair, a 4s. to 5s. at 2d.	33,333	6	8
1 mill.	3 pair, a 5s. to 6s. at 4d.	50,000	0	0
1 mill.	3 pair, a 6s. & up. at 6d.	75,000	0	0
1 mill. pair of boots,	at 1s - - -	50,000	0	0
Total - - - - -		£ 208,333	6	8

The Alderman reaſoned on this new propoſition, and aſked to what was it the Public were to attribute it, but to the obſtinacy of the right honourable gentleman, which made

him

him ſo pertinaciouſly adhere to what he had once propoſed, that he perſiſted in forcing a tax upon them that was univerſally complained of as partial, oppreſſive, and unjuſt. Mr. Sawbridge coincided with Mr. Pulteney, that as it was the Chancellor of the Exchequer's duty to ſuggeſt taxes, ſo was it the duty of the Houſe to reject ſuch as were found to be ill choſen. That duty it was incumbent on the Houſe to exerciſe on the preſent occaſion; he hoped therefore they would enforce it.

Colonel *Phipps* ſaid, the only objection to the tax that ſeemed to have any weight was, that it would fall wholly on the ſhopkeeper; this, he thought would not be complained of, if ſhopkeepers were allowed to put a per centage on all book debts. Col. Phipps

Mr. *Medley* defended the tax, and obſerved, that he liked it the better becauſe it was likely to be paid by the ſhopkeeper himſelf. Mr Medley

Mr. Sloper made a ſhort ſpeech againſt the tax.

Mr. *Windam* ſpoke againſt it. He began by declaring, that he was inſtructed by his conſtituents to oppoſe it, and that their inſtructions were perfectly conſiſtent with his own private ſentiments. He ſaid the argument had got into a dilemma; that on the one hand it was contended, that it would fall perſonally on the ſhopkeeper, which if it did, it was pretty generally admitted, would be intitled to the epithets of partial, oppreſſive, and unjuſt, with regard to the particular ſet of individuals it would preſs upon. On the other hand it was urged, that if it fell upon conſumption, the Public would pay a great deal more towards it than the revenue would receive. Mr. Windham aſked upon what principle of taxation was the ſhop tax founded? It was a general maxim that equality was the right principle of taxation, but in the preſent caſe, it appeared that inequality was the principle adopted. He reaſoned upon this, and illuſtrated his obſervation by reminding the Houſe, that when the houſe tax was paſſed, it was found to bear equally upon ſhopkeepers, and it had been admitted that it did ſo accidentally that inequality, however ſtrange to tell, was here made the baſis of another tax, and carried much farther! This, Mr. Windham reprobated as the extreme of injuſtice. he was aware, he ſaid, at the ſame time, that perfect equality was a mere chimera, and not to be hoped for or expected, but ſomething nearer to equality might be had, and ought to have been ſought after. There were, he remarked, two modes Mr Windham.

of impoſing taxes; either to lay them ſpecifically and immediately, or to lay them generally, and leave them to be diſtributed on articles of conſumption by thoſe who were to pay them in the firſt inſtance. This latter mode was often convenient to Miniſters, but it was generally inconvenient to the Public, becauſe it expoſed them to pay the taxes impoſed over and over again.

Mr Chancellor Pitt.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* anſwered Mr Windham. He ſaid that it was by no means fair, to conſider the tax ſimply as one either on the income of the trader or on the general conſumption, but of a mixed nature, comprehending in it the principle of each of theſe two ſpecies of taxation. Where the profit on the articles of trade was ſuch as would bear the payment of the tax, there the trader would pay it for his own ſake, and it was fair that he ſhould: but where, on the contrary, the profit was inconſiderable, the tax would be levied by the ſhopkeeper on his cuſtomers. He diſputed Mr. Windham's idea, that the practice and views of ſhopkeepers were merely to obtain ſuch a profit as they could live on; on the contrary, their object always would be, to make as great an advantage by the ſale of their commodities, as the neceſſity of a competition with other traders would permit. Hence, then, there was no greater danger after the paſſing of this tax, of the ſmaller traders falling a prey to the more opulent, by laying them under burdens which the latter could bear better than the former, becauſe the richer ſhopkeeper being ſtill governed by the principle of trade, (that of acquiring the greateſt profit he could ſafely look for) would not be more ready to abate in his prices now that the competition with the poorer trader had become ſtill more unfavourable to him in conſequence of the increaſed proportion of the burden which compartively he was to bear.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. *Fox* anſwered the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and repeated all the eſſential arguments he had formerly urged, in proof that it was a partial houſe tax, and not, as it was called, a tax on ſhops. He enforced Mr. Windham's poſition, that it was an extenſion of that inequality which had been the characteriſtic of the houſe tax, and contended, that it would be impracticable for the tax to be diſtributed among the articles of conſumption, becauſe twenty, or even a thirty-pound tax, could be better afforded to be paid or given away, as it were, by the large ſhopkeeper, whoſe returns were quick and to a large amount, than the petty ſhopkeeper could afford

to

to pay the ſmall tax; and if the petty ſhopkeeper attempted to diſtribute the tax on the ſeveral articles he dealt in, inevitable ruin muſt follow; becauſe, undoubtedly the Public would not buy at the petty ſhop where the articles were all ſold at an advanced price, but at the capital ſhop where they were ſold cheaper, and thus the capital ſhopkeeper would be enabled to ruin the leſſer. For theſe reaſons Mr. Fox ſaid he ſhould vote for the amendment.

Mr. *Coke* ſaid, he had received inſtructions from his conſtituents to oppoſe the tax, which he conſidered as a ſmaller injury preceding the very material one that was going to be done the commercial and trading intereſts of the country, by voting the reſolutions founded on the Iriſh propoſitions, that in two hours time would come under the conſideration of the Houſe. Mr. Coke ſaid he had that day preſented a petition from 2500 of his conſtituents againſt thoſe reſolutions, and added ſome remarks to prove, that the ſhop tax and the Iriſh meaſures were both of them fatal attacks on the trade and commerce of the country. Mr. Coke.

Sir Gregory Page Turner ſpoke in ſupport of the bill.

Mr. *Roſe* in anſwer to Mr. Coke's argument for more time ſaid, that the tax had now been three weeks propoſed, and that there could not exiſt a doubt but it was matter of great notoriety. Mr Roſe.

The Houſe divided on the queſtion that the word "now," ſtand part of the motion.

Ayes	- - - - - -	114
Noes	- - - - - -	87

The amendment was conſequently loſt.

The queſtion was put, "That the bill do now paſs." Upon this another debate aroſe in which the ſame arguments were renewed.

The Houſe divided again, and the numbers were:

Ayes	- - - -	111
Noes	- - - -	75

The Houſe then entered into the final conſideration of the Iriſh reſolutions.

Mr. *Duncombe* ſtated the contents of a petition from the perſons concerned in tanning of leather, &c. &c. in Yorkſhire, and after a ſhort ſpeech, aſſerting the extreme reſpectability of the perſons who ſubſcribed it, moved that it be brought up. This being ordered, it was preſented and read at the table. Mr Duncombe.

Mr.

Mr Wilberforce.

Mr. *Wilberforce*, after confirming what had fallen from his colleague reſpecting the number and reſpectability of the body of men whoſe petition had been juſt preſented to the Houſe, begged leave, as the prayer of their petition could not be complied with, to be heard by themſelves and their counſel, the ſame requeſt having been refuſed to others, that he, who conſidered himſelf as their counſel, to plead their cauſe to the beſt of his abilities, might be allowed to ſtate in their name, their objections to the reſolutions in queſtion, and the injuries which would reſult from them to their manufactures. Their requeſt was, that the reſtrictions which were laid on the intercourſe between Ireland and our American, Weſt-India, and African colonies, might be extended to have place in all other countries as far as regarded their manufacture. Now, though to others it might be ſaid, that their manufacture not being put in any worſe ſituation by theſe reſolutions, there was no occaſion for them applying at this particular time (for no one would inſinuate that the diſadvantages complained of had ariſen ſince the conceſſions of the year 82,) yet he believe, that any moment ſince that time muſt be acknowledged a proper one, and that the manufacturers of leather would have ſought relief from Parliament, though theſe reſolutions had never been brought forward. The grievance was this; that leather was of a better kind here, with an exciſe of 15 per cent. from which it was exempt in Ireland; and their duty was only partially drawn back in any inſtance, and in ſome not at all. This produced ſuch an advantage to Ireland, that our trade could not ſubſiſt if it were to be continued; they therefore wiſhed, that as in the caſe of the Weſt Indies, &c. Ireland ſhould impoſe duties equal to thoſe we paid on the exportation of theſe articles to all foreign markets. The only ſecurity for their obtainment of this relief, they conceived, was propoſed to be taken away by ſecuring to Ireland the perpetual importation of bark: they therefore wiſhed that we ſhould keep it in our power to lay on, if neceſſary, a prohibition on this article, as we did in the inſtances of meal, malt, flour, and biſcuit.

With reſpect to his own opinions, Mr. Wilberforce ſaid, as far as the ſhortneſs of the time ſince the article had been more peculiarly preſſed on him by ſo reſpectable a body of his conſtituents, he confeſſed he was afraid to move for the duty on leather exported from Ireland to foreign countries; a propoſition which in effect had been rejected here, and which, however

ever deſirable, he feared the Iriſh would never conſent to: but he wiſhed to ſtate one way, in which he conceived great relief might be given to the body of manufacturers in queſtion, and that was in the drawbacks, there were different, riſing in proportion to the greater proceſs the raw material had undergone; ſo that in ſhoes and boots that drawback was nominally equal to the duty, but this was only nominally; for it being only ſo much per lb. as had been paid on the raw materials, there being 3 5ths of this raw material waſted in the proceſs, inſtead of receiving a drawback of fifteen, the duty originally paid, he received but 9lb. Here Mr. Wilberforce thought relief might be afforded, according to the very ſpirit and principle with which the drawback was originally granted, and he was ſure that the leather manufacture deſerved every encouragement, being of the utmoſt importance to this country it was a queſtion in which the revenue, as well as the other intereſts of the Public were materially concerned. Mr. Wilberforce alſo ſtated a doubt which had ariſen in the minds of ſome gentlemen, whether tanned leather, on its importation from Ireland, would be ſubject to the countervailing duty. Of this, he ſaid, he had no doubt whatever, it being to all intents and purpoſes a manufacture, this, however, ought certainly to be put beyond all doubt.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* then moved, that the order of the day be read, for taking into conſideration the report of the twenty reſolutions grounded on the Iriſh propoſitions. This being done, he ſaid, it would, he preſumed, be adviſable for them to adjuſt the order of their proceeding previous to their going into the buſineſs. He wiſhed therefore to know, whether it would be moſt agreeable to take the general debate then, or to go on with the reſolutions one after another, admitting or rejecting ſuch amendments as ſhould be offered. Mr Chancellor Pitt.

Mr. *Machin* ſaid, he meant to move, that the farther conſideration of the report be adjourned till that day three months; but whether his motion was received then, and the debate taken upon it, or whether it was moved after going through the reſolutions, was a matter of perfect indifference to him; he only wiſhed to conform to the orders of the Houſe. Mr Machin.

Lord *North* ſaid, he conceived that to be the fit period to admit the debate, as there would be no other ſtage to take it at on a general queſtion, but the final one, "That theſe "reſolutions be carried up to the Lords." Ld North.

The

The Speaker. The *Speaker* ſaid, undoubtedly the preſent was the fit and proper time for taking the debate.

Mr Jenkinſon. Mr. *Jenkinſon* ſaid, it appeared to him to be of very little importance when the debate was taken, but that he thought the time preſent as good as any.

Mr Minchin. Mr. *Minchin* then roſe to make his promiſed motion. He began with diſavowing any thing like a party motive on the ſubject, a ſubject upon which no gentleman was leſs liable to partiality. What property he had was, he ſaid, pretty equally divided between the two kingdoms, part of it lay here, part in Ireland: it would therefore be very extraordinary for him not to feel with an equal degree of anxiety for the welfare of both countries. In the whole progreſs of the important buſineſs (and ſurely buſineſs more important, or of greater magnitude, had never been agitated in any Houſe of Parliament, in any period of our hiſtory) he had duly attended the numerous debates and converſation that had taken place, but had not given one ſingle vote on any: and the reaſon why he had not voted, was, becauſe it had not been in his power to underſtand the reſolutions. No man, he ſaid, loved to ſtand diſtinguiſhed for his dulneſs of apprehenſion; he therefore was happy to be able to ſay, he by no means ſtood alone in the predicament he had deſcribed. A great many perſons, not only of better capacities than he laid claim to, but men of undoubted abilities, ſtood in the ſame ſituation with him; nay, he believed he might fairly go farther, and declare, that the bulk of the people were equally ignorant with him of the true ſcope and meaning of all the reſolutions. How cruel then would it be, to call upon him, circumſtanced as he deſcribed himſelf to be to come to a deciſive vote upon a ſubject of ſuch infinite importance! Among the various petitions that had been preſented, and were at that moment upon the table, thoſe from the manufacturers, ſtating their alarms and their terrors, leſt their private intereſts ſhould be injured, were thoſe, he made no ſcruple to acknowledge, that he paid the leaſt regard to. He would go farther; he did not believe there was much foundation for any ſuch alarms. But there were other petitions, the ſtyle of which was more moderate, and the prayer more prudent, to which he did pay very great attention; he meant, he ſaid, the petitions for time: he thought there was great wiſdom in ſuch a requiſition; and to the petitioners he deſired to add his feeble voice. He begged, intreated, and implored moſt earneſtly for more time. He had already ſtated,

that

that he had as yet formed no opinion on the subject, and that for the best of all possible reasons, because he was not sufficiently master of it to be able to form any. Let the House recollect to what extent a vote upon so great a subject would go: it would close the scene irrevocably on this country and seal its doom! With that awful impression on his mind was it to be wondered at, that he should earnestly implore for more time? What he wished was, that the farther consideration of the resolutions might be put off till next session. It might possibly be urged, that the resolutions had been five months before the House; but such an assertion he begged leave to deny, they had not been five weeks, nor yet five days on their table: but neither five months, nor five times five months, were sufficient for the examination of so weighty and so important a consideration. The Union with Scotland had not been [illegible] with such inconvenient haste. Though a work of [illegible] importance, the Minister of those days (a wise Minister, [illegible], never held the reins of government) allowed two years to Parliament before they called for a vote upon the subject: why not allow more time now than the short period that had elapsed? Let it not be thought by asking for time he wished to deny Ireland all this country [illegible] persuaded the prosperity of Ireland [illegible] of Great Britain, and that Ireland, [illegible] affectionate, and zealous for our interests, deserved every favour and every advantage that could be granted with safety to the great and important interests of the empire. Nor did he mean to say, that the resolutions voted in the Committee might not be made the basis of a permanent treaty conducive to the mutual harmony and happiness of both countries, undoubtedly they might, strengthened, explained, and meliorated, by amendments and regulations of a different nature. What he would humbly suggest was, that the farther consideration of the resolutions be adjourned at least till the next session, that proper persons, Members of Parliament and others, be appointed on the part of the two kingdoms, to inquire into what would best conduce to the true interests of each, that those persons assiduously conduct their investigation during the recess; and that Parliament be called together as early as possible, to receive the produce of the inquiry: and then, with good ground to tread on, and certain information before them, proceed to construct a stable, a solid, and a perma-

nent temple, ſacred to the concord and commerce of the two countries: if, inſtead of acting with that neceſſary precaution, the right honourable gentleman raſhly inſiſted on raiſing a building on a ſandy foundation, it would be torn up by the firſt blaſt and blown to atoms.

Let the right honourable gentleman recollect he had many years to look forward to; they would afford him joy or regret exactly as he acted on the preſent occaſion: a falſe ſtep in ſuch a buſineſs, through too great a degree of eagerneſs and precipitation, could never be retrieved. After deſcanting for ſome time in this manner, Mr. Minchin concluded with moving, "That the reſolutions be taken "into conſideration that day three months."

Mr. D. P Coke.

Mr. *D. P. Coke*, roſe to ſecond the motion, which he ſaid he could do with great propriety, as he had laſt week given notice of his intention of making a motion not exactly the ſame indeed to that now made, but which would very well come in under it. Mr. Coke then urged the neceſſity of this country's firſt obtaining the conſent of Ireland before ſhe went further. He ſtated the great inequality on which the two countries were proceeding, and after ſome pointed remarks on what had, there was one thing ſuggeſted by the honourable gentleman that he did not approve, and that was, the appointing Commiſſioners to conſiſt of Members of Parliament and others to treat with Commiſſioners of Ireland. His great objection, Mr. Coke ſaid, was, there were already 40,000 commiſſioners in Ireland ready to treat on her part. He ſtated a converſation he lately had upon the ſubject with an ingenious and ſenſible man: he had ſaid, theſe reſolutions would not prove an ultimatum to Ireland: there was one thing more that ſhe would likewiſe wiſh; ſhe would be a fool if ſhe did not demand it, and it was now obvious that Ireland had only to aſk and have; he meant, they would deſire that the King ſhould live one year out of three in Dublin. The conſequence would be, all our merchants and manufacturers would go there, and once in the country, there they would remain. Mr. Coke deſcanted on this, but praiſed the forbearance of Ireland, declaring, he relied more on her moderation, circumſtanced as ſhe was, than on our prudence. He ſaw no wiſdom in the Councils of Great Britain, he looked for it in the Councils of Ireland. He wiſhed therefore to know, before we proceeded farther, whether the reſolutions would prove ſatisfactory to Ireland.

Mr.

Mr. *Fox* strenuously supported the mover and seconder, appealing to the majority of the House, how much more to their credit it would be, to vote upon so important a subject, confirmed by knowledge of their own, and how infinitely more safe, than to vote on grounds of rash and ill advised confidence. Mr. Fox reminded the House, how much the resolutions had been altered, and how very very different they stood now to what they had stood originally: a stronger proof need not be adduced that their confidence had been ill placed, and it was plain, the right honourable gentleman was now convinced, that the [illegible] which the resolutions stood, when he first called on his [illegible] to vote them, had appeared to him to be [illegible] incomplete and improper to pass. [illegible] Fox argued [illegible] the complicated nature of the [illegible], the [illegible] of important objects [illegible] they embraced, and the very weighty and serious [illegible] they must lead to as reasons that ought [illegible] House to accede to the motion, and to wait till [illegible] before they came to a decisive vote upon them. [illegible] Fox said, the right honourable gentleman could [illegible] upon the resolutions in the present session of P[illegible] if he did, they should have that important business [illegible] them, when they could scarcely procure the attendance of forty Members to make a House. Mr. Fox.

Mr. [illegible] was [illegible] an advocate for time, and stated the extreme satisfaction it would afford his constituents, if the House [illegible] to an immediate decision.

Mr. [illegible] spoke on the same side, and adduced arguments in support of the motion. Mr. Harrison in particular urged the necessity of their meeting their constituents, and talking over the subject with them before they decided on a matter so infinitely important, and so deeply interesting to the whole empire. Mr. Harrison.

Mr. *Taylor*, on the contrary, pressed the House to take them into consideration then, while the evidence they had heard at their bar, and the numerous debates that had taken place were fresh in their minds, and they had it in their power to assist their recollection. Mr. Taylor said, for his part, if he was allowed five years to consider and revolve what had past lately, he could not make up his mind more completely upon the subject than he had already done. A great deal of matter well worth attending to, had been started by gentlemen on the other side of the House, and most ably had they argued it. the consequence was, he was ready to Mr. Taylor

vote the reſolutions that hour, as ready as he could poſſibly be at any future moment of his life.

The Houſe divided,

Ayes	- - - - - - -	40
Noes	- - - - - - -	87

The reſolutions were then read one by one, and when the clerk came to the ſecond, viz.

"That a full participation of commercial advantages "ſhould be permanently ſecured to Ireland, whenever a "proviſion, equally permanent and ſecure ſhall be made by "the Parliament of that kingdom towards defraying, in pro-"portion to its growing proſperity, the neceſſary expences "in time of peace, of protecting the trade and general in-"tereſts of the empire,"

Mr Pelham

Mr. *Pelham* ſaid, that notwithſtanding the little ſucceſs that had attended an amendment he had moved in the Committee, to this propoſition, for giving ſecurity to the revenue of this country, he would on this day move the ſame amendment in the Houſe that had been loſt in the Committee. In the ſingle article relative to Eaſt-India commerce, the revenue of England would loſe about 60,000l a year, by the permiſſion which it was intended the Company's ſhips ſhould have in future to take in part of their cargoes in Ireland, from doing which they were reſtrained at preſent. This was no trifling conſideration in the preſent ſtate of the revenue, and therefore he thought it his duty to take care, by an amendment, that it ſhould not undergo any diminution. He was then going to ſtate his amendment, when

Right Hon W. W Grenville

The right honourable *W. W Grenville* roſe, he ſaid, that he had an amendment to propoſe, which, in point of propriety ought to come in before that which the right honourable gentleman intended to move, and ſhould it be carried, he believed it would render the propoſal of ſuch an amendment abſolutely unneceſſary or rather improper. When the Committee reſiſted the amendment that had been propoſed by the right honourable gentleman, it was becauſe it would make the Iriſh think, there was ſome intention to do away by reſtraints, not only not foreſeen, but by no means neceſſary, the participation of commercial advantages, that Parliament was about to grant them; and on the other hand, the amendment was in itſelf inadmiſſible, becauſe it was not founded on the evidence that had been given at the bar at preſent, the Houſe, after having maturely weighed the evidence, might fairly come to a deciſion on points that

were

were not ſufficiently clear to juſtify a vote ſooner. He propoſed then, that the firſt line of the reſolution, viz. "That "it is the opinion of this Committee," ſhould be left out, and in its ſtead the following words be inſerted, "That it is "conſiſtent with the general intereſts of the revenue, manu-"factures, commerce, and navigation of this country" Should this amendment be adopted, he preſumed the right honourable gentleman would not preſs the alteration of which he had given notice, as the vote of the Houſe on the one amendment, would be deciſive of the fate of the other

Mr *Fox* ſaid, he did not mean to go into the conſideration of the plan on which he had repeatedly troubled the Houſe already, but he could not help obſerving, that the propoſition now laid down in the amendment propoſed by the right honourable gentleman, was falſe in point of fact, for every man muſt know, that whatever Ireland would gain by the ſhipping of goods to the Eaſt Indies, for inſtance, would be a loſs *pro tanto*, to the revenue of this country. Mr. Fox.

The queſtion was here put on the amendment, which was carried without oppoſition

Mr *Sheridan* obſerved that the latter part of the reſolution appeared to him very objectionable, inſomuch, as it went to tie Ireland down to a ſpecific proviſion for the ſupport of the navy, which in all probability would in the end, prove much leſs beneficial to this country, than if Parliament had truſted to the generoſity and liberality of Ireland. This part was objectionable on more accounts than one in the firſt place, the proviſion was to be ſecured in the time of peace only, ſo that in war, Ireland might ſtand neuter he would ſuppoſe, however, that it was expected, that in time of war, that country would make exertions in favour of this; the conſequence of courſe was, that in this inſtance, England, inſtead of ſtipulating for any ſpecific aſſiſtance, relied entirely upon the generoſity of Ireland. Why then ſhould there not be the ſame reliance in time of peace? Why ſhould there exiſt an appearance of diſtruſt? Why make Ireland ſay ſhe had room to think, that whilſt England, by not having her power diverted by foreign war, felt herſelf able to inſiſt upon treaties, would ſtipulate for certain ſervices, but would not ſpeak of ſtipulations for aſſiſtance in war, as if conſcious, that in ſuch a caſe, ſhe ſhould not be able to enforce the obſervance of the ſtipulation? It were folly indeed to expect, that Ireland, accuſtomed during peace to act according to the Mr Sheridan.

letter

letter of a ſpecific agreement, and with a friend who placed no confidence in her, ſhould, in time of war, act upon principles of liberality. The way to obtain liberal ſuccours at all events was, at no times to betray marks of diffidence in the honour and generoſity of thoſe we have to deal with. The Iriſh, when they ſaw limits placed to the confidence that ought to be repoſed in them, would naturally ſet bounds to their own generoſity, and never exceed in their grants the letter of their agreement with this country. But this ſtipulation for a ſpecific proviſion from Ireland, under the regulation marked out in the reſtriction, was not, in his opinion, leſs unconſtitutional than impolitic.

The conſtitution of Ireland was the ſame as that of England, and what would violate one, would, of courſe, amount to a violation of the other. In England, a vote of a perpetual army, or even of a perpetual navy, over which Parliament was to have no controul, would effectually deſtroy the conſtitution, and render the Parliament unneceſſary. Now, what was propoſed to Ireland? Nothing leſs than that ſhe ſhould vote, or give by an irrevocable act to the Crown, a ſpecific ſum of money, for the ſupport of either army or navy; and conſequently an army, or body of ſeamen, might be employed, not only without the conſent of Parliament, but even in ſpite of it. He was right in aſſuming, that ſeamen or ſoldiers might be employed conſtantly, and paid out of this perpetual and irrevocable fund, which would render the Crown independent of the People, becauſe, though the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had ſaid, on a former occaſion, that the money riſing from the ſurplus of the ſinking fund, ſhould be laid out in Ireland, in purchaſe of proviſions, &c. for the uſe of the navy; yet it might ſo happen, that Ireland would not always be a proviſion country, which ſhe certainly would not, if by the preſent plan ſhe ſhould ſo improve in manufactures, as to turn her thoughts to them from feeding of cattle. In that caſe, the money if laid out in that country muſt be expended in the maintenance of ſoldiers or ſailors, and then there would exiſt a body of men over whom the Parliament could have no controul, the extent of the numbers made nothing to the principle, which would be as much violated by a vote in perpetuity of a ſupport of three regiments of guards, as for a perpetual army. He concluded by moving an amendment of the reſolution, that the following words be left out, viz. "Whenever a proviſion equally permanent and ſecure ſhall

"be

" be made by the Parliament of that kingdom, towards de-
" fraying, in proportion to its growing proſperity, the ne-
" ceſſary expence in time of peace, of protecting the trade and
" general intereſts of the empire " and that inſtead of them, be inſerted, " Great Britain confiding in the well known " generoſity and liberality of Ireland, that in proportion to " her growing proſperity, ſhe will contribute towards de-
" fraying the expences both in peace and war, of protecting " the trade and general intereſts of the empire." To this amendment he preſumed there would be no objection in Ireland, as it was founded on an expreſſion of that nature in an addreſs moved by Mr. Grattan in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons.

Lord Beauchamp ſeconded the motion, without making any ſpeech.

Mr. *Eden* ſaid, that the amendment propoſed by the right honourable gentleman over againſt him (Mr. Grenville) declaring that it was conſiſtent with the intereſts of the revenue, manufactures, commerce, and navigation of Great Britain, " That a full participation of commercial ad-
" vantages ſhould be permanently ſecured to Ireland," would be downright nonſenſe, if the amendment juſt moved by the honourable gentleman, or ſome other to that effect, was not adopted, for the whole propoſition, as it now ſtood, conſiſted of two parts, between which there was not the leaſt connection that he could ſee, for the one went to declare, that a participation of commercial advantages ſecured to Ireland, would be conſiſtent with the revenue of this country; the other ſtated, that it would be conſiſtent when a proviſion, &c. ſhould be made by the Parliament of Ireland. Now how could the grant of a ſmall ſurplus of the hereditary revenue, make it conſiſtent with the revenue, manufactures, trade, and navigation of Great Britain, every one of which muſt be affected in ſome degree by the event, that a participation of commercial advantages ſhould be ſecured to Ireland? For his own part, he had from the beginning, thought an amendment ſo neceſſary in this place, that he would have moved one himſelf, had not his honourable friend anticipated what he thought to be neceſſary; and therefore he was reſolved to vote for the amendment that had been juſt moved. Mr Eden.

The right honourable *W. W. Grenville* replied, that he was not convinced by any thing that had fallen from the right honourable gentleman, that the amendment which he had Right Hon W. W. Grenville.

had taken the liberty to move, had made nonſenſe of the whole reſolution. It appeared to him to be a fair and rational propoſition, that a thing given would be very proper, provided that ſomething elſe be given in return for it. There were two points, he ſaid, on which the honourable member who ſpoke laſt but one, had touched, on each of which he would make a ſingle obſervation. Mention was made only of the time of peace, in that part of the reſolution which was to ſecure a proviſion from Ireland towards defraying the expences of protecting the common trade and intereſts of the empire, and the reaſon for not mentioning war was obvious, in time of peace the expence might eaſily be aſcertained; in time of war that would be impoſſible; and the ſtore with reſpect to a war proviſion, we muſt neceſſarily truſt to the liberality and generoſity of Ireland. The other point was, that the amendment had been taken from an addreſs moved by Mr Grattan. But the caſe was not ſimilar, in the one, the addreſs was moved in conſequence of a recognition of conſtitutional rights, claimed by Ireland as her own, in the preſent caſe, the opening of the Britiſh market to the Iriſh, was not a right but a boon.

Ld. North Lord North ſaid, he would make no difficulty in defending the principle of juſtice in making a bargain between the countries, by which one was to give ſome conſideration for benefits communicated by the other, but he would not defend exactly this bargain, which ſeemed to be ſo framed as to have neither the grace of a free gift nor the prudence of a judicious compact. He had ſaid, on a former day, that though reciprocity was ſaid to be the baſis of the agreement, yet it was to be found only on one ſide ſince that indeed, two alterations had been made, which he was ready to confeſs, had made it a little more reciprocal, for the Eaſt and Weſt-India monopolies were to be preſerved but gentlemen on the other ſide of the Houſe had, ſome days ago, expreſſed a degree of ſurpriſe, that he had overlooked one circumſtance, which, they ſaid, was peculiarly advantageous to this country, and was to compenſate for all the hereditary conceſſions that had been hitherto made to Ireland; and this was the circumſtance relative to the ſurplus of the hereditary revenue, which was in future to be appropriated to the ſupport of the navy. Upon this ſurplus he would beg leave to ſay a few words. The reſolution was ſo inexplicit, that notwithſtanding all that he had heard on the ſubject, he was not yet able

to

to form a reaſonable hope, that we ſhould derive much benefit from the hereditary revenue. It did not ſtate whether or not this hereditary revenue was to be applied in the firſt place towards the ſupport of the civil and military eſtabliſhments of Ireland, and that the temporary revenues ſhould then be brought in aid of the hereditary. If the former was the caſe, then he would pronounce, that we ſhould never ſee any ſurplus at all from the hereditary revenue. He knew that the manner of ſtating the public accounts in the Iriſh Parliament, was to begin with the hereditary revenue, which having been granted for the defence of the kingdom, was, of courſe, applied to that purpoſe, being inſufficient for this end, then the temporary revenues were brought in aid of it, and thus a proviſion would be made for the whole: but gentlemen would ſee, that no ſurplus could poſſibly ariſe out of a fund which was to be wholly applied to the ſervice of the Public before any other fund was opened. But he would ſuppoſe that the hereditary revenue was to be reſorted to in Ireland, in the ſecond inſtance, after the other funds had been previouſly exhauſted; and yet he would endeavour to convince the Houſe that little or no ſurplus would ariſe from it; and in forming a judgement upon this point, he could not have a better guide than the experience of paſt time. He had read a work of a very conſiderable commiſſioner of the revenue in Ireland ſome years ago, he meant Sir Richard Cox, who had given in it a very accurate account of the ſtate of the hereditary revenue, from which the Houſe might be able to conjecture, upon what grounds had been formed the ſanguine hopes entertained by gentlemen on the other ſide of the houſe, of a very great increaſe in that fund.

The duties on cuſtoms inward had amounted in 1684, together with ale licenſes, to 87,000l.; in 1784, they amounted to no more than 86,000l.; and yet the population of the kingdom had increaſed within the century from one million to two millions three hundred thouſand. The quit rents would never be more than at preſent, unleſs the iſland could be made larger. The hearth-money tax might certainly increaſe, for it depended upon population, and had been exactly doubled in 100 years. But the cuſtoms inward, as well as ſome other branches of the hereditary revenue, would diminiſh inſtead of increaſing, if the Iriſh ſhould become ſo expert in manufactures as to be able to ſupply themſelves at home with thoſe commodities, which they now

take from this and other countries, and which pay a duty on importation. Another thing to be conſidered was, whether the propoſition meant, that whenever the groſs produce of the hereditary revenue ſhould amount to 656,000l. the ſurplus ſhould be laid out for the uſe of the navy, or whether this ſurplus was to be given when the next produce ſhould amount to that ſum. If the latter was meant by it, he would undertake to ſay, we ſhould never ſee any ſurplus at all; for the deduction for charges on this revenue was 259,000l; ſo that the neat produce at this moment was preciſely 497,000l and muſt increaſe therefore 259,000l. before we could begin to look for a ſingle farthing of ſurplus. If, on the other hand, the reſolution meant, that when the groſs produce amounted to 656,000l. all above that ſum ſhould be applied to the ſervice of the navy, without any regard to the eſtabliſhments, he could foreſee difficulties, that he could beſt explain by giving a hiſtory of the origin of the hereditary revenue. It took its riſe immediately after the reſtoration of King Charles II. After the great Iriſh rebellion of 1741, immenſe tracts of land were forfeited by the ancient Iriſh proprietors, and were afterwards occupied by Cromwell's ſoldiers and others, but whether in the hands of Iriſh rebels, or of Engliſh rebels, thoſe forfeitures were not in the property of the Crown. However, by the famous act of Settlement, and the ſubſequent act for explaining it, the Engliſh rebels were ſecured in the poſſeſſion and enjoyment of thoſe lands, and in return for this generous conduct of the Crown, and the relinquiſhment of wards, liveries, and ſuch feudal rights, they ſettled upon the King and his heirs, certain revenues, which, together with ſmall quit rents, reſerved by the Crown, form, at this day, the hereditary income of the King of Ireland.

Thoſe grants from the Parliament were ſo liberal, and ſo productive, that Parliaments ceaſed to be neceſſary there; and Charles II. never held another in Ireland during his whole reign. The Iriſh felt the error they had been guilty of in ſettling ſo great an income on the crown as rendered it independent of Parliament, and the hereditary revenue ſoon became an object of jealouſy, not to ſay deteſtation, to the people. The debt contracted at the Revolution afforded them an opportunity of proving this; in providing for the payment of that debt, they laid on additional duties of cuſtoms and exciſe, but they would not impoſe them for more than

two

two years, in order that the Crown ſhould be under the neceſſity of calling the Parliament together again, before the expiration of the two years this policy had the deſired effect, and the Commons have perſevered in it from that day to this, with a difference of late, that the ſeſſion being annual, the grants of money are only from one year to another. the hereditary revenue had, ſince the Revolution, been a ſubject of jealouſy and terror to the Parliament, inſomuch, that ſo far from endeavouring to improve it, they never miſſed an opportunity to throw charges upon it, to bear it down; however, in 1751, there was in the Exchequer of Ireland a ſurplus of 400,000l., this, inſtead of being matter of joy, was the cauſe of general conſternation throughout the kingdom it was feared the Crown was become ſo rich, that it could pay off the debt that was then on the nation, and having no farther occaſion for the annual grants, would call no more Parliaments. There was a queſtion in that year of diſpoſing of this ſurplus of 400,000l., and a bill was brought into Parliament for that purpoſe the preamble was to this effect, "Whereas His Majeſty hath ſignified his conſent, that the ſurplus now in the Exchequer, "&c. be diſpoſed of," &c. The zealous patriots, took fire at the word conſent, though it had been inſerted in two other acts before that on ſimilar occaſions, they ſaid the King had a right to give his aſſent to that bill as well as to any other; but that he had no right to give his conſent; which latter term implied, that the ſubject could not be ſo much as diſcuſſed, or made the ſubſtance of a bill, without the previous conſent of the Crown, as in the caſe of private grants. This was the ground of a great ſtruggle in the Commons; where the moſt formidable oppoſition ever known in Ireland, was made againſt this word conſent the oppoſition triumphed; the word conſent was ſtruck out of the bill, which dropt on that account, its friends having no regard for it after it had loſt the magical word. The triumph of oppoſition ſet Ireland in a blaze, nothing but bonfires and illuminations were to be ſeen from one end of the kingdom to the other, and the glorious 122 (the numbers upon the winning ſide upon the diviſion) was the firſt toaſt at every table. Here was a proof how much this hereditary revenue was formidable to the Iriſh; and he was very far from blaming them for viewing it with a jealous eye, but he only obſerved this, in order to ſhew the Houſe, that it was not a favourite fund with them, and therefore, that there was reaſon to apprehend,

that they would rather cruſh, than encourage and increaſe it; and therefore, that very little hopes was to be entertained, that it would ever be ſuffered (from conſtitutional jealouſy) to produce a ſurplus. There was another point on which he found the propoſition relative to the hereditary revenue very inexplicit: it did not ſay, that whether or not the ſurplus ariſing from it ſhould be applied to the purpoſes of the navy, even though the ordinary branches of the Iriſh revenue ſhould be ſo unproductive, in any one year or period of years, as not to be ſufficient for the support of the civil and military eſtabliſhments of Ireland. In ſuch a caſe, he, for one, would be very ſorry to touch a ſingle thing of the ſurplus, becauſe, the benefit that would be derived from it would be inſignificant indeed, when compared to the ſubſtantial loſs the empire would ſuſtain, if Ireland ſhould ceaſe to be able to keep in her pay the 3000 men ſhe conſtantly lends this country to defend the Weſt-India iſlands, and the other colonies. At the rate the hereditary revenue had produced ſurpluſſes for ſome years paſt, we might poſſibly ſee three or four frigates provided with pickled pork and biſcuits by Ireland, and for this trifling advantage, we would diſable her from paying the 3000 men ſhe has conſtantly lent us, and ſtill lends us, with honour to herſelf, and the greateſt advantage to the empire.

Thus much he had thought it his duty to ſay reſpecting the hereditary revenue, that gentlemen might not be led away with the ridiculous idea, that the ſurplus that might be obtained from it, would be any adequate compenſation for the participation of trade which it was now propoſed to extend to Ireland; and yet the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been pleaſed, on former occaſions, triumphantly to ſay, that others who had gone before him, had given away the trade of the country without ſecuring any benefit in return; but that he had taken care to ſtipulate, that a fund ſhould be ſet apart for the ſupport of the marine ſtrength of the empire. He reminded him of an unfortunate man, who had loſt his noſe in one place, an eye in another; had been impriſoned afterwards by the Inquiſition, and enlarged; had been hung up and cut down, and at length marked with a hot iron and ſent to the gallies; where, tugging at his oar, he uſed to conſole himſelf with ſaying, "Had I not experienced misfortunes in the former part of my life, I "ſhould not now have the luxury of eating orange peels "and piſtachio nuts." The right honourable gentleman

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complained, that ſo much had been given by his predeceſſors, that nothing was now left for him to give but the Britiſh market; and then away were manufactures, revenue, capitals, induſtry, and population, given to Ireland, from whom the right honourable gentleman was to get in return the piſtachio nuts of hereditary ſurplus. His Lordſhip concluded by ſaying, that though he would in general defend and ſupport the principle of a bargain with Ireland, yet in the preſent caſe, where ſuch a trifle was in queſtion, he would wave the idea of a ſtipulation, and truſt to the honour, the liberality, the generoſity, the well-known and experienced generoſity of Ireland, and alſo to her own ſenſe and underſtanding, and the conſciouſneſs ſhe muſt have of the neceſſity of ſupporting the common trade of the empire he would therefore vote for the amendment propoſed by the honourable gentleman.

Mr. *Dundas* ſaid, though he thought it unneceſſary to reply to every circumſtance that could poſſibly be introduced into the preſent queſtion, ſome arguments had now been urged on which it was neceſſary for him to ſay a few words; and before he went minutely into the queſtion, he would beg that the Houſe might bear in mind, when the principle of the compenſation on the part of Ireland was objected to, that in all the former proceedings on making conceſſions to Ireland, it was the univerſal ground of objection, that Ireland did not bear any proportion of the expences incurred in the expenditure for the general protection of the empire. To remove the repetition of this objection was the foundation of the preſent propoſition; and Ireland was willing to ſhew, that ſhe did not demand a participation of our commercial advantages, without contributing in an adequate proportion to the expences incurred in defence of them. What this proportion was, and whether it was to be given up in an eligible manner, remained now to be examined. It was not very reaſonable to expect, that Ireland ſhould, in former times, have appropriated any particular part of her revenue for naval purpoſe One great ſource of wealth was denied them in the colonial trade, which they conſidered as a peculium of the Britiſh commerce, from the benefits of which they were entirely excluded: the contrary was now the caſe, and while ſhe obtained equal advantage, ſhe was ever ready to partake of the burden; and while a certain and ſpecific appropriation ſhould be made for public purpoſes, there was no excluſion of the exerciſe of generoſity and liberality in the Mr Dundas

the Iriſh Parliament, whenever the unforeſeen events, or the natural contingencies of a war might call for it. It was not propoſed immediately to diſprove the calculations of the produce of the hereditary revenue of Ireland, as laid down by the noble Lord (North) for a certain period of years, in order to ſhew, that the increaſe of the revenue did not keep pace with the population but he had a Report of the Commiſſioners of the revenue, given in by the noble Lord himſelf, in the year 1780, from which he would infer, that the increaſe of the hereditary revenue, at leaſt, bore an exact and conſiderable proportion to the increaſing wealth and opulence of the country. He ſaid it was a phenomenon in politics, and not the leſs true, that population and revenue did not increaſe together, nor was it confined to Ireland in the Highlands of Scotland, it was remarkable, that the barren hills were covered with inhabitants, and yet, aſtoniſhing as it was, neither the poverty of their ſituation, nor the ſcarcity of food, produced any diminution of numbers. If any gentleman would take the trouble of travelling to theſe parts, he would find theſe circumſtances to be true.—Here obſerving the Houſe laugh heartily at the laſt expreſſion, he ſaid, he could ſcarcely expect to find any gentleman hardy enough to make ſo diſagreeable an experiment, but the advantage would be the ſame, ſhould they be diſpoſed to make the inquiry. Theſe poor people, as well as thoſe of Ireland, many of whom he believed to be in a ſimilar predicament, added very little to the produce of the public revenue; but the caſe would be quite different, when the introduction and extenſion of trade and commerce would add their aſſiſtance to the induſtrious part of the community and here he wiſhed at once to object to the allegation, that any extenſion of their trade made to Ireland, would be a diminution of the power and wealth of England.

The principle of the preſent arrangement was, to cement and conſolidate the intereſts of both countries; ſo that an addition to the opulence of the one, would be alſo an acquiſition to the other: commerce would in both countries find a level, and the intereſts of both being united, muſt bring advantages to both from every increaſe of opulence. He did not ſee any reaſon for apprehending, either that there was ground of jealouſy for the Iriſh Parliament on the one hand, or that the revenue was in danger of being diminiſhed by bounties and drawbacks on the other. To the firſt he would ſay, that the propoſal came from the Iriſh Parliament voluntarily;

luntarily; and to the other, that the drawback could only be given on articles which on importation had paid the money which was to be returned; ſo that at all events, the revenue could not loſe. On the whole, he concluded, that the hereditary revenue muſt increaſe with the opulence of the country; and, that increaſing opulence, ſo far from diminiſhing the power and wealth of England, would tend very much to add to it.

Sir *J. Erſkine*, after ironically complimenting the Houſe on the acceſſion of information they derived from the ſpeech of the right honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt; deprecated any imputation of theſe intentions which were liberally aſcribed to thoſe on his ſide of the Houſe, of endeavouring to foment jealouſies, and promote diſſatisfaction, whenever they advanced ſuch arguments as facts, and the juſtice of thoſe opinions intitled them to uſe. For his part, he was ready to ſay, that Ireland would have ample ground of jealouſy, in circumſcribing the merit of exerting that ſpirit and liberality of contribution ſo frequently manifeſted on public occaſions. The honourable gentleman had ſaid, that Ireland, conſidering the Britiſh colonies as a peculium of this country, was juſtified in not contributing to the ſupport of places from which ſhe derived no advantage, and by that very aſſertion expoſed himſelf to this reply—That if Ireland, notwithſtanding that exemption ſhe had a right to claim, did nevertheleſs, contribute both with her blood and treaſure to aſſiſt our operations in America, how much more ſhould we in future rely on them for ſupport and aſſiſtance, when their intereſt and ours were ſo much united? It was in the recollection of every perſon, that in the diſtreſs of our navy, Ireland generouſly voted us 20,000 ſeamen; and though there was an expreſs act of Parliament that ſhe ſhould keep up 12,000 troops for her internal defence, ſhe allowed 5000 of the beſt diſciplined and moſt experienced of them to ſerve abroad, at her own expence, in the defence of Britain: and what adds conſiderably to the merit of this tranſaction was, that Ireland had not remaining, after that loan, 2000 effective infantry. This was a circumſtance, which his ſituation at that time enabled him peculiarly to know; theſe were acts which Ireland might always be depended upon to perform voluntarily; but the preſent proviſion implying diſtruſt, it was natural that they might return it by abiding ſtrictly and literally by the terms of the bargain. The experience

Sir J. Erſkine.

perience of hiſtory had ſhewn that Ireland always manifeſted a jealouſy on the ſubject of the hereditary revenue, and taking the argument in any point of view, their proviſion in the preſent ſyſtem muſt be a bad one for the revenue either would increaſe with the opulence of the country, or it would not. If it ſhould increaſe, then the Parliament of Ireland would have the greater reaſon to be jealous of having ſo conſiderable a ſum under the control of a foreign legiſlature, and employed for military purpoſes If it ſhould not be productive, then was it an inadequate compenſation to this country for the participation of its commercial reſources On this occaſion it was to be apprehended, that Iriſh freedom was the purchaſe to which the intereſts of England were ſacrificed. He liked neither the purchaſe nor the terms; he neither wiſhed to reſign our dear bought commercial advantages, nor to infringe upon the liberties of others. He obſerved, that it was allowed as a great merit by the Miniſter, that he firſt received the concurrence of the Iriſh Parliament before the propoſitions were introduced here; but did he think the Parliament of Ireland would be ſatisfied with that contemptuous and diſgraceful treatment they would receive, in having reſolutions firſt propoſed by a Britiſh Miniſter in Ireland, and returned from England totally differing both in ſpirit and principle? Under ſuch circumſtances, the beſt apology that could be made was, that the Miniſter in Ireland and the Miniſter here totally miſunderſtood each other; unleſs it could, on the other hand, be imagined, that they were of different opinions. He concluded, by recommending to have this proviſion wholly omitted. The Houſe calling loudly for the queſtion,

Mr Sheridan.

Mr. *Sheridan* ſaid, that previous to a determination on this queſtion, he wiſhed to explain ſome circumſtances which he conceived to have been miſunderſtood and which he was anxious the Houſe ſhould attend to. There would, in conſequence of theſe regulations, be many duties which at preſent were only temporary in Ireland, that in order to bear with the like duties in England, which were ſecurities for the public debts, muſt now be rendered perpetual. This would add principally to the hereditary revenues of Ireland, and would be applicable to the purpoſe of keeping a ſtanding army. Here, then, aroſe a double conſideration; firſt, a great and important ſum would be entruſted, where the conſtitution of the country was always jealous it ſhould be placed, particularly for ſuch purpoſes: and ſecondly, this

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perpetual provision being made, there would no longer exist a necessity for assembling the Parliament, as frequently as the safety of our constitution and that of Ireland required. It might be answered, that Parliament must be assembled, in order to bring in the bills, and take the regular estimates laid before them; but he had experience to bear him out, in apprehending that this principle, important as it was, would be liable to violation; for, notwithstanding a resolution of the last Parliament of England constituted it a high crime and misdemeanour for any person to expend any sum of the public money, except such as had been already appropriated, the right honourable gentleman at the head of the Treasury, in defiance of that resolution, was bold enough to employ very large sums to such purposes as he thought proper

The question was then put on the amendment, and negatived without a division, as were also several other amendments, after which the resolution passed.

On putting the fourth resolution,

Lord *Beauchamp* declared, that although he cordially voted for the system before the House, so far as it professed to admit Ireland to a full share of commercial advantages, he could not assent to this new and extraordinary resolution, as he conceived it to be highly material in the adjustment of the future intercourse between the two kingdoms, that no suspicions might be entertained by the Irish, that under the specious pretence of commercial benefits, which might or might not be realized, the British Parliament wished to deprive them of the solid benefits of a free constitution. That this resolution avowed upon the face of it, that one power must exist to regulate the external concerns of the whole empire; that gentlemen ought to recollect, that this is the principle which Ireland has solemnly pledged herself to resist, and which the British Parliament has, by an act of equal solemnity, stipulated never to revive. He reminded the House, that that necessary measure seemed to meet with the general concurrence of all parties, that it was impossible the noble Lord in the blue ribband could object to it, because he was the founder of the present liberal system with regard to the commerce of Ireland; and therefore, he could not wish to leave it in the power of any future Parliament to overturn, in a moment of ill humour, those concessions, which he knew to be honourable to himself, and beneficial to both kingdoms. That the Ministers who succeeded, stood in the same predicament, because the act of 1783 made no new concession, and only re-

Lord Beauchamp.

moved all doubts upon the repeal of the Declaratory act, which had been ſo differently underſtood, even by men practically engaged in the government of both kingdoms, as to render a freſh explanation unavoidable. That it would be invidious to impute to any ſet of men, much leſs to the authors of that meaſure, and the Miniſters of this day, a ſecret intention of revoking it whenever they might be able; as ſuch politics would tend to unſettle all faith in our Councils, and to inſpire a ſuſpicion, that the moſt ſolemn compact is conſidered only as a neceſſary ſacrifice to the preſſure of the moment. That however this may be, the conſequences of this meaſure have fully juſtified the policy on which it was grounded—that inſtead of ſevering the kingdoms, and infuſing into each the idea of ſeparate intereſts, every man who knows Ireland muſt admit, that Great Britain never had a greater aſcendant over her politics than at the preſent moment—that the extinction of Iriſh jealouſies has proved a new bulwark of her ſtrength, and that what ſhe has ſacrificed in nominal power, ſhe has acquired in real influence, of which the ſelf-denying form in which Ireland has voted a vaſt army, and every ſubſequent meaſure of her Government, afford the ſtrongeſt evidence—that to thoſe perſons who rely implicitly on theory in matters of government, and who expect the great operations of the world to ſquare with their abſtract notions of an unity of power, it may appear impoſſible, that two co-ordinate and independent legiſlatures can proceed without colliſion. That to them, it may fairly be anſwered, that government is a ſcience of fact and experience—that as far as the experiment has been tried, it has fully anſwered to both kingdoms, and that no greater ſpeculative difficulties attended it than might have been urged *a priori* againſt thoſe parts of the Britiſh government, which experience has proved to be the moſt univerſally beneficial.

That if the trial by jury was now, for the firſt time, propoſed as matter of experiment and theory to the exiſting Parliament of either kingdom, it would naturally be ſaid, that it failed in its firſt principle—that the habits, opinions, and conſciences of men were ſo various, that it was abſurd to expect the concurrence of twelve jurors in the ſame virdict—that the difficulty would be increaſed if they were taken from the neighbourhood, as new motives of prejudice, of connection, and intereſt muſt ariſe out of that circumſtance to render the attainment of juſtice impracticable; and the noble Lord ſaid, that he had no fear of being contradicted when he aſſerted, that, in this inſtance, ſpeculation and refinement muſt give

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way to hiſtory and to fact. He farther obſerved, that the Britiſh conſtitution affords evidence in all its parts, that theory and fact are commonly at variance, that its ſuperior excellence is ſaid to conſiſt in having three diſtinct and independent powers, which mutually check and counteract the operation of each other—that the ſmalleſt practical experience of our government is ſufficient to ſhew, that nothing but anarchy and confuſion could ariſe out of ſuch a ſyſtem—that the machine of government would actually ſtand ſtill—and that thoſe days have been the happieſt in this kingdom, where theſe three principles, inſtead of jarring and thwarting each other, have acted in the moſt perfect harmony and union, becauſe that harmony can only ariſe from the ſcrupulous caution with which each branch of the conſtitution confines itſelf within its natural limits—that ſo little do fact and theory accord, that though moſt of the Peers are incompetent to reviſe legal judgements, they form a moſt enlightened tribunal, as well in matters of private right, as a moſt upright one, though the ſtifneſs of their political principles has not, at all times, been proverbial—that even with regard to ourſelves, in whom the whole popular ſtrength reſides, there is neither principle nor uniformity in the frame of this Houſe, conſidered as an object of ſpeculation and theory, yet we know what alone is eſſential, that this rude and ill-conſtructed ſyſtem of repreſentation has anſwered every good purpoſe in practice; that it has enabled us to make great ſtruggles in war, and, at all times, to enjoy a greater ſhare of political liberty than ever fell to the lot of any other nation. He farther ſaid, that if, in all theſe inſtances, ſeeming inconſiſtencies in theory were reconciled in practice, the ſame might be the caſe with regard to Ireland—that we are not to ſuppoſe, that the Iriſh Parliament is compoſed of different materials from our own, or that the influence of the Crown is totally unknown there—that we ought to recollect, that one Houſe conſiſts, in part, of prelates or judges, who naturally look to the ſupport of Great Britain, in common with the other Houſe of Parliament, againſt any poſſible encroachment on their civil or eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment—that the Houſe of Commons did, fairly and honourably, ſpeak the ſenſe of their conſtituents in the late queſtions of trade and conſtitution, but that it is not of ſuch a caſt as to ſacrifice real objects of policy to the fluctuation of popular opinion—that they have never fallen into the frenzy of reformation, of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has ſet them the example—that as they have met, in every inſtance, the wiſhes of Great Britain, the ſame is to be pre-

ſumed of their conduct in future, unleſs, by attempting too much, we forfeit their confidence for ever. He farther obſerved, that the reſolution ſtated it as eſſential to the preſent compact, that Ireland ſhould, of neceſſity, adopt the commercial regulations of Great Britain; if it is ſo eſſential as it is now, for the firſt time, contended to be, he could not account for Mr. Orde's ſilence on ſo material a topic when he opened his plan to the Iriſh Parliament. That, when a boon was offered to Ireland, the price ought to have been mentioned at which ſhe was expected to purchaſe it. That the natural courſe of proceeding had been inverted, that intereſt, ſtrictly Britiſh, had firſt been treated of, and bartered for, in the Iriſh Parliament—that now, to keep the ſcales even, we were called upon to ſet bounds to the legiſlative diſcretion of Ireland, without warrant or authority, and to decide points in her future ſyſtem, which, far from having received her concurrence, have never been alluded to in her Parliament—that ſuch conduct is, at beſt, ungracious towards both kingdoms—that it will be accounted for only on one principle, that a reſolution has been taken to recover, at all events, our ſupremacy over Ireland. That, for this purpoſe, commercial advantages were held out to her which ſhe neither expected nor deſired, that ſhe was to be dazzled with proſpects of imaginary wealth, till, in the hour of unſuſpecting gratitude, ſhe ſhould ſurrender the cuſtody of her commerce and revenue, and that the ominous words uſed in a former debate, that it was, "hardly prudent to ſtate how good a bargain was here "made for Great Britain." ſeemed to admit that interpretation—that if the neceſſity of having uniform laws of trade was the real object, not the pretence of making this innovation, it might be effected by other means, that the principle was admitted in the preamble to Mr. Yelverton's act, and, therefore, Great Britain has every ſecurity which a free people can give, that the laws of trade, which are *bonâ fide* equal, ſhall be adopted by the Parliament of Ireland, and, in point of fact, they have ever ſhewn a readineſs to do ſo. That it is a fallacy to treat this reſolution as referable to the ſame principle; Mr. Yelverton's act adopted only laws in actual exiſtence, it, therefore, depended on Iriſh courts, and on Iriſh juries, to expound what Britiſh ſtatutes anſwered the deſcription of conferring equal benefits, and impoſing equal reſtraints—that the inſertion of the ſame words in this reſolution gives no ſecurity, becauſe it conſtitutes the Parliament of Great Britain the ſole judge of that equality, with the power of applying it, not (conformably to the precedent) to

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paſt only, but to all future regulations; that the circumſtances of the two kingdoms are, in ſo many reſpects, diſſimilar, that laws, purporting to be equal, may, in their conſequences, be very unequally felt in each; that, ſhould ſuch a caſe occur, the ſubject of Ireland is left without any remedy, he has no means of knowing what paſſes in this Houſe, nor is he in the habit of repreſenting his grievances to us; and if he goes to his natural repreſentatives, they can only tell him, "We are "no longer competent to relieve you, for we have ſurrendered "to another kingdom the power of regulating our commerce, "and it is a breach of treaty, if we do not adopt the regula- "tion of which you complain." That this tranſaction has been compared to treaties with foreign nations, though it had not a ſingle point of reſemblance—that when nations make a treaty of commerce, they refer to ſomething definite and preciſe—"If you will take ſo much of our woollens, we will "admit ſo much of your linens."—Here is no condition of future dependence or ſubordination, but an agreement to accompliſh ſomething for their mutual advantage, of which they underſtood the full effect; and he added, "That hiſtory "affords no inſtance of an independent ſtate being bound to "do acts undefined in their nature, and uncertain in their ex- "tent, at the requiſition of another." That equality was profeſſed on the firſt reſolution, and ſo far as the diſclaimer of laying farther prohibitions, the principle was adhered to, as Ireland had previouſly done the ſame, but here the equality ends; for though we call upon Ireland to adopt our laws, we do not expreſs our readineſs to accept any from her (the very idea would raiſe a ſmile) why then are we to ſuppoſe, that Ireland is leſs jealous of her freedom and conſtitution, than we are of ours?

The noble Lord farther obſerved, that if the freedom of Parliament conſiſts in a power of admitting or rejecting every ſpecific propoſition which may be ſuggeſted, the Iriſh Parliament will not, under this reſolution, be a free Parliament, and the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) ſeems ſenſible of this conſtitutional difficulty, as the reſolution now requires the intervention of Iriſh acts to give efficacy to Britiſh regulations, whereas, in the original draft, they were to be in force in Ireland in the ſame manner as in Great Britain. The noble Lord ſaid, in his opinion, the caſe was preciſely the ſame, whether Ireland is bound to adopt Britiſh laws, or whether they *ipſo facto* attach on the ſubjects of that kingdom, as her free agency is equally deſtroyed in both caſes, it makes the proceeding more complex, but leaves the principle exactly

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the ſame. The ſubjects of France are not bound to obey the King's edict till they are promulgated under the authority of their Parliament but as they are not in a capacity to deliberate upon them, in the firſt inſtance, nor to refuſe the formality of regiſtering them, in the ſecond, France does not poſſeſs the eſſence of freedom, though ſhe may retain many of the paraphernalia of a free government. In any caſe, whether it is injurious to Ireland or not, it affords not the ſmalleſt protection to the intereſts of Great Britain, as no reliance can be placed on meaſures taken for the ſole purpoſe of complying with the letter of a treaty, and the Iriſh may happen to think, that having had no diſcretion in framing a law, they are not bound to a ſtrict execution of it: in this inſtance, we are completely in their power, nor can we, with juſtice, complain, if they retaliate upon us for having ſet them an example of diſtruſt, which no paſt tranſaction will juſtify.—That however the lax execution of the laws will give riſe to continual diſputes, if Great Britain feels that her revenue decays from the neglect of Iriſh officers, her complaints will naturally be loud, on the other hand, if Ireland feels ſore at the exerciſe of this aſſumed power, ſhe will as naturally remonſtrate, that the inſtant complained of is not a *caſus fœderis*, and does not fall within the ſpirit of the treaty. Between foreign nations, the ceſſation of a treaty only reinſtates them where they previouſly ſtood: as we are circumſtanced, it is impoſſible to ſtate all the miſchiefs which will ariſe from a diſſolution of the compact, if ever it takes place; it can be compared only to a total breach of the union with Scotland—it becomes us, therefore, to weigh every word with peculiar caution before we ſign the ſeal for ever. He farther ſaid, that in reaſoning on the fourth reſolution, it was impoſſible not to look forward to the fifth, as forming an eſſential ſupplement to it—This alſo is new, and extends to almoſt every branch of the Iriſh trade, and, conſequently, to the moſt productive branches of her revenue.—That it gives riſe to two moſt important queſtions:—Firſt, whether a country, comparatively poor, can bear to have her conſumptions taxed to as high a degree as a rich one? Secondly, whether it is conſiſtent with the intereſts of Ireland to render a vaſt part of her revenue perpetual, by placing herſelf in ſuch a ſituation that ſhe muſt raiſe her duties at our requiſitions, and, at the ſame time, ſurrender the power of lowering them unleſs we do the ſame, which is almoſt a viſionary proſpect. With regard to the firſt, Ireland now enjoys the alternative of importing Weſt-India produce directly on Britiſh duties, or indirectly, through Great

Great Britain, on the low impoſts; and it may be a doubt, whether ſhe can bear a higher duty on rum, which is the principal article ſhe imports directly, in return for her manufactures,—as to ſugar, the duty was almoſt doubled in the laſt war, and, in a future one, may go on progreſſively—Ireland, in theſe inſtances, cannot keep pace with us—We ſhall either prohibit the uſe of the articles in queſtion, or force her into a contraband trade, to the joint prejudice of her own revenue, and of the Britiſh planter.—Till ſhe can eſtabliſh a direct Weſt-India trade, which muſt be a work of time and difficulty, it ſeems beſt, on all accounts, that ſhe ſhould ſupply herſelf with the ſugars ſhe wants beyond her own importations from Briſtol and Liverpool at the old duties.—Why, then, take from her this option? In another point of view, the reſolution bears hard upon Ireland,—it not only interdicts for ever her importations of foreign Weſt-India produce, from which ſhe has precluded herſelf by an annual act, but as it is now framed, if we adopt ſo abſurd a propoſition as to carry on the trade of our iſlands by a joint-ſtock company, Ireland muſt do the ſame.—If, with a view of encouraging Lancaſhire cottons for the uſe of the Negroes, we were to prohibit the export of linens to the Weſt Indies, Ireland muſt do the ſame—It is no anſwer to the objection, that theſe caſes are out of the reach of probability, if they are ſo, why ſhould we aſk the power to do that which in no poſſible ſtate of things it is right for us to attempt? In regard to America, the bargain we endeavoured to faſten upon Ireland is ſtill of an harſher nature. when the laſt arrangement was made, the United States made a part of the Britiſh dominions, and, therefore, the colonial regulations comprehended the Iriſh intercourſe with them. Now it is a branch of her foreign trade with which we have diſclaimed all interference in other inſtances, in this we demand, that whenever we lay any new duty on American produce, Ireland ſhall follow our example. Conſider the extent of ſuch a propoſition—It applies to the materials of manufacture in many inſtances:—It includes iron, indigo, tobacco, rice, cotton, and, by regulating the imports, we, in effect, command the exports of Ireland in every branch for which theſe articles are admitted in return: it does, indeed, much more; it gives us the power of immediately filling the Exchequer of Ireland, and the ſurplus of the hereditary revenue being granted to Britiſh ſervices, over which the Iriſh Commons are expected to give up all control, will operate upon us as a temptation to do ſo. It may alſo be a doubt, whether the artificial ſyſtem of reſtraints and mono

polies, which our debts have rendered neceſſary, if applied to an infant country, as Ireland is, in a commercial point of view, with her natural reſources unimproved, may not totally damp all future induſtry and commercial enterprize.

Had Ireland, indeed, made a demand, we were at liberty to accede to it, only on this or any other condition we thought beneficial; but it cannot be too often repeated, that the buſineſs aroſe in a voluntary offer from Miniſters, and not in a requiſition from her Parliament. What advantages are held out to Ireland to compenſate all theſe ſacrifices, it is not eaſy to tell. We allow her to import Weſt-India produce, which has firſt been landed in her ports, into Great Britain; but every merchant knows, that theſe circuitous importations through Ireland will rarely, if ever, take place; and to that circumſtance only, the indifference of the Weſt-India merchants to this ſeeming conceſſion is to be attributed. We change alſo our prohibitions upon her manufactures into prohibitory duties; but it is not poſſible to ſuppoſe, that when the doctrine now held of a countervailing duty is carried to its utmoſt extent, and that to the port duty of ten and a half per cent. the exciſe upon the material, as well as an allowance for waſte, be ſuperadded, the manufacturer of Ireland will gain by the change of ſituation, though the ſmuggler poſſibly may. Even the great Iriſh ſtaple of linen remains as it did, and owes no new ſecurity to theſe propoſitions; as under the idea of countervailing the Iriſh bounty on flax ſeed, it is liable to a duty at our future diſcretion. The noble Lord ſaid, in anſwer to all theſe objections, he expected to be told, Why are we to foreſee difficulties for the Iriſh nation and Parliament, which they may not feel to exiſt? In one point he certainly concurred, that if upon a full and deliberate conſideration, this total change of ſyſtem appeared to be fraught with no miſchievous conſequences, undoubtedly he muſt defer to their ſuperior judgement: but the difference of ſituation is this, they are to decide on the propriety of accepting or rejecting the offer when made; we are to judge on the wiſdom of making it; and nothing (the noble Lord ſaid) can juſtify that in his opinion, but a foreknowledge that it will be accepted. If the Miniſters have any ſuch grounds of expectation, they ought to be ſtated, and ſpeculation muſt give way to theory: but he forewarned Miniſters, as the moſt important point of their duty, on which the preſervation of every Britiſh intereſt depended, to beware of meaſures which may lead the Parliament of that kingdom into a conteſt with the People.

The noble Lord ſaid, there was an eaſy and ſimple method of avoiding this embarraſſment, by diſclaiming all idea of compulſion upon the legiſlature of Ireland, in any of the caſes which he had deſcribed. He thought the Britiſh Parliament ſhould be ſatisfied with eſtabliſhing the principle, that uniformity in the laws of trade ought to prevail between the two kingdoms, which reſolution, being exactly fitted to meet the declaration made by the Iriſh Parliament, in the preamble to Mr. Yelverton's act, would effectually bind the faith of both kingdoms to the purpoſe in queſtion, without raiſing jealouſy or ſuſpicion. And he further added, that the reſolution was very inaccurately worded, that it pointed out no preciſe time within which regulations of the Britiſh Parliament are to be adopted by Ireland, and that conſequently it might produce much ill blood, and give occaſion to one kingdom to charge the other with breach of faith, if the execution of any of theſe regulations was deferred by one Parliament beyond the period which the other might think ſufficient; and to obviate all theſe objections, he ſaid, he ſhould move to leave out all the words from "Great Britain and Ire-"land," in which caſe the reſolution would barely ſtate, "That "it is highly important to the general intereſt of the Britiſh "empire, that the laws for regulating trade and navigation, "ſhould be the ſame in Great Britain and Ireland."

The queſtion was put on his Lordſhip's amendment, and negatived.

Mr. *Eden* moved to inſert a proviſion for extending the propoſed adoption by Ireland of certain laws to be originated in Great Britain, to Engliſh acts of Parliament "concern-"ing ſeamen." That ſuch an advantage, if attainable, was of great importance, could not be denied, and ſurely, if Ireland ſhould be diſpoſed to recognize a power in Great Britain to perpetuate nearly the whole of the Iriſh additional duties, and to extend them to any amount, and to make for ever new regulations for the management of the Iriſh trade, ſhe would not heſitate to add to ſuch acknowledgement a farther conceſſion of evident importance to the naval ſtrength of the empire. It was a moſt ſtriking objection to the propoſed arrangement, that it tended to transfer our ſhips and ſeamen to Ireland, without ſecuring their aſſiſtance in all future wars: and no meaſure was taken to fix and rivet the connection of the two kingdoms, at the time when we were poſſibly making it the eventual intereſt of Ireland to be unwilling to engage in the riſques and troubles of our unavoidable wars. God forbid that ſuch a circumſtance ſhould ever take place, but under

Mr. Eden.

the preſent propoſitiops, the prevention of it was ſubmitted blindly to the interference of Providence. A few years ago, Ireland had called louldly on Great Britain, to ſhare with her "one conſtitution, one commerce, and one fate" The one conſtitution had been given, and he hoped that there exiſted no where a latent wiſh to impair it. The one commerce was now propoſed, though certainly in a moſt queſtionable ſhape. And laſtly, it remained to ſecure one fate to the two countries this, indeed, was a great work, and he muſt add, with the moſt ſerious concern, that the preſent propoſitions tended to place the completion of it at a moſt hopeleſs diſtance.

Mr Courtenay.

Mr *Courtenay* roſe and ſaid, he hoped the Houſe would excuſe him for claiming their attention for a ſhort time, to offer his ſentiments again on a propoſition, that appeared ſo important and intereſting to him If he was not miſtaken, this propoſition, and the ſubſequent one, aimed an inſidious and ungenerous attack on the conſtitution of Ireland It would be ſaid, that this did not affect the independence of Ireland, becauſe no laws or regulations can be paſſed without the ſanction of the Iriſh Parliament he ſhould admit, that this did not take away their independence *re & animo*, not *modo & forma*; but let us ſee whether it did not do ſo ſubſtantially and in effect Do not you require Ireland henceforward, to adopt every regulation whatſoever which any future Parliament, under the conduct of any future Miniſter, may think proper? This certainly does not totally deſtroy the Iriſh legiſlature, but it precludes (by the very condition of the compact) the inherent right of deliberation and rejection, which contains the ſubſtance, ſpirit, and eſſential principle of a free Parliament Suppoſe a ſimilar propoſition was offered by Ireland, and ſurely, there was no great abſurdity or improbability in ſuch a ſuppoſition, both legiſlatures, Iriſh and Engliſh were allowed to be equally independent, might not, therefore (on the principle of reciprocity) the Iriſh Parliament agree to paſs theſe two exceptionable propoſitions, on the expreſs condition, that in certain ſtipulated caſes, the Engliſh Parliament would likewiſe agree to paſs certain laws and regulations, originally propoſed and enacted in the Iriſh Parliament? How would ſuch a propoſal be received in that Houſe? Would it not be received with indignation, and treated with contempt? He called on the Chancellor of the Exchequer to anſwer the queſtion candidly and explicitly. He doubted whether that right honourable gentleman would even dare to offer ſuch a propoſition to the Houſe, though they

they had ſeen frequent inſtances of his confidence and audacity, both in a minority and majority. What reaſon was there then to ſuppoſe, that an Iriſh Houſe of Commons would ſubmit to ſuch a degradation of their dignity, ſuch a ſhameful dereliction of their independence! Partial as that Houſe was to the Miniſter of the day, he doubted whether there was a man in it who would venture to ſupport the right honourable gentleman on ſuch a queſtion if there was a ſingle man hardy enough to do ſo, let him riſe at this moment, and avow his ſentiments he was glad there was none; for it gave him a happy preſage of the ſentiments of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, on a ſimilar propoſition, a happy preſage of that manly pride and characteriſtic ſpirit which had ever diſtinguiſhed them

The fifth propoſition, Mr. Courtenay aſſerted, was equally inſidious and injurious; under its ſpecious pretext of regulating duties, it had a direct tendency to ſubject Ireland to a new ſyſtem of taxation, at the diſcretion of an Engliſh Parliament. As all goods and commodities of the growth, produce, and manufacture of Britiſh or foreign colonies in America or the Weſt Indies, &c. were ſubject to the ſame duties and regulations, as the ſame goods are, and from time to time ſhall be ſubject to, upon importation into Great Britain How will this affect Ireland? Let us ſtate the caſe impartially between the two countries, the one extremely opulent, the other extremely poor. By veſting the uncontrolled power in the rich, of impoſing duties to any amount, you ſubject the poor one wholly to her diſcretion, and make it in many caſes (for inſtance, in the importation of raw manufacturing materials) for the real intereſt of the rich country to lay ſuch heavy duties, as may almoſt amount to a prohibition, and thereby prevent any rivalſhip in trade, that a free participation of all commercial advantages is ſpeciouſly held out to induce the poor country (Ireland) to accept of ſuch deluſive propoſitions.

Is this conduct likely to promote that harmony and concord between England and Ireland, which have been ſo often expatiated on, with all the pomp of vain declamation, as the grand principle of this political union? Still it muſt be acknowledged that there are new propoſitions introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer among his modifications and regulations, and not even hinted at originally by Mr. Orde to the Iriſh Houſe. Probably, indeed (if one might hazard a conjecture, from their obvious drift and tendency) they were ſuggeſted to the right honourable gentleman by his

worthy guardian and coadjutor (Mr. Jenkinſon) who ſat at his right hand, and was deſervedly high in his confidence and favour. He certainly thought it for the benefit of both countries that Ireland ſhould give up, not *eo nomine*, but ſubſtantially and effectually, the independence of her legiſlature: and this is probably only part of his great ſyſtem; he is only now feeling his way, and as the buſineſs of next year will probably be a commercial treaty with America, he flatters himſelf ſhe may be induced, by the example of Ireland, to make a voluntary ſurrender of her independence, and perhaps ſubmit in ſome inſtances to external taxation. ſo that what he has loſt by a ſyſtem of violence, may be recovered by a profound ſyſtem of political wiſdom, and ſuperior adroitneſs in negociation, and England may again flouriſh at the head of a great empire, and eſtabliſh and maintain her acknowledged ſuperiority over America, Ireland, and all her other ſubordinate appendages. But be this as it may, this plan muſt be productive of great diſſatisfaction and jealouſy, for obſerve the courſe and order of things; Ireland firſt obtained ſeveral commercial privileges from England, ſhe ſaw clearly that the continuance of thoſe commercial advantages muſt ſtill be precarious, till ſhe had obtained an independent legiſlature to guard and protect thoſe commercial privileges But the order of things is now reverſed, and the right honourable gentleman attempts to ſeduce Ireland to give up her power of legiſlature in commercial points, and offers her the Engliſh market by way of a commutation, for the ſurrender of her conſtitution. Such deluſive and chimerical advantages will hardly impoſe on the clear-diſcerning ſpirit of the people of Ireland, eſpecially as the original eleven propoſitions offered by Mr Orde are totally changed in ſubſtance and ſpirit by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Ireland, inſtead of the golden commercial helmet, tendered with all the pomp of Quixotiſm by Mr Orde, muſt now accept of the barber's baſon, preſented to her by the right honourable gentleman.

Mr. Courtenay obſerved, that another right honourable gentleman (Mr Dundas) had inadvertently, in a former debate, been too explicit, and diſcovered too much of the inſidious ſyſtem, now ſo ardently purſued by the preſent Adminiſtration. He had candidly acknowledged, that the monopoly of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies was more than an equivalent for all the commercial advantages offered Ireland, by opening the Engliſh markets. That was undoubtedly true; for at the expiration of the preſent charter of the Eaſt-India Com-

Company, Ireland was certainly intitled to a free participation of that extenſive and valuable branch of commerce; but now England was in a manner obliged to continue that injurious monopoly, becauſe Ireland was only bound to purchaſe all Eaſt India goods through England, during the exiſtence of ſuch an excluſive monopoly, conſequently an Engliſh Miniſter was now furniſhed with a plauſible apology to urge to the people of England, for renewing that monopoly, however detrimental to the public intereſt, for he might plauſibly alledge, that Ireland was no longer bound, except during the continuance of that injurious monopoly, and, therefore, it was more for the intereſt of England to continue it, than to permit Ireland to trade directly to the Eaſt Indies, which ſhe would be intitled to do if the trade was laid open. Such were the ſubſtantial advantages which Ireland was to reſign for ever: if the whole of the propoſitions had been originally laid before the Iriſh Parliament, and if they had accepted them, Mr Courtenay ſaid, he would be the laſt man who would preſume to differ from them on that great and important ſubject. They were the beſt judges of the relative ſituation of their country, they were the conſtitutional guardians and protectors of the people, they were men of the moſt enlightened and capacious minds, diſtinguiſhed for abilities, public ſpirit, and penetration, ſtill he hoped, that without preſumption, he might venture to hazard his opinion on the probable effects of commercial propoſitions which had not as yet come under their cognizance, and which, in his judgement, were an infringement on their free conſtitution. Jealouſy and diſſatisfaction had always been excited in this country, reciprocal complaints would probably take place in both countries, ſuch were the harmony, concord, and union, we had too much reaſon to expect. Indeed, the evidence of the manufacturers at the bar of the Houſe had probably ariſen from groſs miſtakes, or total ignorance of the real ſituation of Ireland. He was far from throwing any ungenerous reflections on ſuch a reſpectable body of men, who had ſpoke well, and offered ſentiments honeſtly and ſincerely, and had acted with the utmoſt candour, fairneſs, and integrity; but a moment's conſideration would convince them that their apprehenſions were abſolutely groundleſs. It had been repeatedly urged, that Ireland had no taxes, while the people of England were oppreſſed and loaded; but what were truly the comparative and reſpective ſtate of both countries? The true way of computing the burdens of a nation was, to compute them from the income of the whole people, partly out of

rents, partly out of labour, and partly out of trade, either for home conſumption or exportation.

The people of England, as nearly as it could be computed, and as it had been computed by the beſt writers on political arithmetic, are 8,000,000, and their medium expence per head 10l. which is the true national income (for men cannot ſpend more, or have leſs, than they receive or gain) 80,000,000l. The taxes of England, even with all its enormous debt, are not one-ſixth of the income of the People. The people of Ireland are not quite 2,500,000; their medium expence he had by no computation ever yet made above 50s, he ſaid he ſhould ſuppoſe it 3l, 6,250,000l per annum Ireland now raiſes in taxes near 1,500,000l pear annum, near a fifth of her whole income. This common cant about the Iriſh taxes, aroſe from hence, that they have not the ſame taxes, nominally the ſame, with thoſe of England: but then they have ſome that are of the ſame nature in reality, and others infinitely more grievous, and that operate more heavily and detrimentally: for inſtance, the Iriſh quit rent, crown rents, and hearth money, may be conſidered as a land tax, which undoubtedly they are, and produce about 110,000l. per annum; ſo that Ireland pays in reality a land tax equal to above 2s. 6d in the pound, and that conſtantly in the time of peace and war, beſides taxes on its imports.

It ſhould alſo be conſidered, that the rents of England are full 21,000,000l. per annum, and the rents of Ireland are at moſt but 2,000,000l Now conſidering the immenſe difference of the Iriſh and Engliſh exports and imports (which ſhould alſo be taken into the account) the amazing capitals of England, her ſkill, experience, and long habits of induſtry, is it to be imagined, after ſubjecting herſelf again to the controul of the Britiſh legiſlature, reſtricting herſelf to the monopoly of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, allowing her foreign trade to be cramped, and thus reſigning the moſt ſolid and ſubſtantial advantages, is it to be preſumed, that ſhe will be able to rival and underſel the Engliſh manufacturer? The advantages fallaciouſly held out, ſhe will find to be deluſive and chimerical, and he again repeated, ſhe would find herſelf diſappointed; ſhe would conſider theſe amended propoſitions as injurious and inſidious as a mockery on the merchants, a reſtriction of her free trade, an inſult on her manufacturers, an infringement on her conſtitution, a degradation of her legiſlature, and a humiliation of a ſpirited and generous people, who merited better treatment from the Miniſter of the Crown, and the Parliament of England.

Mr.

Mr. *Jolliffe* said, he had conceived the most dreadful apprehensions of the propositions now before the House, he thought they were liable to produce every evil consequence, and that no benefit could possibly arise from them to this country they yielded to Ireland a competition with the English manufacturer, even at our markets, and tended to enrich that country by the impoverishment of this. But in this (the 4th) proposition, he saw indeed an attempt at what he thought a resumption of what was timidly, unwisely, and rashly yielded by his friends The legislation for the empire at large had been, contrary not only to prudence, but to common sense, given out of the power of the English Parliament. What could be so absurd, or such a contradiction in terms, as to talk of an empire without the power of external legislation for the whole of that empire? How were the important concerns of the whole to be directed but by one Parliament, and who could imagine that that Parliament should be any other than the Parliament of that country where the executive power resided, and where the seat of empire was admitted to be? In this therefore, he approved of this proposition; and from this, he hoped the right honourable gentleman would never depart it was restoring to this country a most important object, without which, our connection with Ireland was not only of no value, but was a weight, an expence, and an incumbrance. To reclaim that to which Ireland never had a right, and which must be injurious to her, as well as to England, was boldly to effect a benefit to both countries, and in that the Minister had his concurrence, though not in any other respect. Mr. Jolliffe.

Mr. *Sheridan* rose as the question was going to be put, and said, that as the persevering silence of Ministers made it impossible for him to guess whether they meant to admit the amendment or not, and as they had pursued the same conduct in rejecting the amendment moved by the noble Lord near him, which he had the honour of seconding, he would take that opportunity of speaking to the resolution generally as it had been framed, and defended by the Minister, before it should become still more objectionable, by extending the powers it was to lodge in Great Britain over the sister kingdom. This, at least, Mr. Sheridan said, was a question on which gentlemen were no longer to hear the desires and wishes of Ireland urged as arguments for their concurrence, it was a matter wholly and entirely new it was so far from being any part of the offer made by Ireland, that it had not even been hinted Mr. Sheridan.

hinted at or alluded to in the Iriſh Parliament, it never had been once glanced at by Mr Orde; it formed no part of the conſideration recommended to the attention of the Parliaments of both kingdoms in His Majeſty's gracious ſpeech from the throne: it was not to be found in the queſtions referred to the inveſtigation of the Committee of Privy Council; and the right honourable gentleman himſelf (Mr. Pitt) in opening this buſineſs to the Britiſh Parliament, had not uttered one word that tended to ſhew that this propoſition was eſſential to the ſettlement propoſed between the two kingdoms. The queſtion then was, whether the new propoſition now in debate contained matter fit to be propoſed from the Parliament of this country to the Parliament of Ireland? In his conſcience, he thought it did not: it was injurious to make the offer, and it was folly to believe it could be accepted; it was not enough to ſay, that the Parliament of Ireland ought not or dared not agree to it: they had not the powers to accede to it, it would be a conceſſion beyond the limits of their truſt, they would betray the confidence repoſed in them, and the Iriſh nation would ſpurn at the bondage which their degenerate repreſentatives had no authority to engage they ſhould ſubmit to.

Much had been argued on a former day relative to the extent and ſpirit of this propoſition. The event and concluſion of all thoſe arguments from both ſides of the Houſe warranted him now in aſſerting, that this reſolution went, in the fulleſt extent, to a complete reſumption of the right of external legiſlation, ſo lately exerciſed, but ſo ſolemnly renounced by Great Britain over Ireland. It was unneceſſary to repeat thoſe arguments; no perſon would again attempt to maintain, that this was a meaſure of experiment, or that it was in the power of Ireland, to poſſeſs herſelf of the greateſt preſent benefits from this country, which ſo many gentlemen contended ſhe would immediately obtain, as a tranſfer of Britiſh capital, and the eſtabliſhment of Britiſh manufactures; and then, by refuſing to place upon her ſtatute book ſome act of this legiſlature which ſhe was bound to have adopted, void and annul the whole of this ſettlement, and revert unmoleſted to her preſent ſituation. A full explanation had been given on this ſubject; the concluſions from which went diſtinctly to this, that the preſent ſettlement was final and perpetual. That the contracting parties in this momentous buſineſs being preſumed to act with perfect foreſight of the conſequence of their irrevocable engagements, neither party could depart from any article ſtipulated, without breach of

faith,

faith. Such an infraction in the ſtronger power would be an act of deſpotiſm and oppreſſion, and would juſtify the utmoſt extent of reſiſtance in the weaker: it would be a direct attempt to diſengage herſelf from all connection with, or relation to the empire, and would authoriſe the vigour of coercion. This was the footing upon which the two countries muſt in future be underſtood to be united: upon this view, it would be an impoſition on common ſenſe to pretend, that Ireland could in future have the exerciſe of free will or diſcretion upon any of thoſe ſubjects of legiſlation on which ſhe now ſtipulated to follow the edicts of Great Britain, and it was a miſerable ſophiſtry to contend, that her being permitted the ceremony of placing thoſe laws upon her own ſtatute book, as the form of promulgating them, was an argument, that it was not the Britiſh but the Iriſh ſtatute which bound the people of Ireland. For his part, if he were a Member of the Iriſh Parliament, he ſhould prefer the meaſure of enacting by one deciſive vote, that all Britiſh laws, to the purpoſes ſtipulated, ſhould have immediate operation in Ireland as in Great Britain, chuſing rather to avoid the mockery of enacting without deliberation, and deciding where they had no power to diſſent where fetters were to be worn, it was a wretched ambition to contend for the diſtinction of faſtening our own ſhackles.

If this was a fair conſtruction of the purport and neceſſary conſequences of the reſolution, was it a ſlight and trifling conſideration, when we reflected on the ſolemn and deciſive manner in which the faith of the two countries had been engaged on this ſubject? Whether Great Britain ſhould inſidiouſly, by ſurpriſe, and collaterally, as it were, make a propoſal, which would argue in her a repentance of the bounty, or rather of the juſtice, which ſhe had done to Ireland, and which, if not accepted, would neceſſarily deſtroy for ever all confidence in that country towards Great Britain, on thoſe great conſtitutional queſtions which ſhe had ſhewn were ſo near to her breaſt, and ſo valued above all other advantages ſhe had rather claimed or acquired? It had been ſolemnly ſtipulated between the two kingdoms, that "The "right claimed by Ireland, to be bound in all caſes what-"ever, only by laws made by the King, Lords, and Com-"mons, of Ireland, ſhould never more be queſtioned, or "queſtionable." This reſolution did not queſtion that right. No, certainly it did not it only offered to bargain for it; and propoſed conditions on which the right was to be relin-

quiſhed for ever by Ireland. But who are the parties negotiating, and under what circumſtances is the treaty carried on? A final commercial arrangement is declared to be neceſſary to the future good underſtanding between the two countries and by this final arrangement, it is declared by Britain, to be an indiſpenſable condition, that Ireland ſhould give up all legiſlative authority in matters of trade and navigation, and this condition is not fairly put forward in the outſet of the treaty, but Ireland is treacherouſly encouraged to demand a benefit, and then a price is exacted greater than any favour Britain can beſtow; while by the manner of ſtating it, Ireland is at the ſame time given to underſtand, that there can never be peace or cordiality between the two countries till ſhe acquieſces in the ſacrifice.

When a ſtrong power, conſcious of its ſuperiority, treats with a weaker one upon ſuch terms, it may not queſtion, indeed, the right to the poſſeſſion wiſhed for, but it does more, it hints a menace on the conſequence of withholding it, the letter of the compact is not infringed, but the ſpirit of it is violated. Here, Mr. Sheridan ſaid, he would not enter into a diſcuſſion, whether it was not reaſonable in any adminiſtration, at any time, to entertain an apprehenſion, that great difficulties might ariſe in the government of two countries, each poſſeſſing an independent legiſlature, eſpecially in matters of commerce and navigation. To argue theoretically on ſuch a ſituation, undoubtedly many apprehenſions might be juſtifiable; but what had been the event? It had not proved them to be well founded, but whatever fears were entertained on the ſubject, this he was ſure of, that the only mode of treating with Ireland, in a point of ſuch magnitude, was by fair, explicit, and ingenuous plain dealing. If the Britiſh Government really thought it eſſential to the future good underſtanding, and to the common intereſts of the two kingdoms, that the power of legiſlating to particular objects ſhould be lodged in one kingdom, only for the common benefit of both, and of conſequence in that kingdom which was the head of the empire, it ſhould have been diſtinctly ſo ſtated in the firſt overture made to the Iriſh Parliament, as the baſis of a permanent agreement. If, then, upon due deliberation, and full communication with their conſtituents and with the country at large, the Parliament of that kingdom had thought it adviſeable, and had been authoriſed to treat for the ſurrender of thoſe rights which they had ſo lately deemed the only ſafeguard either of their commerce or their conſtitution, and which they gloried ſo much to have obtained by their own

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virtuous and ſpirited exertions, then, undoubtedly, whatever he might have thought of their prudence, he ſhould not have held himſelf at liberty to make the ſame comments on the proceeding. Inſtead of this, all had been deluſion, trick, and fallacy, a new ſcheme of commercial arrangement is propoſed to the Iriſh as a boon, and the ſurrender of their conſtitution is tacked to it as a mercantile regulation. Ireland, newly eſcaped from harſh trammels and ſevere diſcipline, is treated like a high-mettled horſe, hard to catch, and the Iriſh Secretary, is to return to the field, ſoothing and coaxing him, with a ſieve of provender in one hand, but with a bridle in the other, ready to ſlip over his head while he is ſnuffing at the food. But this political jockeyſhip, he was convinced, would not ſucceed, Ireland would ſpurn at any offer to which ſuch a condition was to be annexed, ſhe would now plainly ſee, that this alarming condition, now indeed declared to be the eſſence and vital principle of the whole ſettlement, though introduced as an after-thought, as it were, and as a conſequence of the tenor of the requiſitions made by Ireland, was, no doubt, the firſt original object, and contained the ſeed and ſource of the whole buſineſs. He was the more confirmed in this opinion, from recollecting many paſſages in the right honourable mover's ſpeeches ſince he firſt opened this matter; although it was not then thought prudent, even to hint, that ſuch a ſtipulation ſhould be part of the treaty, he conſtantly made it a topic of accuſation againſt his right honourable friend (Mr. Fox) that he had permitted Ireland to aſſert the freedom of her conſtitution unconditionally, and without reſerving to Great Britain a neceſſary control over her trade and navigation.

Here Mr Sheridan went into a full defence of the conduct of his right honourable friend on that occaſion, he reminded the Houſe of the circumſtances of the times, the ſituation in which Ireland then ſtood, and maintained, that the declaratory ſtatute which Ireland demanded to be repealed, was more diſgraceful to the Journals of that Houſe, and more a libel on the principles of this country, than injurious to the people whom it inſulted but was there a man in that houſe who would ſtand up and ſay, that conditions ought to have been made with Ireland annexed to this conceſſion, if a conceſſion it might be called? Was there a man who ſtated this to be his opinion at the time? If the right honourable gentleman, who ſo frequently repeats this charge, has to plead in his excuſe, that he was not then poſſeſſed of all that political foreſight, and conſummate ſagacity, which three years experience

had given him, how came it that his new ally, the right honourable gentleman by his ſide (Mr Jenkinſon) whoſe prudence and abilities were certainly not immature at that time, ſo far deſerted his duty, as never to proteſt, while the meaſure was in its progreſs, againſt the indiſcretion and raſhneſs of a Miniſter, whom he had no reaſon to favour, nor once to warn him, that he was inconſiderately placing the two countries in a ſituation in which it was impoſſible for them to ſtand, and inducing Parliament to relinquiſh a right, which it would be indiſpenſably neceſſary, on the firſt opportunity, to reſume; fortunately for the peace and future union of the two kingdoms, no ſuch miſerable and narrow policy entered into the mind of his right honourable friend, he diſdained the injuſtice of bargaining with Ireland on ſuch a ſubject, nor would Ireland have liſtened to him if he had attempted it. She had not applied to purchaſe a conſtitution, and if a tribute or contribution had been demanded in return for what was then granted, thoſe patriotic ſpirits who were at that time leading the oppreſſed people of that inſulted country to the attainment of their juſt rights, would have pointed to other modes of acquiring them, would have called to them in the words of Camillus, *arma aptare atque ferro non auro patriam et libertatem recuperare.*

But if he had been ſurpriſed at this ſort of language coming from thoſe gentlemen, he had been much more aſtoniſhed at another right honourable gentleman's declaration, (Mr. Grenville) that when he had been in an official ſituation in Ireland, he had wiſhed for, and meditated a ſettlement between the two countries, upon the principle of the preſent propoſed ſyſtem Had the right honourable gentleman forgot the ſecond legiſlative act paſſed by this Parliament, in acknowment of the conſtitutional rights of Ireland? Had he forgot that that act was a meaſure of his Adminiſtration? And did he remember the ſolemn pledge, there given, to remove for ever all doubt, that any power, but the King, Lords, and Commons, of Ireland, ſhould dictate, in a legiſlative capacity, to that country? The right honourable gentleman had ſtated, that this act had become abſolutely neceſſary, for that Ireland, almoſt to a man, had conceived that the ſimple repeal of the 6th of George the Firſt had not reſtored to them the ſecurity of their conſtitution, which yet remained to be acquired If this was the caſe, and a bargain were neceſſary, then was the time for the right honourable gentleman to have propoſed his conditions, and not to have permitted thoſe for whom he obtained this new acknowledgement, to have conceived him

to have been the champion for a more ſolemn and explicit renunciation of the legiſlative claims of Great Britain over Ireland, if he had in his mind a reſerve, that a ſettlement was even then neceſſary, which ſhould re-aſſert thoſe claims, and degrade Ireland to her former ſtate of ſervile dependence.

With regard to the ſtate of Ireland, it was ridiculous to argue, that any circumſtances had ſince occurred to juſtify or call for the preſent arrangement It had been attempted to be proved in the Report of the Committee of Privy Council, that Ireland had begun to ſhew a hoſtile diſpoſition towards Great Britain, and that ſhe had paſſed two or three acts, impoſing duties on ſome articles of Britiſh export It was idle to reaſon from ſuch trivial circumſtances. One or two of theſe acts, it was known, had paſſed the Iriſh Parliament rather by ſtealth, and through inadvertency No material principle, upon which the two countries were to remain connected, had been violated, and when we conſider the perpetual ſhifting of the Government and ſyſtem in Ireland, that every three months wafted over a new Lord Lieutenant, the only wonder was, that thoſe principles had been ſo ſteadily adhered to. The clamour and riots of Dublin had alſo been reſorted to as pretences for this arrangement, this ſort of argument had been ſufficiently reprobated by a right honourable friend of his (Mr. Burke) on a former day, but if clamour was to be attended to, let the meaning of it, where there was any, be preferred to the noiſe Had the Iriſh clamoured for the preſent ſettlement, or for any one article contained in it? Had they been loud in demanding acceſs to the Britiſh market, in preference to protecting duties? Had they requeſted to be tied for ever to the Britiſh monopoly in the Weſt Indies, and to have the price of the commodities of thoſe colonies increaſed upon them? Had they complained, that fortune had offered the trade of the United States of America to them without condition or reſtraint? Had they vehemently expreſſed their apprehenſions, that the rich commerce of the Eaſt would ſpeedily be open to them, if effectual meaſures were not taken to prevent it? Had they regretted, that they were burdened with a ſurplus of the hereditary revenue? Had they called out, that they were tired of their legiſlative independence, and entreated to be relieved from it?—But the fallacy of ſtating ſuch flimſy ground as the ſuppoſed cry of the populace, as the real origin, and ſpur of this important arrangement, was too obvious to be commented on. The true ſpring and incentive to this artful and complicated buſineſs evidently lurked in this fourth pernicious reſolution, the tendency of which was of a

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piece with their whole ſyſtem of government in Ireland, with the arbitrary and illegal proceedings of their agents in the buſineſs of attachments, with their attacks on the liberty of the preſs; meaſures arguing a mind hoſtile to the true principles of conſtitutional freedom, and juſtifying us in preſuming that ſimilar ſteps would be purſued in this country, if they could be practiſed with equal impunity.

Mr. Sheridan now adverted to what the noble Lord in the blue ribband (Lord North) had ſaid, was his conception of the ſpirit of the propoſition then in debate. The noble Lord had very fairly ſtated, that it was unqueſtionably a propoſal on the part of the Britiſh Parliament, that Ireland ſhould, upon certain conditions, ſurrender her now-acknowledged right of external legiſlation, and return, as to that point, to the ſituation from which ſhe had emancipated herſelf in 1782. The noble Lord had alſo added, that though he might not approve of the manner and circumſtances under which this offer was made, yet he ſincerely hoped, that Ireland would forget both, and perceive her intereſt in acceding to the propoſal. The noble Lord was right in ſaying, that Ireland muſt forget before ſhe could conſent; but ſhe had more to forget than the inſidious and unfair manner in which this propoſal come to her, ſhe muſt forget, that Great Britain ever had the power now required to be conceded to her, ſhe muſt forget the uſe Great Britain made of it while ſhe poſſeſſed it. And by what arguments is Ireland to be induced to relinquiſh this right? Can it be ſtated to her, that ſhe has ever once exerciſed it to the injury of this country? No, but we are told, that it is poſſible that ſhe may do ſo, and is it not equally poſſible that Great Britain may abuſe the truſt, and employ this power to the oppreſſion of Ireland? It is argued, that the malice of party, the intereſted views of mercantile ſpeculation, or the folly of narrow politicians, may, at ſome time or other, lead Ireland, even at the expence of her own intereſt, to meaſures which might embariaſs the trade and navigation of the empire And has Ireland nothing to apprehend from party, from mercantile avarice, or from blind and narrow policy? If it is urged that England is grown too liberal and enlightened to juſtify any ſuch apprehenſions on the part of Ireland, the Chancellor of the Exchequer himſelf contradicts this reaſoning, by aſſerting that the two hundred thouſand manufacturers, whoſe petitions are on the table, are all influenced either by the ſuggeſtions of faction, or blinded by prejudice and ſelfiſhneſs, in truth, there is not a ſingle argument which can be uſed as an inducement to Great Britain to attempt to reſume this power, which does

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not equally apply as a motive to Ireland [illegible] with it; with this difference only, that fact and experience will justify the refusal of the one, but have afforded no pretence for the requisition from the other.

But this power, if returned to Great Britain, is to be returned with this qualification. The laws which Ireland is to be bound to adopt and to obey, are, "To enforce the same "restraints, and to confer the same benefits upon the subjects "of both countries." Here, then, arises a question which will necessarily be duly weighed and duly considered by the Irish. Is it, or is it not, possible for Great Britain, under the title of "Laws for the regulation of trade and navigation, or "for regulating and restraining the trade of the British colo-"nies and plantations," to adopt restrictions and enforce conditions which may materially cripple and embarrass the trade and navigation of Ireland without proportionably affecting the commerce of Great Britain. He took upon him confidently to assert, that this might be done in innumerable particulars. He had stated, for example sake, some instances upon a former day; he had stated, that Great Britain might restrain the trade and navigation between the colonies and these kingdoms to vessels of considerable burden, and a proportionate number of seamen. England has large ships and numerous crews, Ireland has neither. The advantage of Ireland has been supposed to be her making more frequent voyages to the plantations, and for smaller cargoes. Such a measure of legislation as is alluded to would evidently have a different operation on the commerce of the two countries. He had stated, that Great Britain reserving the power of prescribing the form of original certificates to be given by the revenue officers of the colonies, and of requiring them to accompany the importation of every article of colonial produce imported from Ireland into Great Britain, might, by limiting the time at which they should be allowed, and by various other means, entangle and distress the Irish trader, and the more so, as the restraint was not even to be reciprocal. He had stated, that Great Britain might make it a condition, that no ship should clear out a cargo from the West Indies which did not take out a stipulated quantity of some British manufacture not to be obtained in Ireland, but it was unnecessary for him to multiply or argue upon examples. If he was wrangled out of one case, still the principle he went upon was not defeated; for he was not to be called upon to prove the probability of the instances he quoted, or that Great Britain would not injure herself were she to adopt them, because the whole of the

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preſent arrangement was built upon this foundation, that it was eſſential to the ſyſtem that neither country ſhould retain a power upon any terms to injure the commerce of the other.

But whether it was probable or not that Great Britain would in future exerciſe this right of external legiſlation over Ireland with juſtice and liberality, ſhutting her ears to prejudice and ſelf-intereſt, ſtill it muſt be admitted, that it was claiming a conſiderable ſacrifice from the ſiſter kingdom; and what were the advantages held out to her to induce her to make this ſacrifice? He wiſhed the Houſe to view the whole of this matter, and not to confine their attention to the ſubject of the Britiſh market, which had been argued upon as if there was nothing elſe to be conceded by one ſide or acquired by the other. What was the preſent ſituation of Ireland in reſpect to all branches of commerce, independent of her intercourſe with this kingdom? Here Mr. Sheridan went into a more minute detail than it is neceſſary for us to purſue, in order to ſhew the ſituation in which Ireland now ſtood in reſpect to her trade with our colonies and with foreign countries, and that in which ſhe was propoſed to be placed, ſhould the ſyſtem of arrangement, at preſent in contemplation, be adopted.

With reſpect to the Weſt Indies, Ireland was to agree to forego every market but that of the Britiſh plantations, to give up the cheapeſt for the deareſt, to loſe the option at preſent poſſeſſed, of being ſupplied circuitouſly through Great Britain upon the low duties, if ſhe found it not to her advantage to apply to the direct trade of the whole of her conſumption, to double her preſent duties on the article of rum, to impoſe not only equal port duties upon her exports, but to countervail every internal duty which Great Britain may impoſe upon any ſimilar article of her own manufacture, ſo that if Great Britain was to lay a duty upon the export of her linen to thoſe colonies, which would be of little injury to her, Ireland muſt do the ſame, though the reverſe would be the conſequence, in ſhort, the whole was ſacrifice and ſurrender on the part of Ireland. As to America, the difference lay in a word Inſtead of a trade to that whole continent without reſtriction or duty, but what ſhe ſhould think proper herſelf to impoſe, ſhe was to admit into her ports no articles of ſimilar growth, produce, or manufacture, to thoſe of the Britiſh colonies, or which were liable to be imported from thence as ſuch, but upon the terms that Great Britain ſhould hereafter dictate. With Africa, ſhe was to be placed upon the ſame footing as with the Weſt Indies; and to India, ſhe was

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to abandon all hope and proſpect of intercourſe with thoſe countries to the end of time, and conſent that an immovable boom ſhould be placed from the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan. Thus reſtrained and dependent, her proſpects of European commerce were to be proportionably diminiſhed, theſe ſacrifices could not be diſputed; and it was to be conſidered, that every article propoſed to be abandoned by Ireland was an advantage to which her title was not diſputed, an advantage that ſhe held as a right, for which ſhe had a claim to compenſation if relinquiſhed.

Theſe, then, being the ſacrifices which Ireland was to make in her proſpects of an extended foreign commerce, where was to be her retribution? In what inſtance was the advantage in this treaty to be on her ſide? From whence was ſhe to receive the boaſted compenſation? The Britiſh market—that was to be opened to her. There, and there only, was ſhe to look for an equivalent for the numerous and important ſacrifices ſhe was to make both in commerce and conſtitution. He defied any man to have the confidence to deny, for a moment, that in every other inſtance Ireland was not to be placed in an infinitely worſe ſituation than that in which ſhe now ſtands, and in which ſhe ſtands by fair and acknowledged right. But how was this advantage to be given to her? Upon what terms was the Britiſh market to be opened? If he was to adopt the language and ſentiments of thoſe who propoſe this boon, he ſhould anſwer, upon ſuch terms as ſhall effectually prevent Ireland from ever profiting, in the ſmalleſt degree, by the conceſſion. To this point all their arguments have tended; to this all their evidence had been pointed: ſo that if we were to give credit to the Miniſter and his ſupporters, this equitable treaty, this bargain upon the baſis of reciprocity, would prove neither more nor leſs than a direct fraud, cheat, and robbery, ſtripping Ireland of all the commercial advantages ſhe had obtained, as well as of the conſtitution which ſecured them to her, and giving nothing in return, but a right to render herſelf odious in this country, by an attempt at a rivalſhip which could not be profitable to herſelf, though it might be miſchievous to Great Britain. He was not inclined, however, to give credit to the Miniſter's reaſoning on this ſubject, and much leſs to the evidence he had brought to ſupport it, the greater part of which had been merely a libel on the character and habits of the Iriſh nation, nor did he, at the ſame time, go with the manufacturers of this country to the extent of the evils which they apprehended—many of their arguments were undoubtedly well founded,

and the evidence they had given at the bar merited the moſt ſerious attention: there was one point, however, in which he moſt completely agreed with them,—in their aſſertion, that if the Iriſh trader ſhould be enabled to meet the Britiſh merchant and manufacturer in the Britiſh market, the gain of Ireland muſt be the loſs of England. This was a fact not to be controverted on any principle of common ſenſe or reaſonable argument. The pomp of general declamation and waſte of fine words, which had, on ſo many occaſions, been employed to diſguiſe and perplex this plain ſimple truth, or ſtill more fallaciouſly to endeavour to prove, that Great Britain would find her balance in the Iriſh market, had only tended to ſhew the weakneſs and inconſiſtency of the doctrine they were meant to ſupport. The truth of the argument was with the manufacturers, and this formed, in Mr. Sheridan's mind, a ground of one of the moſt vehement objections he had to the preſent plan. Ireland muſt not endeavour to riſe on the ruin of the trade of Great Britain—ſhe muſt not aim to thrive avowedly at the expence of the Britiſh manufacturer, however alluring the proſpect, not juſtice and generoſity alone, but intereſt and policy, would call upon her to deſiſt from the attempt. Poſſibly at firſt ſhe might find a profit and an advantage in the conteſt—but how was a great part of this advantage to be obtained?—By means incompatible with the true ſpirit and principles which led to permanent commercial proſperity, by means which had been ſtated at the bar, to form a great part of the apprehenſions of thoſe who petitioned againſt theſe propoſitions, by a lax execution of her revenue laws, by the corrupt countenance of her legiſlature to ſuch a conduct, by ſtealing her own manufactures into this country, by paſſing thoſe of foreign countries for her own, by obtaining a tranſfer of capital, and enticing over artiſts and workmen by falſe hopes and ill-founded proſpects, in ſhort, by ſmuggling, by evading, by defrauding, by conniving, by deceiving. The profit earned by ſuch means would, by the ſyſtem they tend to introduce, be ruinous in the end to the country which practiſed them, while they would immediately deeply injure the ſiſter kingdom if ſhe ſubmitted to them; but that would not long continue, the conſequence would be, that even the name of Iriſhman would become odious and deteſtable to the commercial intereſt of Great Britain, and Ireland would ſoon be taught to know, that while ſhe was preſſing by all poſſible means her own advantage from this article of the ſettlement, ſhe had by other conditions of the treaty ſurrendered into the hands of Great Britain the power of crippling

pling and crushing the whole scheme of her commerce, of chastising her presumption, and of reducing her to her former state of abject dependence, whenever the interest, the prejudices, or the animosity of the trading part of this community should countenance the measure. Mr. Sheridan urged this in other points of view, and declared, that if he were a person of consideration in Ireland, so far from encouraging the people there to struggle for the British market, he should think it his duty, and what he owed to the interests of his countrymen, to call loudly to the whole land to turn away their eyes and thoughts from that one object, to attempt no race or contest with the British manufacturer, to shun, as the greatest evil, the jealousies, heart burnings, and destructive ill will, which would necessarily breed on such a competition, circumstanced so peculiarly with respect to burdens as Great Britain was, and biassed by rooted habits of thinking upon this particular point, but to endeavour to increase by fair and gentle means the home consumption of the produce of their own industry, and by systematic and vigorous enterprise to aim at a successful intercourse with every foreign port; there, if they met the British merchant, it would be a liberal emulation, there he could have no innovation or unfairness to complain of, and there, even if successfully rivalled, he would be conscious that the increasing wealth of Ireland, from such a source, might, with truth, be stated to be a fund wherein the general commerce of England would assuredly find its compensation. Thus might Ireland be addressed under her present circumstances; but let the settlement now proposed be once established, what would be the answer? Would not the Irish merchant and manufacturer reply,—"What you advise us to is unreasonable and "prepostrous;—we have bound ourselves for ever to the mo-"nopolies of Great Britain in the East and in the West, we re-"ceive the commodities of both at her will, at her prices, and "at her duties; we are crippled in our intercourse with "America, holding a precarious and restrained trade with "those Sovereign States as if they were still British colonies; "our dreams of being the depôt and emporium for the fo-"reign countries of Europe are, of consequence, become "visionary and ridiculous; we have violated the principles of "our Constitution, by giving a perpetual aid to a military "force at the will of the executive magistrate; we have for "ever surrendered our right of external legislation into the "hands of the British Parliament; for all this the British

" market is our compenſation; upon that we are compelled " to faſten our minds; to that we muſt cling, that we muſt " obtain by every poſſible exertion of every kind, and if " Great Britain ſuffers by it, the miſchief is of her own ſeek- " ing, and the reſtrictions which force us to this conteſt is of " her own impoſing." Theſe would be the happy fruits of a plan, whoſe boaſted object was to cement the union of the two countries, and connect them by bonds of eternal amity and reciprocal affection!

After enlarging on this, Mr. Sheridan concluded, with preſſing to the attention of the Houſe, the propoſitions as they then ſtood, completely changed in ſpirit, principle, and regulation, and begging them to conſider them in their true light, as new propoſals from the Britiſh Parliament, thoſe made by the Iriſh Parliament being in fact rejected; and to decide, whether they were ſuch as human reaſon could ſuppoſe the Iriſh Parliament, weighing what they are to renounce, and what they are to acquire, could accept, if fair time was given them to argue and deliberate: or if, by ſurpriſe and management, they were hurried through that Parliament, at a ſeaſon of thin attendance and relaxed attention, whether the moſt fatal miſunderſtandings might not be apprehended, from the country's afterwards diſcovering the deluſion which had been practiſed upon them, and the arts and fallacies which had obtained the irrevocable ſurrender of their deareſt rights. The reſolution in debate, was declared to be the eſſence of this new ſyſtem; negative that, and the plan fell to the ground; if it paſſed that day, a deep wound would inſtantly be given to the confidence of Ireland in Great Britain; if adopted raſhly by the Iriſh Parliament, the deciſive blow would be ſtruck, and affection and good faith between the two countries be baniſhed for ever.

Rt Hon. W W Grenville

The right honourable *W. W. Grenville* ſaid, it was extremely diſagreeable to him to take up the time of the Houſe, upon points that were immediately perſonal to himſelf, but the honourable gentleman had ſo miſrepreſented what he had ſaid in a former debate a few days ſince, that he could not but think the Houſe would expect that he ſhould ſay ſomething on the occaſion. Mr. Grenville then went into an argument to prove, that there was no manner of inconſiſtency in his ſupporting the preſent reſolutions, after the line of conduct he had held in that Houſe, when a noble relation of his had the honour to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He ſaid, the conceſſions made to Ireland, previous to his holding

holding the office of Secretary, had been misconceived in that country. When he arrived, he found men's minds much divided; various opinions prevailed, and many doubts and jealousies were entertained. In order to clear up these doubts, and in order to quiet these jealousies, he had come over to the British House of Commons, to procure a parliamentary explanation of the former proceedings. It was with that view, and with that view only, that he had adopted the line of conduct he at that time pursued; and he would submit it to the candid consideration of every man who heard him, whether there was not an essential distinction between an explanation of past concessions, and an obtainment of greater concessions, and whether his object being at that time merely to obtain an explanation of what had been before done, there was any inconsistency in his now supporting a system of arrangement between the two countries, that certainly conceded something more, but that promised so firmly to establish the future harmony and happiness of Great Britain and Ireland? Mr. Grenville next took notice of what had been said, in regard to the fourth resolution's being a resumption of the right of legislation over Ireland, which had been so solemnly renounced the year before last; and went into a series of nice distinctions upon the subject, declaring, that he understood the fourth resolution to be a recognition of the right of legislation's being inalienably vested in Ireland, or he would not have supported it.

Commodore *Bowyer*, after expressing his general approbation of the plan under discussion, said, that he had no doubts on his mind, except of a professional nature, which he was under a necessity of requesting the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) to reconcile, before he could think himself justifiable in giving his negative to the amendment. He said, that there could be nothing more detrimental to the naval service, than to furnish the seamen in time of war with the means of avoiding the King's service, and even of being impressed; which must necessarily be the case, if the prerogative of the Crown in that instance was not to be in equal force in Ireland, as in England. He pointed out the temptation it would be to persons of that description to fly to Ireland on the commencement of a war, and there to seek for employment in the merchant ships, where they would have better pay, and less restraint than in the navy, by which means our fleets would remain unmanned. He also expressed some apprehensions, lest the arrangement might make

Commod. Bowyer.

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dangerous alterations in the jurisdiction of the Board of Admiralty, and therefore he wished to be informed, if that department was to be affected, and whether the impress service was to be on the same footing in Ireland as in England?

Mr Chancellor Pitt

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* paid a handsome compliment to the honourable gentleman for the professional zeal he had shewn, and the candour with which he had stated his doubts. He said, that he should be at all times ready to answer questions of such a nature, and that the present was by no means difficult to be answered. The King of Great Britain, he said, was, by the common law, possessed of certain powers over the British seamen, for the purposes of public defence; the common law of Ireland was similar to that of England, and therefore he must in Ireland enjoy exactly the same powers over the several classes of his subjects in that kingdom, as his prerogative intitled him to in that under the common law of England. With respect to the particular branch of power which had been mentioned (pressing) that was a subject on which great delicacy had always been shewn by Parliament, nor would he then unnecessarily say any thing on it further than this, that whatever authority the King had of that nature in England, he had exactly the same in Ireland, and that it was not altered or infringed on in either by the present resolution. With regard to the Board of Admiralty, he observed that the Admiralty of England was the Admiralty of Ireland, and of the empire at large; and that to divide its jurisdiction, would be to weaken and almost destroy the naval force of the empire. Nor could there possibly be two Boards of Admiralty, because the branch of executive administration, which was under that department, being of a military nature, was one of those which, like the right of appointing Ambassadors, belonged personally to the Crown, without any local reference to the situation of its dominions. Having thus, he hoped, satisfied the honourable Commodore, he said, he found himself under a necessity of making some observations on other matters that had fallen in the debate, and he hoped the House would excuse him in saying a few words on a subject, on which having already taken up so much of their time, he would compress what he had now to offer into as small a compass as possible. It had been his intention to have remained silent, not expecting any thing new to occur on a subject which for a long series of time had undergone such frequent and patient debate. However,

ever, though nothing had been brought forward in the courſe of the preſent argument, except what tended to inforce objections that had already been made and anſwered; yet the channel through which the preſent oppoſition came, and the mode in which it had been handled, was ſuch, as ſtrongly demanded ſome farther notice from him. When he conſidered the language that had been held, and the quarter it came from, when he reflected on the deſigns of thoſe who had preſented themſelves in ſo conſpicuous a manner as the enemies of the reſolution then before the Houſe, and ſaw with how much artifice and zeal thoſe deſigns were ſupported, and when he weighed the motives, as well of thoſe who had been ſilent as of thoſe who had ſpoken to the queſtion, he could not remain an idle ſpectator, in a tranſaction that ſo eſſentially concerned the intereſt of the two kingdoms, which compoſed the remaining part of the Britiſh empire. If a chain of recent events, and the whole tenor of the conduct that had been adopted by perſons of a certain deſcription had not exhauſted and anticipated his ſurpriſe at any thing that could come from them, he could ſcarcely believe his ſenſes, when he beheld a gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) who for many weeks had concealed his intentions ſo effectually, as to leave it a doubt whether he was friendly or hoſtile to the arrangement now depending, ſtand forth the avowed enemy of a part of the ſyſtem which was neceſſarily connected with the whole, and take up a ground of oppoſition the moſt dangerous and inflammatory that could poſſibly ſuggeſt itſelf. But it was not to be wondered at that the conduct of the honourable gentleman ſhould be ſo inconſiſtent, when it was remembered, how inconſiſtent all the meaſures of the party of which he was the mouth, were in themſelves, and how inconſiſtent the perſons who compoſed that party were with one another. Still the purſuits of that party, however various and however contradictory, had one uniform tendency. Whether they reprobated on this day, what they had approved on the preceding, or whether they abandoned a principle which they had before admitted; whether one individual differed from or coincided with the reſt of his aſſociates, ſtill the effect of all their efforts, of all their perſeverance, and all their tergiverſation was to be the ſame — To embarraſs and confound the meaſures of Adminiſtration, to embroil and diſunite the affections of their fellow ſubjects, to excite groundleſs alarms, and on thoſe groundleſs alarms to foment the moſt dangerous diſcontents. The noble Lord in the

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hire husband, in aſſenting to the reſolution, and the honourable gentleman in oppoſing it, had taken care to ſupport their ſeveral opinions by the ſame argument, and that argument was, of all others, beſt calculated to promote the ultimate deſign of both, however different the modes they took to accompliſh it, the jealouſy and reſentment of the ſiſter kingdom. The reſumption of legiſlative ſupremacy over Ireland was the ground of acquieſcence in the one, of diſſent in the other, and thus they divided between them the two features of the character which their right honourable friend (Mr. Fox) had ſhewn himſelf ſo ambitious to aſſume, that of an Engliſh and an Iriſh patriot.

How gentlemen could think themſelves warranted in ſetting up an oppoſition to meaſures, in favour of which they had borne more than a ſilent teſtimony, for they had expreſſly acknowledged the ſeveral amendments to be ſuch, as not only were in themſelves unexceptionable, but had alſo the poſitive merit of correcting in a great degree, the objectionable qualities of the original propoſitions, was a circumſtance only to be accounted for by thoſe who, from a cloſe attention to the conduct of the party, and a congeniality of ſentiment with them, had brought themſelves to underſtand and to adopt the whole of their ſyſtem, and were thence enabled to ſee that it was a double game that they were playing, and that their appearing to oppoſe the reſolutions by arguments directly contrary to each other, was merely with a view to ſecure the ſame end, and to compaſs the ſame deſign. Was there, he aſked, a ſingle amendment which was not calculated to meet and obviate the very objections that had been made to the primary reſolutions as ſent from Ireland; and when thoſe amendments were firſt propoſed, was there a ſingle gentleman on the oppoſite ſide of the Houſe who ſpoke upon the ſubject (and ſeveral very long ſpeeches had been made) who did not acknowledge them to be an improvement on, and a conſiderable recommendation of the plan? It had been aſked, would the Iriſh be ſatisfied to adopt the reſolutions in their preſent altered and amended ſtate? And the exultation and confidence with which the queſtion had been aſked ſufficiently betrayed, that it was not the form or proviſion of the original grounds of the adjuſtment, as likely to injure this country, that had given riſe to the oppoſition which attended them, but hope, that by introducing alterations, and diminiſhing as much as poſſible the advantages to be derived from them by Ireland,

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that country might be brought to reject them, and thus an arrangement neceſſary both to the peace and tranquillity of the empire (bleſſings which in every ſtate there are ſome men always averſe to) might be poſtponed or defeated The queſtion, however, he would anſwer with as much boldneſs as became him, and he would not ſcruple to ſay, that as far as probability would go on ſuch an occaſion, they would certainly be received with joy and gratitude in Ireland. This opinion, he ſaid, he gave from general reaſoning and the nature of the caſe, for all that was neceſſary to form ſuch an opinion was to be perſuaded, that the People and Parliament of Ireland were poſſeſſed of ſufficient underſtanding to ſee and know their own intereſts, and to diſtinguiſh between their friends and their enemies. Could he ſuppoſe that Ireland would diſcover in the reſolution then in debate, any infringement on the ſovereign rights of her legiſlature, he ſhould then readily acknowledge, that there was no hope of her acquieſcence but, as the reſolution was in itſelf perfectly innocent of any ſuch tendency, as it was in fact nothing more than a neceſſary and indiſpenſable proviſion in a treaty between two independent kingdoms, nay, as it was, according to the idea of his right honourable friend (Mr. Grenville) if ſuch an acknowledgement were now neceſſary, a virtual recognition of her complete emancipation, he had very little apprehenſion, that an enlightened and liberal nation would ſuffer itſelf to become a dupe to the deſigns of a ſet of men, who having exerted all their induſtry for the ſpace of five months in alarming every intereſt in this country, for the purpoſe of rouſing them to a violent oppoſition againſt the arrangement, as propoſed by the Parliament of Ireland, were now with equal diligence employing the moſt inflammatory means towards creating a ſimilar oppoſition in Ireland againſt the modifications applied by the Britiſh Houſe of Commons. The inconſiſtency of the gentlemen, who oppoſed at this day what they approved of on the firſt introduction, was only to be parallelled by the contradictons with which their former oppoſition to the original propoſitions, and their preſent oppoſition to the amendments, were marked.

Formerly it was urged, that the arrangement would be ruinous to the trade of England, but not having been able to bring the Houſe into their opinion, they had ſhifted their ground, and had become on a ſudden extremely apprehenſive leſt it might be prejudicial to the conſtitution of Ireland He once more preſſed the right honourable gentleman oppoſite to

him to come forward and explain his meaning in the reſolution of 1782: in that reſolution, the right honourable gentleman had led the Houſe to declare that. "It was neceſſary "for the welfare and tranquillity of the empire that a per- "manent connection ſhould be eſtabliſhed between Great "Britain and Ireland" If the right honourable gentleman had not impoſed in that reſolution an unmeaning and an unintelligible propoſition on the Houſe, he muſt have intended ſomething ſimilar to the preſent plan, either as firſt arranged by the Iriſh reſolutions, or as now adopted by the amendments engrafted on them by the Committee of that Houſe. If the idea of the right honourable gentleman had been entirely different, he wondered that in his active ſearch for means and modes of oppoſition, he had not endeavoured to uſe that which would of all others be the moſt clear and forcible, that of contraſting the ſyſtem now propoſed with a better one of his own formation As this mode therefore had been neglected by the right honourable gentleman, he had only to conclude, either that he had no meaning whatſoever in the reſolution he propoſed, that his intention was ſomething ſimilar to the arrangement now under conſideration, or that whatever his plan was, it was ſuch as, on compariſon, would be found inferior to the preſent. Although there were the moſt obvious explanations of this inconſiſtency, ſtill there was another which he hoped the right honourable gentleman was not prepared to admit, namely, that the different ſituations in which he found himſelf, had inſpired him with different ſentiments, and that the views on the preſent day were ſuch, as rendered that public tranquillity and permanent welfare of the empire which it was formerly his avowed object to eſtabliſh, leſs diſagreeable now than it appeared to him then to be.

He enlarged with great emphaſis, with ſome humour, and much ſeverity on the pains which gentlemen had taken to deprecate in their ſpeeches, any imputations of inflammatory or dangerous intentions, and yet by their arguments to provoke the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicions of that nature. It was not for him to determine, whether the intention of thoſe gentlemen were really as bad as they themſelves ſeemed apprehenſive they ſhould appear; but on the preſent occaſion, he had only to exult, that however the tendency of their ſeveral arguments ſeparately conſidered might go towards ſowing diſſention and diſſatisfaction in Ireland, yet when all their ſpeeches were collectively ſent to Ireland (and he dared to ſay that pains would be taken they all ſhould find their way there)

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he flattered himſelf that one would prove an antidote to the poiſon of the other, and by that means deſtroy the effect of the whole Thus, when it ſhould be found, that an honourable gentleman, in the fullneſs of his zeal for the freedom and proſperity of that country, conſidered every thing that was given to Ireland as inſignificant, and yet that the price ſhe was to pay for it, was nothing leſs than an entire and abſolute ſurrender of her independence if the various inconſiſtencies that had marked that honourable gentleman's conduct in the courſe of the proceedings, were not ſufficient to open the eyes of all the wiſe and thinking people, yet the poiſon of the honourable gentleman's argument would find a compleate antidote in the argument of the noble Lord (North) near him. Their joint argument ran thus: the honourable gentleman affirmed that Ireland gained nothing in point of commerce, but reſigned her ſovereignty and her legiſlative powers into the hands of Great Britain, whilſt the noble Lord endeavoured to prove, that England was on the point to impart to Ireland the moſt unbounded and invaluable rights of trade, yet that the only return to be made for ſuch an extravagant conceſſion amounted to nothing more than this — (and here he read from a paper the words of the noble Lord) the freight of a few frigates loaded with pickled pork and biſcuits in the courſe of a century. Having for a conſiderable time dwelt on the inconſiſtency of ſuch arguments, and the little apprehenſion there was of any ſerious danger reſulting from them, he vindicated the reſolution on the ground of its being abſolutely neceſſary towards effecting the object of a plan depending, which was to agree to admit that country to a participation of commercial benefits with Great Britain, that ſhould not only be equal, but permanent, for if the laws that regulated and governed the enjoyment of thoſe benefits ſhould be different in each country, then they could not be equal; and if they were liable to alterations in the one and not in the other, they could not be permanent He referred to the negociations between all States abſolutely independent on, or unconnected with, each other, in order to ſhew, that ſimilar proviſions were frequently adopted on ſuch occaſions. He particularly inſtanced the late treaty of peace with France, in which that kingdom was bound to publiſh certain edicts, as ſoon as other acts ſtipulated on her part, were performed by this country nay, he defied any gentleman to produce a ſingle collection of treaties, in which there was not almoſt in every page a contract of a ſimilar tendency. He farther contended, that if Ireland had any reaſon to complain in this

inſtance, of an infringement on her rights, England had full as much, for, by the preſent arrangement, her Parliament was fully and irrevocably bound, at all times, to admit the Iriſh to the free uſe and enjoyment of her own markets, and would, therefore, by ſo doing, give up her future right of excluding them, and thus, to a certain degree, abandon her free agency and ſovereign power over all the concerns of the kingdom

Lord North, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Sheridan, roſe together inſtantly as Mr. Pitt ſat down; the two former, however, gave way, as Mr Sheridan had been ſo particularly pointed at in Mr. Pitt's ſpeech.

Mr Sheridan, Mr. *Sheridan* ſaid, he was confident that the candour and liberality of the Houſe would indulge him with a ſeverer attention (though he had juſt taken up ſo large a portion of their time) to enable him to repel the groſſeſt perverſion, not of words merely, but of conduct and motives, which the moſt preſumptuous adept at miſrepreſentation had ever attempted to maintain, in defiance of truth and decency. The right honourable gentleman had charged him, in the moſt acrimonious language of reproof, with inconſiſtency of conduct. He was accuſed of not having appeared to hold one uniform opinion upon the ſubject of the Iriſh propoſitions—a curious charge, and curiouſly ſupported, for the very words of the right honourable gentleman's accuſation accounted for, and juſtified the contradictions he complained of—It was, becauſe every day had brought forth new opinions, it was, becauſe every time the Committee met the tone had been changed, and the ground had been ſhifted—that it had become utterly impoſſible for any perſon either to ſupport or oppoſe his ſyſtem upon the ſame principle, or with the ſame arguments, for two days together, but it was not very ſurpriſing that the right honourable gentleman, who had forgot every ground which at the commencement he profeſſed to act upon, ſhould not very accurately remember the line of conduct purſued by others—nothing but this complete oblivion of himſelf, and what he had done in this buſineſs, could have betrayed him into the raſhneſs of accuſing gentlemen on that ſide of the Houſe of acting a double game—did he complain of a double game? He, through whoſe whole conduct in this buſineſs there had not been one direct proceeding, not one ſtraightforward ſtep. The whole negociation, from the firſt hour, had been carved, twiſted, and circuitous—a plan, opened with duplicity, and explained with equivocation. The groſs

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and glaring contradictions between the right honourable gentleman's firſt ſtatement and reaſoning upon this buſineſs in England, and Mr. Orde's in Ireland, undoubtedly had no reſemblance to a double game; there had been no double game in the Committee of Privy Council, carrying on a mock inveſtigation for His Majeſty's information, after His Majeſty had received an addreſs of thanks for having adopted the meaſure; and, above all, no double game had been practiſed with the manufacturers, but all their miſapprehenſions had been owing to accident, or their own dulneſs! While ſuch things were in the recollection of the Houſe, the right honourable gentleman muſt not expect to have his looſe and unfounded charges paſs unreplied to, however boldly urged with lofty tone and clamarous declamation. For his part, he defied the right honourable gentleman to tax him with any one inconſiſtency upon this ſubject. He was the mouth of no party, as the right honourable gentleman had been pleaſed to ſtyle him, nor was he the tool of any party. He had as ſtrong party feelings as any man, but he had thoſe feelings, becauſe thoſe he was attached to neither expected from him ſervility of judgement nor pliancy of principle. The right honourable gentleman, perhaps, knew himſelf too well, what it was to be only the channel of conveying other people's ſentiments and decrees, to be the eloquent mouth employed to promulgate ſchemes, not bred in his own judgement, nor approved by his own heart. This he ſolemnly believed, was the right honourable gentleman's caſe at preſent. He was convinced, in his own mind, that that part of the plan which was to entrap Ireland into a ſurrender of her Conſtitution, was no original wiſh of that right honourable gentleman's, but had been put upon him ſince, by thoſe who will ſome day make ſtill harder conditions with him, for the continuance of their countenance and ſupport.

Mr. Sheridan then recapitulated his own conduct throughout the buſineſs, ſtating, that ſoon after the opening of the propoſed arrangement, he had ſaid in debate in that Houſe, that he ſhould differ upon this buſineſs, he feared, with thoſe whom he had always acted with; that he had ſolicited no petition, nor knew even of that from Stafford till the day he had preſented it, but that on the day Mr. Pitt brought forward his ſixteen new propoſitions, ſo far from appearing to approve of them, he had called to the right honourable gentleman to read a ſecond time this particular propoſition, and had declared, in ſpeaking to an amendment, he moved before

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the Houſe roſe that night, that the fourth reſolution ſtruck him as an abſolute reſumption of the right of external legiſlation over Ireland. The right honourable gentleman brought an amendment to this reſolution the next time the Committee ſat, and quoted what he called his (Mr. Sheridan's miſconception as a reaſon). Mr. Sheridan had then replied, that the amendment had removed no part of his objection. He had ſince ſpoke and divided againſt this reſolution in the Committee.

With regard to other particulars in this arrangement, he had voted, in many inſtances, with the Miniſter, and againſt his right honourable friend and the noble Lord, and he had ſuggeſted ſome amendments which had been adopted, and which certainly tended to ſmooth the reception of the propoſitions in Ireland He left the Houſe to judge, whether there was any thing either inflammatory or inconſiſtent in this conduct. But his opinion upon the whole of the plan, as it was completed, he had delivered that day, and that opinion he would maintain

Ld. North Lord *North* alſo begged leave to ſay a few words in explanation, he vindicated himſelf from the charge of inconſiſtency made againſt him by the right honourable gentleman, and alſo turned againſt him his own argument of ſhifting ground — With reſpect to the quotation of the right honourable gentleman from his ſpeech, notwithſtanding his precaution in writing down his words, he had been guilty of a great inaccuracy, for he had not ſaid, that we had only to expect the return from Ireland in the courſe of an entire century, but that the utmoſt we could look for would be a few frigates, freighted with pickled pork and biſcuit, during the remainder of the preſent century, a period only of fifteen years.

Mr Fox. Mr *Fox* began with remarking, that in the perſonal and political character of the right honourable gentleman over againſt him (Mr. Pitt) there were many qualities and habits that had often ſurpriſed him, and, he believed, that confounded the ſpeculations of every man who had ever much conſidered or analized his diſpoſition, but that his conduct on this night had reduced all that was unaccountable, incoherent, and contradictory in his character in times paſt, to a mere nothing. That he ſhone out in a new light, ſurpaſſing even himſelf, and leaving his hearers wrapt in amaſement, uncertain, whether moſt to wonder at the extraordinary ſpeech they had heard, or the frontleſs confidence with which that ſpeech had been delivered. Such a farrago of idle and arrogant declamation, uttered in any other place, and by any other perſon, upon the

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ſubject in queſtion, would naturally fill the members of that Houſe with aſtoniſhment, but ſpoken by that right honourable gentleman within thoſe walls, in the preſence of men who were witneſſes of all the proceedings upon this buſineſs, every one of whom could bear teſtimony to the groſs and unbluſhing fallacy of the right honourable gentleman. It was, Mr. Fox ſaid, an act of boldneſs, a ſpecies of parliamentary hardyhood, certainly not to be accounted for upon any known or received rules of common ſenſe, or common reaſon.

I cannot help (continued Mr. Fox) remarking the vaſt diſparity in the tone of temper, and the ſtyle of expreſſion exhibited by the right honourable gentleman upon this night, from thoſe which he deemed it expedient to adopt when he opened the eighteen propoſitions to this Houſe.—On that night I quoted a paſſage,

> Telephus aut Peleus cum pauper, et exul uterque,
> Projicit *ampullas*, et *ſeſquipedalia verba*,

and quoted it to exemplify the change which the deplorable ſituation into which his raſhneſs, his ignorance, or what is not more reputable than either, a ſervile adoption of other men's fancies, and thruſting forward the crude heap of diſcordant and dangerous materials which form this miſerable project, had involved the right honourable gentleman. Upon that occaſion, I could not help obſerving, that the *ampullæ* and the *ſeſquipedalia verba*—that the right honourable gentleman's magnificent terms, his verboſe periods, and thoſe big bombaſtic ſentiments which conſtitute, in general, the principal part of his orations, had for once forſaken him, or been relinquiſhed, for language and for manners better accommodated to his diſaſtrous condition.—Then we ſaw the avowed confederacy of the right honourable gentleman with thoſe about him (meaning Mr. Jenkinſon), whoſe co-operation in the general ſyſtem of his government the right honourable gentleman is ſo commonly anxious to diſavow, but whoſe opinions he ſo uniformly propagates and aſſerts.—Then we ſaw that prepoſterous ambition, that gaudy pride, and vaulting vanity, which glare upon the obſerver beyond all the other characteriſtic features of the right honourable gentleman, and which prompt him to look down with contempt on his political coadjutors—to fancy himſelf the great overſeer, the Surveyor General of the Britiſh Government.—We ſaw this glittering aſſemblage melt away, and that right honourable gentleman deſcend to a curious and moſt affecting ſympathy with the other ſupporters of this ſyſtem, as well as into

ſomething like a modeſt and civil demeanor towards thoſe who oppoſed it—But alas! the right honourable gentleman's deviation into a moderate and humble courſe of argument,—into a courſe befitting a man detected in ten thouſand inſtances of folly, precipitancy, raſhneſs, weakneſs, and conſummate ignorance of the ſubject in diſcuſſion, was but tranſient and temporary. The hopes of a reform in his conduct were as deluſive and fallacious, even as the many hopes of other reforms which that right honourable gentleman has gulled a variety of perſons in this country to entertain upon points of more importance—Upon this night, the right honourable gentleman has relapſed into his own favourite and darling habits—the *ampullæ* and *ſeſquipedalia verba* are again reſumed, with additional redundancy. Nerved with new rancour, and impelled with freſh vehemence, the right honourable gentleman ruſhes blindly forward; but ſurely it cannot eſcape obſervation, that the diſplay of theſe paſſions, and the reſumption of that mode of reaſoning, are the beſt proofs that the right honourable gentleman is, indeed, reduced to the laſt extremity, and, by the uſe of ſuch arguments, that he ſhews himſelf deſtitute of any that better become a real Stateſman, or a great orator.

Beaten out of every thing that bears the ſemblance of argument, without the leaſt ſhred or remnant of reaſoning to ſupport him, the right honourable gentleman is forced upon the raſh and dangerous hazard of carrying the war into the enemy's camp, and finding it impoſſible to ſay one word in vindication of his own deformed and miſerable ſyſtem, he is obliged to throw out a ſeries of invectives, and, by exhibiting a liſt of charges againſt us (charges which, the very moment he gives them utterance, he knows to be abſolutely and entirely deſtitute of every veſtige of truth), to engage the attention, and divert the notice of the Houſe from his own wretched and contemptible ſchemes The admirable argument of my honourable friend is anſwered with hard epithets, with ſtrong aſſertions, with lofty phraſes, with long and laboured calumnies, and with the uſual round of redundant and diſguſting egotiſms. In proportion to the poverty of the cauſe he engages in, is the pompous aſſumption of the right honourable gentleman, and of all the various ſingularities which compoſe his character, nothing, I confeſs, amazes me ſo much as the perfect compoſure with which he attempts to criminate his adverſaries, upon points in which he is himſelf, of all men living, the moſt vulnerable; and the ſteadineſs and reſolution with which he puts forth accuſations, in a deſperate defiance of truth, and with as determined a contempt of prudence and propriety

propriety in the manner of urging them. Before I touch upon the charges to which I allude, I cannot help obſerving, with what ſpecial grace the right honourable gentleman ridicules long ſpeeches—with what a ſingular juſtneſs it is that he, of all the members in this Houſe, attempts to correct others for occupying much of the time of the Houſe. I do not intend to deny the right honourable gentleman the merit of great abilities, great eloquence, and powers of pleaſing his hearers; but of all the crimes to be urged againſt any perſon within theſe walls, the laſt, undoubtedly, for him to venture upon is, to charge the long duration of his ſpeech as a fault againſt any member—He, like myſelf, is under the neceſſity of troubling this Houſe much oftener, and for a much longer time, than is, perhaps, agreeable, and it ill becomes either of us to reprobate others for a practice we ourſelves ſo frequently fall into. Grateful for the indulgence we are favoured with, and ſincerely thankful for the patience and the politeneſs with which we are honoured, we ſhould certainly be the laſt to condemn that in which ourſelves are the greateſt tranſgreſſors. And I ſhall drop this part of the ſubject, with only remarking, that if an almoſt uniform deviation from the immediate ſubject in diſcuſſion,—if abandoning liberal arguments for illiberal declamations,—if frequently quitting ſound ſenſe for indecent ſarcaſms, and preferring to rouſe the paſſions and inflame the prejudices of his auditory, to the convincing their underſtandings and informing their judgements, tended to diminiſh the title of any member of this Houſe to a more than common portion of its temper and endurance—I do not know one gentleman who would have ſo ill-founded a claim upon it for ſuch favours, as the very right honourable gentleman himſelf.

The right honourable gentleman has ſtruggled much to fix a charge of inconſiſtency upon my noble friend, and upon my honourable friend, near me (Mr. Sheridan), and ſuch is the fatality of an inordinate appetite for accuſation, that the only point by which he has choſen to illuſtrate this inconſiſtency, is a point that proves, as clear as day light, that both the one and the other is perfectly and thoroughly conſiſtent. The noble Lord ſupports the fourth propoſition, becauſe he thinks it makes laws no more for Ireland than is, in this inſtance, very juſt. The honourable gentleman reprobates it, becauſe he thinks it an inſidious, a deceitful, and treacherous manœuvre, to cheat the Iriſh out of their independence, and dupe them into ſervility, by proſpects of advantages of another kind. The noble Lord and the honourable gentleman

have taken the ſame ſide, argued upon the ſame principle, and acted under the ſame impreſſion, upon the ſame ſubject, from the firſt moment the right honourable gentleman introduced it to this Houſe, their language has been unvarying, and their conduct in ſtrict uniſon with their reſpective declarations. The noble Lord has ſhewn the danger to the trade of England from the adoption of theſe propoſitions, and has, in my judgement, unanſwerably confirmed, that the promiſed compenſation is deluſive and fallacious in the extreme, in both theſe poſitions my honourable friend concurs, nay, he goes farther, and demonſtrates, that although he might wiſh well to the propoſitions as generally favourable to the trade of Ireland in their original ſtate, the right honourable gentleman's alterations have ſo radically changed their nature, that Ireland will be the poſitive loſer in theſe three great branches, viz. the American, the Weſt Indian, and Eaſt-Indian trade; ſo that the only chance ſhe has of benefit, or of indemnifying herſelf for the injury ſhe receives by the change of her preſent ſyſtem of trade in theſe great lines of commerce, conſiſts ſolely in the hopes of underſelling England in the Engliſh markets. He therefore conſiders the arrangement upon the whole is prejudicial to Ireland (independent of the attempt at reſuming the power of legiſlation under the fourth propoſition) becauſe it is not by the downfal of England that he wiſhes Ireland to proſper. Thus, all my noble friend's argument tended to ſhew the danger to the manufactures and trade of England from the propoſed ſyſtem my honourable friend admits, that Ireland's only ſource of benefit is confined to England, for that, in the arrangement of the foreign trade every thing is againſt her; and in this point ſo triumphantly dwelt upon by the right honourable gentleman (Mr Pitt) as the criterion of their contradiction, nothing in fact appears but the moſt preciſe conſiſtency on their part. This detection of his miſtake may perhaps (but I believe nothing can) teach the right honourable gentleman previouſly to conſider a charge before he makes it, and not waſte ſo much phlegm, nor expend ſo many fine periods, upon ſubjects which will only ſhew his own raſhneſs, weakneſs, and, I had almoſt ſaid, abſurdity!

But the right honourable gentleman ſeems determined, at all riſks, to fill up the catalogue of accuſations; and in the hey-day of his ſpleen, in the plenitude of his indignation, to contemn every conſequence to himſelf, provided he ſucceeds in giving us a ſide blow. What is the world to think of that right honourable gentleman's diſcretion and judgement from this

this night, who, upon the ſubject of the Iriſh propoſitions, ventures neither more nor leſs, than to charge us with ſhifting our ground, and playing a double game.

Is there a gentleman here, who, out of this Houſe at the moment would have believed that the right honourable gentleman could have been ſo unguarded, ſo ſenſeleſs, ſo mad, as to ſtumble on ſuch a charge? He—He, to talk of our ſhifting our ground! He, who has ſhifted his ground, until, in truth, he has no ground to ſtand upon! He, who has aſſumed ſo many ſhapes, colours, and characters, in the progreſs of this extraordinary undertaking—He, who has proclaimed determinations only to recede from them, who has aſſerted principles only to renounce them. He, whoſe whole conduct, from the firſt moment the ſyſtem has been propoſed, is one continued chain of tricks, quibbles, ſubterfuges, and tergiverſations, uniform alone in contradictions and inconſiſtencies. Compare the twenty propoſitions now upon your table, with the eleven original ones, as he introduced them to this Houſe, compare his language on that day with the language of to-night, compare the nature of the two ſtrings of propoſitions, ſubſtantially and fundamentally ſubverted in many parts, in all materially altered, with thoſe reiterated declarations, that not one principle could on any terms be meddled with let the Houſe reflect upon theſe circumſtances, and, then let them judge whether a groſſer piece of inſanity was ever heard of, than that the author of all this miſerable foolery ſhould charge others with ſhifting their ground?

And then the right honourable gentleman is pleaſed to ſay, that we are playing a double game. The parent of double games, and the very eſſence of double dealing through every part of this buſineſs, is the very man who has the front to make this charge. But does he think this nation is as blind and ſenſeleſs as thoſe who, in ſupporting this ſyſtem within theſe walls, avow their utter ignorance of it, as the motive that impels them? Does he think an abſolute ſtupefaction has petrified the intellects of men, that he ſhould have the boldneſs to talk of other people's playing a double game? He who has played a double game with England, a double game with Ireland, and juggled both nations by a train of unparalleled ſubtilety?

Who propoſed the ſcheme to Ireland as a digeſted ſyſtem, final and complete pledging the faith of Government that the eleven propoſitions contained the whole, and that not one of them ſhould be altered? The right honourable gentle-

man. Who ſwelled theſe eleven to eighteen propoſitions, in a variety of fundamental points radically altered and overturned? The right honourable gentleman. Who aſſured the body of Britiſh traders and manufacturers, that their reſpective branches ſhould be faithfully ſecured from every evil; who denied this aſſurance afterwards, who ſolemnly declared, in the face of the Houſe of Commons, that all the principles of the original eleven ſhould remain inviolate, who was it afterwards that openly violated this ſolemn declaration? Let the right honourable gentleman anſwer theſe queſtions if he can, and let the world decide which ſide of the Houſe has been playing a double game.

Does the impoſition which almoſt every manufacturer who has ſeen the right honourable gentleman upon this buſineſs, ariſe only from a miſunderſtanding? That perſons ſtanding in this Houſe in the heat of rivalſhip and political emulation, prone to miſconceive and to miſinterpret, ſhould often miſunderſtand each other, is no great cauſe of wonder. But what intereſt could the manufacturers of England have to miſunderſtand the right honourable gentleman? Did it ariſe from his want of power to expreſs himſelf? Was it owing to his habitual brevity, to his known diſlike to circumlocution, and to the circumſtance of his never uſing more words than are barely ſufficient to give his meaning? The world will judge whether to impute it moſt to theſe cauſes, or indeed to the playing a double game.

But, Sir, it is not in retorting theſe ſilly charges that we reſt our defence on theſe points. From the beginning we have been uniform and conſiſtent, and if any new objections have been urged by us, they are attributable to the novelty of the propoſitions which the right honourable gentleman has produced without any previous notice to this Houſe, to this country, or to Ireland. It were indeed a hardſhip and injuſtice, that becauſe we combated the defects of a new ſcheme, we ſhould be liable to the charge of ſhifting our ground againſt an old ſcheme, no longer the object of diſcuſſion: and here I cannot help obſerving, that if it be true, that ingratitude is the worſt of ſins, I can ſee no light in which the right honourable gentleman appears, but that of the worſt of ſinners. What a pernicious ſcheme would this have been, unpurged by our amendments! and now what a return does he make us! But there are proud and ſullen ſouls in this world, enveloped in a faſtidious admiration of themſelves, and an auſtere and haughty contempt for the reſt of the world; upon whom obligation has only the effect of enmity, and whoſe

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hatred is beſt ſecured by redeeming them from danger and diſhonour

There remains one more charge to be noticed, which is more ſingular, if poſſible, than the former, becauſe it is more groundleſs and palpable The right honourable gentleman affirms, that now, for the firſt time, an objection is made to the fourth propoſition, and he infers from my ſilence this night that I had no arguments to oppoſe to it. How any man, with the ſmalleſt faculty of recollection, with the ſlighteſt feeling of ſhame, can hazard ſuch a reproach, is, I confeſs, to me perfectly unaccountable! I do not believe there is one man, not merely in this houſe, but in this nation, that reads a newſpaper, who can be ignorant, that I have uniformly reprobated this fourth propoſition from the firſt moment of its introduction, that we divided the Committee upon this very clauſe of the ſyſtem, and that our minority was a very ſmall one. The very arguments I ſhall now urge againſt it, will demonſtrate the falſehood of the acculation, for they will only be a repetition of what I ſaid before, and, when the Houſe ſees that I am charged with never before having objected to this propoſition, they will, I truſt, excuſe me for tautology and repetition.

Here Mr Fox went over the ground of his own objections to this part of the ſyſtem. He ſaid, he had no doubt the true conſtruction of the fourth reſolution would appear to any man living, of common ſenſe, to be virtually to make laws for Ireland, and would be to renovate ſolemnly and wantonly the diſcuſſies of the whole Iriſh nation, upon a point of the moſt peculiar tenderneſs and delicacy. In vain were attempts made to aſſimilate this ſurrender of the legiſlative independence of Ireland, with the caſe of treaties between two ſovereign ſtates In the latter caſe, one ſtate bound itſelf to do ſomething defined and ſpecific when the other adopted ſome defined and ſpecific meaſure. Here was no condition of ſervitude and obedience, but a mutual agreement to accompliſh ſomething underſtood and particularized by common conſent, for their common advantage, upon a certain contingency To make the caſes ſimilar, an inſtance ſhould be produced (which inſtance, Mr. Fox affirmed, could not be found in the hiſtory of mankind) where one independent State bound itſelf ſolemnly to do any thing undefined, unſpecific, and uncertain, at the arbitrary demand of another State. Preciſely ſuch a demand would be made upon Ireland, and if this propoſition was adopted, no man would be ſimple enough to deny, that England would make laws for Ireland,

Ireland, for what would be the paſſing of a bill under the operation of this member of the propoſed ſyſtem through the Parliament of Ireland but a legiſlative mockery? for not a ſingle change could be made in it afterwards, and fair diſcuſſion and free agency would, from that moment, be utterly extinguiſhed.

Thus inconteſtably ſtood the matter in point of reaſoning and in point of fact. He could conceive many poſſible caſes, where the concurrence of the Iriſh Parliament might be required to arrangements abſolutely deſtructive of the intereſts of Ireland.—Suppoſe an Engliſh act of Parliament reſtrained the trade to the Colonies to particular articles in which England flouriſhed, and which Ireland dealt in little or nothing. Suppoſe an Engliſh act of Parliament prohibited all foreign trade in ſhips of a deſcription, in which deſcription of ſhips alone Ireland now carries on her trade.—Many other caſes would occur to gentlemen, if they will take the trouble of reflecting upon the poſſible operations of the fourth propoſition. This ſyſtem once adopted, Ireland, without breach of faith, could not refuſe to regiſter the Engliſh law into her ſtatute book, and numerous inſtances might occur hereafter, where the Parliament of that kingdom muſt reſt upon this deſperate alternative, either to violate the faith of the nation, or to betray and ſacrifice its deareſt intereſts. This conſideration, Mr Fox ſaid, even independent of its inſidiouſly reſuming a power moſt ſolemnly renounced, would perſuade him to the rejection of the fourth propoſition; and in this, as well as in a thouſand other points of view, he ſaw the whole of the propoſed plan, as the infallible ſource of eternal diſcontent, animoſity, and ill blood, between the two kingdoms, though we were captivated with the flouriſhing and fanciful pictures of the harmony and concord that are to cement the ſiſter nations, according to the right honourable gentleman's predictions.

The right honourable gentleman adopts a mode of recommending the fourth propoſition, perfectly ſuited to the capacity and turn of thoſe who proclaim their confidence in him, as the principle that procures their ſupport to a ſyſtem, of which they make no ſcruple to avow themſelves perfectly diſqualified from judging. But unleſs he thinks all the members of this Houſe are blinded by the ſame ſcandalous ignorance, unleſs he is weak enough to perſuade himſelf that the nation is poſſeſſed with the ſame bigoted enthuſiaſm and inveterate idolatry for him, why will he venture upon ſuch nonſenſe? The argument is—As well might England complain

plain of ſurrendering her legiſlative independence, becauſe ſhe is bound by this treaty to ſimilarity of trade and navigation laws with Ireland; viz that England, who is to make the law, might as well complain as Ireland who is to obey the law. This is the right honourable gentleman's argument; and let no one imagine that he employs ſuch rank folly from want of abilities, the right honourable gentleman's abilities are very conſiderable, and if the cauſe admitted of a better defence, the right honourable gentleman would certainly make it.

When England agrees to be governed by trade laws originating in the Iriſh Parliament, the right honourable gentleman's reaſoning will be forcible, but with all the partiality of this Houſe for him, even he will not dare to give utterance to ſuch a propoſition within thoſe walls. Why he thinks the Iriſh are more inſenſible to the bleſſings of their conſtitution than we are, I know not.

Although the right honourable gentleman charges upon me, that I have not heretofore oppoſed this propoſition, he might well have recollected, that a noble Lord near him (Lord Mahon) had attempted to ridicule me when this queſtion was before under diſcuſſion, as being now an Engliſh, now an Iriſh patriot, and to that ridicule, innocent and awkward though it fell, I beg leave to plead guilty. I wiſh to appear what I really feel, both an Engliſh and an Iriſh patriot, only let it be recollected, that I am not to anſwer for the conſiſtency of the moment. Let it be recollected, that for, and during the liberties of Ireland, and diſcovering a jealouſy for her conſtitution, I deſerve the name of an Iriſh patriot to that honour I am entitled ſince the firſt day of this ſeſſion of Parliament, when I could not foreſee the events of the preſent day, and long before I had heard that any commercial treaty with Ireland had ever been talked of. I embraced the firſt opportunity of the meeting of this Houſe, to publiſh my execration of the conduct of the King's Miniſtry in their proceedings in Ireland, where I ſaw the fundamental and moſt ſacred principles of the conſtitution daringly overturned, and doctrines advanced and meaſures adopted, in my judgement, utterly ſubverſive of every trace of civil liberty, and all this in the zeal of the right honourable gentleman (for to him alone I look as the ſource, or what is juſt as bad, the patron of the proceedings) to ſuppreſs the reform of Parliament in Ireland.

Upon the opening of the propoſed arrangements in this houſe, I repeated the ſame arguments, and was convinced that Ireland never called for this ſyſtem, nor ever thought of it,

last

but was ſeriouſly occupied with other objects; I added, that I conſidered the whole plan as a lure to divert the Iriſh from conſtitutional points, by throwing the trade of England at their feet, and to reconcile them to the violation of the laws of the land and of the conſtitution, by the enchanting proſpect of the commercial benefits held out by this ſyſtem. In this opinion I am ſtrengthened every day, and the eager part acted by thoſe who ſurround the right honourable gentleman (Meſſrs. Dundas and Jenkinſon) would confirm to me that my fears for the conſtitution of Ireland were not ill founded, had this fourth propoſition been to this hour withheld from England, as it has been ſtudiouſly concealed from Ireland. If this conduct conſtitute an Iriſh patriot, I am one, and if to ſtruggle to ſave the trade of England from annihilation, give any claim to the appellation of an Engliſh patriot, to that appellation I poſſeſs that claim. I did not incite the merchants and manufacturers to an oppoſition to this ſcheme: if I were capable of making them inſtruments in this buſineſs, they were incapable of becoming my inſtruments — they did not follow me, but I followed them. To the right honourable gentleman's government they were exceedingly partial, and not quite recovered from the infanity of the times, they were abſolutely prejudiced againſt me and my friends: they are as diſcerning and reſpectable a body of men as any in Europe, and merited, I think, better treatment than they experienced from the right honourable gentleman.

No man was ever more indebted to the protection of the People than that right honourable gentleman, and no people I believe ever ſo ſoon began to repent of their predilection. Every act of his government has tended to open their eyes; they are, I believe, very completely cured of the popular infection, but I fear their conviction comes a little too late.

I ſhall now relinquiſh this ſubject, perhaps for ever, with repeating a ſentiment that I have before thrown out in the diſcuſſions upon this buſineſs: I will not barter Engliſh commerce for Iriſh ſlavery, that is not the price I would pay, nor is this the thing I would purchaſe.

Mr Pulteney. Mr *Pulteney* ſaid, the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox) had brought the matter now to a very ſhort iſſue; he had objected to the propoſitions at firſt as hurtful to England, he had objected to them now, as deſtructive to the independent legiſlative authority of Ireland.

The Houſe proceeded at one o'clock, and continued till paſt four, to make amendments, four or five of which were offered

offered by Mr. Eden, and being admitted to be neceſſary, were accepted.

Mr. *Fox* moved afterwards to equalize the duties on the import of raw materials into the two kingdoms, and alſo on the export of manufactures to foreign ports, and alſo to adopt mutually all prohibitions on foreign manufactures. This clauſe was negatived. Mr. Fox.

The Houſe at the concluſion reſolved, "That the reſolutions be communicated to the Lords, and their concurrence deſired thereto."

Wedneſday, June 1.

Mr. Francis moved the following reſolutions, upon which Mr. Dundas moved the previous queſtion.

"That it appears to this Houſe, that in a liſt laid before "this Houſe on the 7th of February, 1785, intitled, 'A "liſt of all offices, places, and employments, in the civil and "military eſtabliſhments of the United Eaſt-India Company, "in the Eaſt Indies, with the ſalaries, or pay and emolu"ments belonging thereto, or allowed or paid by the ſaid 'Company in reſpect thereof,' various offices, places, and "employments are ſtated, of which the profits are ſaid to "be unknown, and that in the ſaid liſt, no mention is made, "or notice taken, of the marine eſtabliſhment maintained "by the government of Fort William in Bengal, or of any "office or employment connected with, or belonging to that "eſtabliſhment."

"That it appears to this Houſe, that, in an eſtimate laid "before this Houſe by the Court of Directors of the Eaſt"India Company, and dated the 14th of February, 1784, "the civil charges of the government of Bengal are ſtated at "350,000l ſterling per annum."

"That it appears to this Houſe, that, in a liſt laid before "this Houſe by the Court of Directors of the Eaſt-India "Company, on the 7th of February 1785, intitled, 'A liſt "of all offices, places, and employments, in the civil and "military eſtabliſhments of the United Eaſt India Company "in the Eaſt Indies, with the ſalaries, or pay and emoluments "belonging thereto, or allowed or paid by the ſaid Com"pany in reſpect thereof,' the civil charges of the govern"ment of Bengal are ſtated at 927,945l.

"That it appears to this Houſe, that, in an account laid "before this Houſe by the Court of Directors of the Eaſt"India Company, on the 11th of March 1785, intitled, "'State-

" 'Statements of the ſalaries and emoluments belonging to " the ſeveral offices and appointments under the general de- " partment, revenue department, and commercial depart- " ment in Bengal, in the years 1782 or 1783, compared " with their amount in 1776;' the civil charges of the go- " vernment of Bengal are ſtated at 616,556l.

" That it appears to this Houſe, that, in a liſt laid before " this Houſe by the Directors of the Eaſt-India Company, " on the 7th of February 1785, the charge of the military " eſtabliſhment of the government of Bengal is ſtated at " 1,078,510l.

" That it appears to this Houſe, that, in an eſtimate of " the probable reſources and diſburſements of the Bengal " government, from the 30th of April 1784, to the 1ſt of " May 1785, made up at Fort William on the 22d of No- " vember 1784, and laid before this Houſe by the Court of " Directors of the Eaſt India Company on the 27th of April " 1785, the charge of the military eſtabliſhment of the go- " vernment of Bengal, exclusive of military buildings, and " exclusive of the arrears of the preceding year, amounts " to current rupees 20,00,017 or 2,281,501l 18s. 3d.

" That it appears to this Houſe, that the Court of Direc- " tors of the Eaſt-India Company, in the eſtimates annexed " to their Report of the 14th of February, 1784, have ſtated " to this Houſe a neat ſurplus of revenue in Bengal, includ- " ing the produce of ſalt and opium, amounting to 1,641,689l, " and that the ſaid Directors, in their Report of the 31ſt of " May 1784, have ſtated to this Houſe, 'That the Gover- " nor General and Council of Bengal, in the month of Sep- " tember 1783, tranſmitted an eſtimate of their receipts and " payments between the 30th of April 1783, and the 1ſt " of May 1784; that in this eſtimate, the Governor Gene- " ral and Council appeared to have charged every debt due " by the Company in Bengal, the principal of the bond debt " excepted; and to have ſtated all their civil and military " expences including thoſe of the detachments ſerving in the " other preſidencies, according to their higheſt war eſtabliſh- " ments up to the 1ſt of May 1784, although reductions had " been made in thoſe eſtabliſhmens, which, in that period, " would begin to operate conſiderably;' and that the ſaid Di- " rectors, in their Report of the 31ſt of May 1784, have " further declared, that 'they did not ſee any reaſon to " doubt, but in the year ending the 1ſt of May 1785, the " commercial profit on ſalt and opium, and the money re- " ceived for certificates payable in England, would be ap-

" plicable

" plicable, as ſtated in their former Report, to commercial " purpoſes, and a very conſiderable ſurplus of revenue re- " main to be applied in aid of the other ſettlements, ſhould " they ſtill need ſuch aid, or in diſcharge of the bond debt.'

" That it appears to this Houſe, that on the face of the " eſtimate of the probable reſources and diſburſements of the " Bengal government, from the 30th of April 1784, to the " 1ſt of May 1785, made up by the Governor General and " Council on the 22d of November 1784, the exceſs of ex- " pected diſburſements beyond the reſources of the year " ending the 1ſt of May 1785, amounts to current rupees " 149,01,433, or to 1,676,411l.

" That it appears to this Houſe, that adding the ſurplus " eſtimated by the Court of Directors to the deficiency eſti- " mated by the Governor General and Council, there is a " difference between the two eſtimates of the reſources and " diſburſements of the Bengal government for the year end- " ing the firſt of May, 1785, which difference amounts to " 3,321,100l."

And the previous queſtion being put on each, " That the " queſtion be now put;" it paſſed in the negative.

Friday, June 3.

No debate.

June 6 and 7.

Not members ſufficient to make a Houſe.

Wedneſday, June 8.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* ſaid, he had ſeveral regulations to propoſe in the tax on females. He meant to make certain exemptions in the maid-ſervants' tax, and to make up that diminution by a tax on bachelors, the idea of which he borrowed from a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox) and he was ready to acknowledge his thanks for the hint The hardſhips which had been ſtated againſt the tax on the females were, generally, that it would fall on the ſervant, which he begged leave to deny. And next, it was ſaid, that it would fall particularly heavy on ſuch families as had children, and were leaſt able to bear it. Now, in his opinion, that was the caſe in all taxes where they bore on the conſumption; but he meant to make ſuch exemptions as would, in a great meaſure, take away that objection, and ſhould, therefore, propoſe, that in all families

of two children and upwards, one ſervant ſhould be allowed to every two children of a certain age, which, undoubtedly, would occaſion a great diminution in the tax, how much, it was impoſſible to ſay; but he truſted the deficiency would be made up by doubling the male-ſervant tax, at leaſt, in ſuch proportion as to make every bachelor, keeping one male ſervant, pay one pound five ſhillings over and above every other tax at preſent exiſting on male ſervants.

He ſaid, by the regulations which had been made in the ſhop tax, he fancied a deficiency of about 20,000l. would be occaſioned: therefore, he was under the neceſſity of laying ſome new taxes to make good that ſum; and he ſhould reſort to a ſubject in which many had run before him, and therefore, he was not apprehenſive of its being objected to, it was on certain practitioners in the law, perhaps the tax might, in ſome degree, diminiſh the number of thoſe gentry, but, in ſo doing, the Public would be much benefited, for, at preſent, they were too numerous. He ſhould, therefore, propoſe to raiſe the ſum of 20,000l. by taxing [illegible]s, firſt by a license, and next by a ſtamp duty on every warrant they iſſued out for an arreſt. He had not been able to collect the exact number of attornies in the kingdom, but, as near as he could gueſs, it was 1400 in London, and three thouſand in different parts of the country, and laſt year the number of warrants iſſued out of the King's Bench amounted to 10,000, and all the other Courts to about an equal number; therefore, he ſhould ſuppoſe, on an average, that 20,000 actions were commenced in a year, and the tax, which he meant to lay on every warrant, was not ſo much for the ſake of revenue, as it was to aſcertain the buſineſs done by each practitioner, and, by taxing every warrant, attornies would contribute, in proportion, to their buſineſs, and free the tax from partiality, he, therefore, eſtimated the tax as follows

	£.
1000 attornies in London, each to take out a license, and pay for the ſame annually the ſum of five pounds, which would produce - -	5,000
3000 attornies in the country, at three pounds each, would produce 9000l., but he ſhould ſuppoſe there muſt be more than 3000, and would, therefore, eſtimate them to produce -	10,000
40,000 warrants, for arreſts, at two ſhillings and ſix pence each - - -	5,000
	£. 20,000

The Earl of Surrey

The Earl of *Surrey* ſaid, having, on a former day, promiſed to propoſe taxes, in lieu of that odious one on females, he

he then roſe to fulfil his promiſe, eſpecially as he could not find any precedent whatever for laying a tax on the ſex, eſpecially on that part of the ſex who were leaſt able to bear any burden of the State It had always been the cuſtom, he obſerved, of great politicians, when they had an odious tax to produce, to gloſs it over in ſuch a manner as to prevent the evil from being ſeen: but he truſted every man muſt revolt at ſuch a tax as the preſent, and ſet his face againſt it. He was free to acknowledge, that, in taxation, the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to be careful to lay ſuch taxes as were likely to be productive, be eaſily collected, free from the exciſe laws, and, at the ſame time, not to affect our export trade; for it was that which cauſed an influx of money into the country —Now, the taxes he had to offer were ſuch as would bring in 180,000l and, he flattered himſelf were free from all the objections he had mentioned. The firſt was on ſilk ſtockings; but to avoid any injury to the export trade, he meant it to be collected not by any ſtamp, but by way of licenſe for wearing them. The next was to be collected in a ſimilar way, and was a licenſe on ſuch perſons as wore powder in the hair. The third was on attornies; and he had eſtimated that at the ſame ſum as the right honourable gentleman, but meant it to be collected in a different way. Indeed, he had mentioned the tax to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the method he propoſed was, a licenſe of eight pounds each on thoſe in London, which, eſtimated at a thouſand, would produce 8000l., and a licenſe of four pounds on 3000 in the country, which would be 12,000l., making together the ſum of 20,000l. However, that tax he muſt now give up, as the right honourable gentleman meant to adopt it, and, of courſe, deduct 20,000l. from the 180,000l. The next was a licenſe for wearing watches, and, he had been told, at leaſt 160,000 perſons wore watches. Therefore, he ſhould propoſe, in lieu of the tax on females, taxes on ſilk ſtockings, hair powder, and watches, and eſtimated them as follow

140,000 perſons wearing ſilk ſtockings, each to take out a licenſe annually, and pay ten ſhillings for the ſame - - -	70,000
140,000 perſons wearing powder in their hair, each to take out a licenſe annually of ten ſhillings for the ſame - - - -	70,000
160,000 perſons wearing watches, each to take out a licenſe annually of two ſhillings and ſix pence	20,000
£.	160,000

He

He likewiſe meant the taxes on ſilk ſtockings and hair powder ſhould be laid on the ſame principle, in ſome degree, as the bachelors' tax; that was, every unmarried perſon ſhould pay an addition of three ſhillings per annum for his licenſe, more than a perſon with a family.

His Lordſhip proteſted, that he could not find that ever any age or any country wiſhed to tax females partially, therefore, hoped the right honourable gentleman would give up the tax, and, in lieu, he ſhould move,

"That it is the opinion of this Committee, that every perſon wearing ſtockings made wholly or in part, of ſilk, do annually take out a licenſe of ten ſhillings"

Mr. Drake. Mr. *Drake* wiſhed, that the Miniſter would relinquiſh the tax, and adopt thoſe propoſed by the noble Lord, they ſtruck him as good, if an exception was made for the powder uſed by military gentlemen, which he thought neceſſary, but not ſo much in the navy as the land ſervice; and he concluded with hoping, that Mr. Pitt would give way, and, in this inſtance, not be the ſturdy oak, but the pliant and loving ivy.

Mr. R. Smith. Mr *R. Smith* (Nottingham) thought the tax propoſed on ſilk ſtockings would be a means of injuring the trade carried on at Nottingham, Derby, Leiceſter, and parts adjacent, would ultimately introduce the exciſe laws, and act as a prohibition to the ſtocking trade.

Mr Chancellor Pitt Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* ſaid, it would be a great pleaſure to him if he could be relieved from the diſagreeable taſk of laying additional burdens, yet he could not help remarking, that the noble Lord who propoſed the ſubſtitutes, fell under the ſame predicament as did all others who turned their thoughts to finance, viz. of propoſing ſuch taxes as there were the ſtrongeſt objections againſt adopting, and, for thoſe propoſed now, he ſhould object to them, for the plain ſingle reaſon, of their being only experimental and uncertain; whilſt that on females was ſure to be productive. The noble Lord had likewiſe not ſtated, how the taxes were to be collected; and they ſtruck him, to depend chiefly on informers, which was not the moſt pleaſant way for the collecting of any duty, as perſons of that deſcription were, of all others, the moſt deteſtable to the public; nor did he ſee, that, even with them, it would be eaſy, for as the object was to be every perſon wearing powder, the cuſtom was ſo general, that the curioſity, or, indeed, what would firſt attract the eye, was a gentleman, like his Lordſhip, without powder, on the other hand, it was a poll tax, not that he meant to pun on the word, for he equally conceived the tax on ſtockings the ſame.

As

As to ſhewing a partiality for the females, in his opinion, his Lordſhip, however fond he might be of the ſex, had been particularly unfortunate in his ſelection of taxes, for both the ſilk ſtockings and the hair powder would affect them more than the tax on ſervants, as moſt females had that to pay out of their pin money The noble Lord, from his rank and the office he held, might go without powder; but there were many perſons whoſe ſituations obliged them to go powdered; and, indeed, few gentlemen choſe to ſee their ſervants without, therefore, if the ſervant was to pay the tax, it would be an addition to the male-ſervant's tax As to the partiality of the tax, acting againſt females, it certainly was the reverſe, for the male ſervants were taxed at twenty-five ſhillings in the loweſt, and the females at only ten ſhillings in the higheſt.—Mr. Pitt ſaid, he meant to exempt youth and age from the tax

Mr *Fox* ſaid, the exemption mentioned in the laſt words of the right honourable gentleman's ſpeech moſt certainly made the tax more palatable at than when it was firſt propoſed, as it would not affect thoſe who were kept half for charity and half for uſe; but ſtill he diſliked the principle of the tax, as it was unmanly and unprecedented Mr. Fox.

The tax on male ſervants, as far as it acted as a regulation, he approved of, but the female acted directly the contrary; for there the increaſe of ſervants was in proportion to the number of children As to the tax on bachelors, being the firſt who propoſed it, he certainly could not object to it as far as it went, but he was in hopes it might have been ſo modelled, as to act as a whole, or at leaſt as a chief ſubſtitute for the female tax, but the right honourable gentleman gave poor encouragement to any perſon to offer ſubſtitutes, as he uſed them merely as additions, and continued the obnoxious ones likewiſe Neither had he, in his opinion, laid the tax on bachelors in a proper manner; for now the gentleman of a ſmall fortune would pay in the ſame proportion as the rich, and it would fall particularly heavy upon gentlemen of the army and other unmarried men, who were under the neceſſity of keeping at leaſt one male ſervant; it ought therefore to have been laid as the male-ſervant tax was, proportionably higher according to the number kept, for the moſt fit objects of taxation were thoſe perſons who could afford to keep a number of ſervants

As to the taxes propoſed by his noble friend, although he might not wholly approve of them, yet when he was left to his option

to

to chuſe between the two, he certainly ſhould pay the preference to them before the one propoſed on females, and with reſpect to the objection made by the honourable member (Mr. Smith) he conceived it merely meant as ſnatching an opportunity to ſhew a coincidence in ſentiment with his conſtituents, which he had not been remarkable for of late, and he muſt be miſtaken when he ſuppoſed it would affect the ſtocking trade in general, for if people did not wear ſilk, they muſt wear ſome other, and he could not conceive that 10s. per annum would act as a prohibition. As to ſervants wearing powder in their hair, it was only in families where ſervants were kept out of oſtentation, and ſuch families were fit objects of taxation. As to the tax on attornies, he approved of that recommended by the noble Lord, in preference to the one adopted by Mr Pitt, as he thought the ſtamp duty of 2s. 6d. would not affect the attorney, but be an addition to the clients' bills, which at preſent were expenſive enough. however, upon the whole, few perſons would be fond of ſuggeſting taxes, if the obnoxious ones were not to be repealed.

Mr. Courtenay.

Mr. *Courtenay* was ſtill of the opinion which he firſt had when the tax on maid ſervants was propoſed. What the right honourable gentleman had now advanced in ſupport of this his favourite meaſure, carried with it very little conviction indeed. There was no argument which could do away one palpable fact of the tax being a tax on the ſervant, and in every point of view injurious, or more properly ſpeaking, burdenſome to the female ſex. So much had been ſaid within doors, and ſo much had been ſaid without doors, againſt this unpopular meaſure, that he really entertained ſome hopes of the Miniſter relaxing a little from his perſeverence, and that when he urged and the neceſſity of profiting a little by the advice which was given him from that ſide of the Houſe, he would, on maturer conſideration, have gone ſomewhat further, and in conformity to the wiſhes of the People, have totally abandoned the idea of taxing the female ſex. To ſay that the tax was not a tax upon women, but upon thoſe who employed women, was putting them in the ſituation of thoſe dogs which were propoſed as a proper ſubject for taxation, and which, not the dog itſelf, but the maſter of the dog, was to pay. But ſtill, even in this refined mode of reaſoning, there required not any ſubſtitution of logic to prove, that the tax would affect the quadrupede, and heavily too; for the conſequence would have been, that a conſiderable number of thoſe animals would have ſo ſeverely felt it, that they would have

ave been hurg up to avoid the expence of keeping them. This certainly would not have been quite ſo deſperate a caſe with the women; but their ſituation, in conſequence of this impoſt on their ſervitude, would be the means of numbers loſing their bread, their honeſt induſtrious means of livelihood, and, in the end, of being drove to the neceſſity of proſtitution, as the dreadful alternative between the practice of vice and the certainty of ſtarving. He wiſhed the right honourable gentleman to learn experience, and to take the advice of thoſe who were his ſuperiors in age, and who, from living longer in the world, had the advantage over him, of riper judgement, and more mature knowledge, if not in politics, at leaſt in reſpect to women. As to the buſineſs of finance, it no doubt was a matter of much magnitude, and as every ſenator ſhould be acquainted with that which ſo nearly concerned the Public, he had endeavoured to obtain all the information which books could give him on that point He had read Mont Nedlar, the Chevalier or Madame D'Eon, Beaumont, and other able inveſtigators of that ſubject, but in their works, he had not been able to diſcover any ſuch idea as a tax upon women However, as he was confident this extraordinary and unpopular meaſure could not originate in the head or the heart of the right honourable gentleman, or indeed in the boſom of either Engliſhman or Frenchman, he naturally turned his eyes to Holland, where, in ſearching through the Dutch library, he found that ſuch a tax was once propoſed, was accepted of, and actually at this very moment exiſted. The author from whoſe works he had this information was Mynheer Vander Vanfrow, a native of the High and Mighty States, and an able financier no doubt

If the right honourable gentleman had gone a little farther into the ſyſtem of Dutch taxation, and conſulted Mynheer Vander Vanfrow's reaſons, he would have found, that when a female ſervant is out of bread in Holland, the State is obliged to provide for her This, he ſaid, led him to make a circumſtance, which probably had occurred to [illegible] was that of a tax on the frail ſiſterhood impoſed by Jane Shore, who alſo honoured them with a badge of diſtinction which they were obliged to wear The profits of this tax went into the pocket of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who gave it up for ſome Crown lands, perhaps a part of Scotland yard. — Probably the right honourable gentleman had forgot, that the taxed girls, when turned out of ſervitude in Holland had places of refuge there were what was called muſical ſhops, to which the diſcarded female could have recourſe for bread.

but here there was no ſuch receptacle, and the conſequences of being diſcharged on account of the expence of the tax, would operate as he had already deſcribed. There were a ſet of gentlemen in Parliament, who had declared, and no doubt were ſerious, that they would give up their own underſtandings to that of the Miniſter, not that there appeared by that free tranſfer any great proof of the weight and wiſdom of thoſe underſtandings. He was however of a different way of thinking, and reſolved to keep his underſtanding in his own poſſeſſion, and not to pin it upon the ſleeve of any man. This tame underſtanding, poor as it was, taught him to ſee the tax now under conſideration of the Committee, in a moſt odious light, with all its pernicious conſequences in waiting; and therefore, he wiſhed to make the Miniſter a convert to the ſame way of thinking, and to gain upon him by every power he poſſeſſed, to give it up for ſomething leſs oppreſſive and more popular. He beſeeched the right honourable gentleman, to turn the ſubject with compaſſion to the helpleſs, the innocent ſex, in his mind, and to recollect, that they were perſons of no property; that they were themſelves defenceleſs, and had no protector but man. What the diſtreſſes of an unhappy girl turned out of place would be, were moſt excellently deſcribed by Goldſmith, in his Deſerted Village.

Where the poor houſeleſs ſhivering female lies,
She once, perhaps, in Village plenty bleſt,
Has wept at tales of innocence diſtreſt.
Her modeſt looks the Cottage might adorn,
Sweet as the primroſe peeps beneath the thorn;
Now loſt to all, her friends, her virtue fled,
Near her betrayer's door ſhe lays her head.

If the right honourable gentleman was a ſportſman, he never would have thought of diſtreſſing females, for it was a rule with thoſe who were fond of the game, never to kill a hen pheaſant this was a circumſtance which any of the right honourable gentleman's country friends could aſſure him to be fact But he apprehended, that the Miniſter's ideas did not that way tend — he was no ſportſman, and conſequently in levying the taxes there was no diſtinction male and female were alike the objects of his budget. As to the exemption reſpecting children, he liked the idea, as it was applicable to that which he was very found of, increaſing and multiplying, though in the preſent domeſtic circumſtances of his family, he had three children and a half, and therefore ſhould be

be obliged to pay partially in that reſpect, as the noble Lord (Surrey) would, if there was a tax on powder. The Miniſter had mentioned, that all under a certain age were to be exempted from the tax this would not only be difficult but a very delicate point to aſcertain, and would be attended with all the evil conſequences he mentioned in a former debate, when the tax-gatherers came to pry into the ages of the family. The right honourable gentleman, when he conceived that the tax on hair powder, propoſed by the noble Earl, would be more obnoxious to the females than the one intended, it reminded him of the lines in the rape of the Lock

> O hadſt thou, cruel, been content to ſeize
> Hairs from us, not from any hairs but theſe

He ſaid, he ſhould take the liberty of mentioning to the Houſe, though he had not received any inſtructions from his conſtituents, yet he had received their thanks for the part he had taken in oppoſition to the tax now before the Committee, and was alſo honoured with the aſſurances of being ſupported at the next general election, which he wiſhed were to be a month; and the ladies promiſed him every aſſiſtance in their power. He ſaid, he had to beg pardon of the Committee for taking up ſo much of their time, and ſhould conclude with a parody on ſome lines of Pope:

> Curſ'd be the taxes, how well ſoe'er they flow,
> That tend to make one lovely maid my foe,
> Give virtue ſcandal, innocence a fear,
> Or from the ſoft-ev'd virgin ſteal a tear!

Sir *Edward Aſtley* roſe, he ſaid, becauſe his propoſed tax on dogs had been alluded to; and he owned, he ſhould indeed be very well pleaſed to ſee both dogs and attornies ſubject to a duty. He thought them both articles of luxury, and had coupled them in this manner, becauſe moſt of thoſe who employed them ought, in his opinion, to pay for an indulgence which he deemed in many reſpects exceptionable indeed, he had long wiſhed to ſee a tax impoſed on hair dreſſers, men milliners, and all others who dealt in effeminate occupations. Sir Edward Aſtley.

Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, Mr. Dempſter, Mr. Smith, Mr. Eden, and Mr. Morton, all ſaid a few words; but the noiſe became ſo ſtrong in the paſſages, and a very crouded gallery, that it was impoſſible to hear any thing diſtinctly.

The queſtion being then put on Lord Surrey's motion, a diviſion took place, when there appeared,

Noes - - - - - - -	104
Ayes - - - - - -	22

The reſolutions were then ſeverally put, when ſome deſultory converſation took place on the reſolutions reſpectively.

Mr Chancellor *Pitt* then moved the following new taxes

"That there be paid by every perſon never having been "married, who ſhall retain or employ any female ſervant or "ſervants, the ſeveral ſums following

"For one, and not more, the additional ſum of two "ſhillings and ſix pence.

"For two, and not more, five ſhillings

"For three, or more, ten ſhillings each.

"That every male perſon never having been married, "ſhall pay

"For every male ſervant, the additional annual ſum of "twenty-five ſhillings, who ſhall not be employed ſolely for "huſbandry or manufacture, or any trade by which the "maſter earns a livelihood or profit

"For every mandate or authority to inſtitute or defend "actions, where the debtor's damages ſhall amount to or "than forty ſhillings, there ſhall be charged a ſtamp duty of "two ſhillings and ſix pence

"That every Solicitor or Attorney, inrolled in any Court, "ſhall annually take out a certificate of his reſidence in "which ſhall be charged a ſtamp duty of five pounds, if ſuch "Attorney reſides in London; and three pounds, if he re-"ſides in any other part of Great Britain

"That allowances to brewers, ſelling beer in leſs quanti-"ties than a caſk containing four gallons and a half, be diſ-"continued."

The Speaker having reſumed the Chair, the Houſe immediately reſolved itſelf in a Committee on the bill for regulating the buſineſs of the Auditor and Impreſt offices By a clauſe Lord Mountſtuart and Lord Sondes are to retire on ſeven thouſand pounds a year each, in lieu of what their reſpective ſituations produced. Five Commiſſioners were appointed in their ſtead, and the other blanks of the bill filled up.

Thurſday, June 9.

No debate.

Friday,

Friday, June 10.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt delivered the following message from His Majesty, which was read by the Speaker, the members having their heads uncovered:

"His Majesty having in 1767, settled an annuity of "9000l. as a provision in part for the support and main-"tenance of his dearly beloved brother, the Duke of Glou-"cester, [illegible] out of the four and a half barbadoes and "[illegible] produce and finding, that the said fund is "not sufficient for the regular payment of the said annuity, "and of the other charges on the same, recommends the con-"sideration thereof to this House, and trusts the House will "make such provision as may appear to be reasonable, for "substituting some other fund out of which the said annuity "may be paid in future."

The above message was upon motion, ordered to be referred to the Committee of Supply.

Mr. *Beaufoy* having a petition to present to the House, introduced his motion for leave to bring it to the table, with the following remarks. Mr. Beaufoy.

I have a petition in my hand, which the tobacco merchants of London, trading to America, have desired me to present to the House, but before I make the customary motion for leave to bring it to your table, allow me to solicit the attention of the House to the grievance from which it takes its rise. Sir, I wish to describe the distress of the petitioners, not merely because they are men of most respectable characters, not merely because their rank in the commercial world is considerable, but because the prosperity of their commerce is essentially connected with the commercial prosperity of Great Britain.

When the commerce with America was at its height, the imports from that country to Great Britain, if valued at their prime cost, amounted to about 1,500,000l. per annum, of which sum, no less than 700,000l. consisted of tobacco; so that the trade in the article of tobacco comprized very near one half of all the imports from America to Britain.

Now this important trade, of which at that period Great Britain was exclusively possessed, but which, from obvious causes, has since been unfortunately interrupted, would, at this time, if it were not for the obstacles stated in this petition,

petition, unqueſtionably return to its ancient and natural channel.

The proofs that it would do ſo are many—I ſhall mention only one, becauſe I am perſuaded, *that* one will be thought concluſive. The market of France annually affords a ſale for 25,000 hogſheads of tobacco; yet with all her induſtry, and much ſhe has exerted, the utmoſt quantity ſhe could obtain from America laſt year, was 1200 hogſheads.

Holland, including the market of Germany, which ſhe uſually ſupplies, affords a ſale for 18,000 hogſheads a year; yet in the courſe of the laſt year, ſhe received from America no more than 5000 hogſheads.

Thus it was found, that France and Holland together, imported directly from America no more than 6 00 hogſheads of tobacco laſt year, while Britain alone imported in the ſame time more than 30,000.

Such is the ſuperiority of Engliſh manufactures; ſuch the ſuperior credit of her merchants; ſuch the predilection of the planters for the country of their ancient correſpondence.

But however ſtrongly the trade with America in this article inclines to its ancient courſe, to that courſe it never can laſtingly return unleſs the obſtacles that give riſe to this petition ſhould be ſpeedily and effectually removed.

What thoſe obſtacles are, I ſhall now as briefly, yet as diſtinctly as I can, the ſubject being truly important, endeavour to explain.

The firſt grievance I ſhall mention is, the heavy loſs which the merchant ſuſtains from the ſmugglers having poſſeſſion of very near one half of his market as the law now ſtands, whole cargoes may be brought into England without the ſmalleſt chance of forfeiture; the very certificate which the legiſlature has provided for the ſecurity of the revenue, is now become a ſure protection to the illicit trader.

I have a letter in my hand from a merchant in one of the outports, who deſcribes to me an offer that was lately made to him of one hundred hogſheads of tobacco at a low price, that were intended to be, and I am told ſince, have been, brought into England without the payment of the duties, yet under the protection of legal documents. With the mode of proceeding in the caſe, as it is ſomewhat complicated, I will not at preſent trouble the Houſe; but the ſucceſs is conſidered as ſo ſure, that the ſmugglers, as appears by

by another letter in my hand, have raiſed the price of tobacco in the American market fifty per cent. There is alſo a method of landing contraband tobacco that of late has been practiſed with great ſucceſs in the port of London, and which, as the tranſaction is curious, I ſhall beg leave to deſcribe.

When a veſſel freighted with tobacco arrives at Graveſend, one of the cuſtom-houſe officers who is ſent on board, takes an opportunity of going down the ſmall ſtair, caſe (generally called the companion) that leads from the deck to the cabin; there, if he finds himſelf alone, he writes in chalk the following queſtion, "Have you any thing to do in our "way?" Having written this queſtion, he goes again upon deck; the captain ſeeing the queſtion as he goes to his cabin, rubs out what the officer has written, and ſets down in its room "Yes, what's your price?" The captain then retires and the officer returns, and rubbing out the captain's part of the correſpondence, ſets down in its room, "Five "guineas for a hogſhead of tobacco." The officer withdraws, the captain comes back, and rubbing out the officer's propoſal, writes "agreed!" then comes the officer for the laſt time, and rubs out the captain's aſſent and ſo the bargain is completed.

If any inquiry ſhould afterwards happen to be made, or any information ſhould be exhibited in the Court of Exchequer, the officer ſolemnly ſwears that he never ſpoke to the captain the whole time he was on board, and never, to the beſt of his knowledge, opened his lips to him in the whole courſe of his life.

In the cloſe of the evening, the veſſel comes to an anchor at Limehouſe, from whence, as the night comes on, barges are ſent to the veſſel to convey the tobacco on ſhore. I have reaſon to believe, that a few weeks ſince, thirty hogſheads of tobacco were landed in this manner from one veſſel in the courſe of a ſingle night, by which tranſaction the revenue ſuſtained a loſs of very little leſs than 2000l. Sometimes the civility of the officer goes much farther than in the caſe I have deſcribed; for I had lately an account of the officers having brought on board, and introduced to the captain, a Jew purchaſer, who paid him in the cabin for all the tobacco that was to be ſmuggled on ſhore in the evening. The Houſe will naturally be impreſſed with feelings of ſtrong indignation, that the officers of Government, the natural guardians and ſworn protectors of the revenue, ſhould be thus

leagued

leagued with its enemies, and be thus active for its destruction. But their indignation will be lessened when they consider, that the salaries of these men will not furnish them with bread. Placed in situations of great confidence, intrusted with high values, they have not forty pounds a year on which to live honesty and famine on the one side, breach of trust and affluence on the other — over men in such situations, what influence has Government? To those who must starve if they are honest it is in vain to talk of dismission for dishonesty, for removal from office cannot beggar them so completely as continuing in it would do if they were faithful to their trust: the worst of all œconomy is that which saves hundreds at the expence of thousands, and invites frauds by starving your own officers.

Such, Sir, are two of the modes in which the market is supplied with contraband tobacco, the first is that of landing whole cargoes in particular outports under the sanction of legal documents; the other is that which takes place as I observed, by the consent, and often with the assistance of the King's officers.

But there is also a third method, and that a very extraordinary one, of introducing to the market tobacco that has paid no duty. When a hogshead of tobacco is landed on the quays, the law directs that the staves and heading be knocked off; that the tobacco shall be weighed; that such part of it as is damaged shall be separated from the rest, and that the tobacco shall then be replaced in the cask and afterwards removed. during this operation the tobacco is surrounded with fifty or sixty thieves; some of them, who call themselves coopers, are furnished with leather aprons, and have adzes or other implements of trade in their hands. These surround the cask under pretence of knocking off the hoops and staves, which is done by one or two of them, at the same time that they and all the rest pillage all they can. Another set of thieves call themselves porters, and under pretence of giving their assistance in rolling the tobacco, come in for their share of the plunder. A third set of thieves have long whips in their hands and call themselves carmen; these offer their assistance in removing the tobacco, and to say the truth, their practice agrees with their proposals, for they do remove a considerable part of it.

I am informed by some of the superior officers employed upon the quays, on whose information I have reason to rely, that the loss which these thefts occasion to the revenue alone,

amounts

amounts to 400 and ſometimes to 500l. per *week* during the ſeaſon of the arrival of the tobacco ſhips. To the merchant, the loſs is ſaid to amount to ten and ſometimes to fifteen per cent. on the prime coſt of his cargo.

But excluſive of the immediate loſs which theſe thefts occaſion to the merchant, they bring on him a farther loſs, by increaſing the quantity of contraband tobacco in the market. Such, in fact, is the quantity of ſmuggled tobacco which in the three different ways I have deſcribed, enter into competition with the tobacco which has paid the duty, that the price of the latter is reduced in the proportion of three pence on a pound weight, which is one hundred per cent. upon the prime coſt of the article, and a ruinous loſs is created to the importer of the tobacco, if ſhipped on his own account, or to the planter, if the London merchant is only the conſignee. The next grievance to which the merchant is ſubject when his veſſel arrives in the river is, the exorbitant amount of the port charges, which, including the fees, are ſaid to be little leſs than ſeven per cent. on the prime coſt of the goods.

A third grievance that diſtreſſes the merchant is, the difficulty of calculating the duties he is to pay: they are ſo numerous, and ſo complicated with a variety of tranſactions, that the merchant is obliged to employ an officer of the revenue to aſcertain their amount; for on a ſingle pound the duty is fifteen pence and two hundred and forty-nine two hundred and fiftieths of a penny; which, on two hundred tons, an ordinary cargo, conſtitutes an intricate and very complex calculation. Was I to deſcribe to the Houſe the numerous taxes that compoſe the preſent duty, ſuch as the old ſubſidy, the new ſubſidy, the one-third ſubſidy, the ſubſidy of 1747, the ſubſidy of 1759, the impoſt of three pence per pound, the impoſt of 1779, and that of 1781, together with the two ſubſequent duties, and the additional embarraſſment of the numerous and almoſt unintelligible diſcounts, I am ſure the Houſe would lament with me, that there ſhould be ſo much obſcurity in a buſineſs which ought to be perfectly clear; they would lament with me, that the conſolidation of the cuſtoms, however unavoidable the delay, ſhould be deferred ſo long.

Thus, Sir, I have endeavoured to ſtate to the Committee the nature of the grievances that oppreſs one of the principal branches of our national commerce.

Should thoſe grievances be removed, and it would be eaſy to ſhew that their removal is neither impracticable nor diffi-

cuſe; and ſhould the Legiſlature alſo furniſh the merchant with a public warehouſe for the depoſit of his tobaccos, free of all expence, till he ſhall either export them to a foreign market, or, on payment of the duties, diſpoſe of them for home conſumption, this country would become the great ſtorehouſe of Europe for the produce of America — Great Britain would unite the advantage of a free port to thoſe of an extenſive home market. This would be the country in which the merchant would ſell with the largeſt profit, as already it is that in which he can buy to the beſt advantage, and in which alone he finds an aſſortment of thoſe goods that form the exports to America.

If the Legiſlature ſhould adopt this plan for tobacco, and gradually extend it to other objects, England may deſpiſe all competition, and laugh at all rivalſhip: ſhe muſt become, what the wildneſs of ſpeculation has lately predicted of a neighbouring kingdom, the center of all commerce, the great emporium of the trade between the old world and the new.

The petition was brought up.

Mr Chancellor Pitt. Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* ſaid, the Houſe, he doubted not, from what had been ſtated by the honourable gentleman, as well as from the matter of the petitions themſelves, muſt be aware that the ſubject was well worth their moſt ſerious conſideration, inaſmuch as it deeply intereſted both the trade and revenue of this kingdom. Late, therefore, as it was in the ſeſſion, he ſhould think it his duty to offer ſome propoſitions to the Houſe reſpecting it immediately; for which reaſon he begged leave to give notice, that on Monday next he would move for leave to bring in a bill relative to the future regulation of the tobacco trade.

Monday, June 13.

Mr Chancellor Pitt. Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* roſe, he ſaid, in obedience to a meſſage from His Majeſty, the ſubſtance of which he was now to refer to the Committee. The fund of four and a half per cent. duty in Barbadoes and the Leeward Iſlands, was found totally inadequate to the various purpoſes to which it had hitherto been appropriated. He enumerated ſeveral of the charges for which this fund was anſwerable: the annuity of 9000l. to His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Glouceſter, the annuity to his own family, the ſalaries of the reſpective governors and the inferior officers, and other unavoidable

expenditures,

expenditures, had reduced this fund to an arrear of a ſum not leſs than 56,000l.—The annual receipt of this fund, he ſaid, was not more than 20,000l. and the charges to which it was ſubjected, full 28,000l.; ſo that in a period of ſeven years the ſum of 56,000l. had been accumulated. He truſted the Committee would be diſpoſed to embrace any reaſonable mode which could be ſuggeſted for rendering the proviſion for a part of the Royal Family ſubſtantial and permanent, for paying the ſalary of the governors, yet in arrears, and ſuch other debts as had been incurred by a dependence on this unproductive fund. His Majeſty had, therefore, propoſed a transfer of the 9000l. granted to His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Glouceſter, from the fund above mentioned, to the aggregate fund, during the continuance of an act made in the firſt year of the preſent reign, entitled, "An "Act for the Maintenance of His Majeſty's Houſehold." He therefore moved the Committee to enter a reſolution to that effect.

Sir *Philip-Jennings Clerke* ſaid, he ſhould have been glad to have heard from the right honourable gentleman by what means it was intended to ſupply the deficiencies which he had juſt now ſtated. Sir P. J. Clerke.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* ſaid, the honourable Baronet's queſtion would be anſwered by what he held in his hand. He therefore moved the Committee, "That the ſum of 56,000l. "be, in like manner, transferred, as due on the Civil-Liſt "eſtabliſhment." Mr. Chancellor Pitt.

The Houſe went into a Committee of Ways and Means.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt moved, "That a duty of four pounds "be impoſed on all hawkers and pedlars, over and above "all other duties or taxes to which they were already "ſubjected."

Mr. Dempſter ſpoke againſt it; but the motion was agreed to.

Tueſday, June 14.

The order of the day being read for the third reading of the bill for the better examining and auditing the public accounts,

Mr. *Huſſey* offered to the Houſe ſeveral objections. In the firſt place, he obſerved, that the inſtitution of a new board of five auditors, in addition to the incumbrance which the compenſation to be made to the two exiſting auditors of the Impreſt would have on the Public, was not warranted or Mr. Huſſey.

juſtified on the principles of expediency, nor ſanctified by the recommendation of the report of the Commiſſioners; and, in the ſecond place, he ſaw no reaſon why the preſent auditors, under proper reſtrictions and regulations, might not anſwer every purpoſe of reformation expected from the new ſyſtem: He was determined, therefore, to take the ſenſe of the Houſe on a meaſure from which he expected no good effects, and which was to add a burden on the Public of 10,000l. per annum.

Mr. Roſe. Mr. *Roſe* replied very fully, explaining that the ſalaries of the preſent auditors of the Impreſt were eſtimated at about 34,000l. a year; that was 17,000l. each. The commutation was to be 7000l.; and the ſalaries annexed to the new inſtitution would be no burden to the Public, as they would accrue from ſavings.

Mr. Fox. Mr. *Fox* ſaid, that at the preſent period of the ſeſſion, and in the ſmall attendance of this day, which, by the bye, was not leſs than muſt be expected in future, the Houſe would excuſe him from not entering at length on a ſubject of ſuch importance, as ſhould certainly have been agitated in a fuller Houſe. He muſt, however, even now ſubmit to them one ground of objection, which was as ſimple as it was obvious: he meant the extenſion of patronage this bill ſo evidently aimed at. He could not but conſider the preſent bill as entirely calculated to increaſe undue influence by the creation of new, important, and lucrative offices. He remembered the time when the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) was among the foremoſt to recommend the bills for reſtraining that influence, or, at leaſt, declaring that it ought to be diminiſhed. He alſo remembered when the right honourable gentleman thought it convenient, and indeed found his advantage in decrying that principle in the India bill which he made now no ſcruple of introducing in this; for a Miniſter to nominate in Parliament the perſons who came to fill an important department, was conſidered, in that meaſure, as highly unconſtitutional, but muſt be thought wholly innocent in this. Who the perſons were whom the Miniſter intended to appoint, he was now unacquainted with; but be they who they might, he was confident that no recommendation of character or ſituation could apply more favourably on this occaſion than in the former one he now alluded to. In the preſent caſe, he could mean no perſonal reflection on men who were not yet known; but that circumſtance enabled him to ſpeak with greater freedom. The right honourable

gentleman

gentleman muſt carry his inquiry beyond the limits of this empire if he expected to find perſons in whom a truſt could more ſecurely be repoſed, or who were leſs likely to abuſe it, than the perſons to whoſe appointment he in that inſtance objected. Circumſtanced as the bill was, and not ſo over anxious for the prerogative as others appeared to be, he was not diſpleaſed that the perſons to be appointed were to continue *quamdiù ſe bene geſſerint*, and not ſubject to the changes and fluctuations of Adminiſtration. He would, however, recommend to the right honourable gentleman to be explicit on the ſubject of the new auditors being eligible to Parliament, as it might be productive of ſome diſputes.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* moved, "That the Twelfth Report "of the Commiſſioners be read;" which being done, he argued from it, that though the Report did not recommend the new inſtitution, it was far from being averſe to it, and diſapproved very highly of the preſent ſyſtem. Mr Chancellor Pitt.

The *Attorney General* ſaid, he believed his right honourable friend would have no objection to a ſpecial clauſe for excluding the new auditors from a ſeat in Parliament. The Attorney General

After ſome farther remarks from Mr. Huſſey, Mr. Roſe, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Gilbert, the Houſe divided on the third reading of the bill;

Ayes - - - - - - - - - - -	75
Noes - - - - - - - - - - -	15
Majority - - -	60

On the report from the Committee on the Exciſe Juriſdiction bill, the *Attorney General* (Mr. P. Arden) ſpoke to the following effect The Attorney General

I have many objections to the bill—it is impoſſible, at any rate, that I can give my conſent to its paſſing this year, for it is a bill of the greateſt importance, and requires much conſideration.

The honourable gentleman who framed it, ſtated with great eloquence, at the time he introduced it to the Houſe, the principal objects of his intended reform. Two of them every man muſt approve—I mean the introducing into one act the proviſions of former acts, and the reconciling thoſe proviſions to each other. This part of the bill is executed with great ability, and, if unconnected with his third object, would receive univerſal approbation. But the honourable gentleman is not contented with this limited plan: he wiſhes to extend to Exciſe caſes the trial by jury: he wiſhes to give the

the ſubject an optional right to that trial in all queſtions of Exciſe. Now, Sir, it is impoſſible not to foreſee infinite miſchief from this part of the bill. The revenue could never be collected — the trial by jury is not ſufficient to enforce the collection — and every man, if there was an information againſt him, would claim the right of trial by jury. It would be impoſſible for the Court of Exchequer to go on. Why, Sir, there are ſix thouſand cauſes tried every year in the ſummary courts. Now, if all theſe cauſes were to be brought into the Court of Exchequer, how would it be poſſible for the Court to proceed? — Sir, it is very dangerous to diſturb the ſettled order of things, and to reverſe eſtabliſhments that have ſtood the teſt of a century.

For theſe reaſons, Sir, I ſhould have objected to the bill as it originally ſtood; but the alterations that were made in it in the Committee oblige me to object to it for another reaſon, which is, that while it may do a great deal of miſchief, it can do no good whatſoever. The principal articles of Exciſe are excepted from the general operation of the bill. Now it may do a great deal of miſchief by making thoſe uneaſy who are concerned in the excepted trade, and who will think they have as good a right as their neighbours to the trial by jury, and it can do no good, becauſe the number of articles on which the bill will be permitted to operate will not be ſufficient for the purpoſe even of experiment.

For theſe reaſons, I ſhall move that the farther conſideration of this bill be adjourned till this day three months.

Mr Beaufoy. Mr. *Beaufoy* replied to the Attorney General nearly in the following words

In riſing to combat the doubts, and anſwer the objections of the learned gentleman near me, I am ſenſible I ſhall ſpeak under circumſtances of unuſual diſadvantage; for, independently of the apprehenſion I naturally feel of his talents and profeſſional knowledge — independently, too, of the weight which his perſonal character, in other reſpects, gives to his arguments, I have alſo to contend with the authority he derives from the high office which he holds in the State. It is, however, an encouragement to me to know that he wiſhes his opinions ſhould be fairly examined, and unreſervedly diſcuſſed. and that he does not require that any thing ſhould be conceded to authority which is not eſtabliſhed by argument.

From the doubts expreſſed by the learned gentleman, three queſtions ariſe —

1ſt. Whe-

1ſt. Whether there be any juſt reaſon to complain of the law as it now ſtands?

2d. Whether the adopting the principle of this bill will, in practice, be attended with any hazard to the revenue, or with any other inconvenience in practice?

3d. Whether the alterations made in the bill, in its progreſs through the Committee, have not deſtroyed the poſſibility of its being uſeful?

The firſt queſtion, then, is, is there any inconvenience in the preſent law? Sir, as the law now ſtands, the officers of the revenue may refuſe to the ſubject, in all queſtions of Exciſe, his right of trial by jury, to the total diſregard of the common law, and of all the maxims of our ancient jurisprudence.

In eight and forty hours he may be convicted in penalties that ſhall devour his whole fortune, that ſhall deprive him of the means of life, and reduce him, at once, from affluence to beggary.

If the penalties which are thus impoſed ſhall be more than his all is ſufficient to diſcharge, impriſonment inevitably follows, and that too of a duration to which the law has aſſigned no limit. If he cannot pay the penalties, the hour that releaſes him from his priſon will be that which carries him to his grave.

Let it alſo be remembered, that theſe afflictive, theſe ruinous convictions may be brought upon him by the judgement of men who are in no reſpect his peers, and who, as officers dependent on that very revenue, againſt the intereſts of which he is ſuppoſed to have offended, are, in ſome meaſure, parties againſt him.

To increaſe the hazards of his ſituation, the teſtimony of a ſingle witneſs is made ſufficient to convict him, and that witneſs is under the ſtrongeſt temptations to perjury; for he knows that he is entitled to one half of the goods that ſhall be forfeited, together with one half of the penalties that ſhall be impoſed upon the accuſed, if judgement ſhall be given againſt him. Thus the witneſs is impelled to ſwear forcibly by the certain knowledge that if he can deſtroy the fortune of the accuſed, his own will be eſtabliſhed on its ruins.

At this very hour the Commiſſioners of Exciſe are in poſſeſſion of a ſeizure, whoſe value is ſuppoſed to be little leſs than ten thouſand pounds—I mean the late ſeizure of a large quantity of ſpirits from Scotland.

Now

Now if the Commiſſioners of Exciſe, inſtead of directing their officer to proſecute in the Court of Exchequer, ſhould themſelves proceed to give judgement in this important cauſe, as by law they are empowered to do, the witneſs, if the goods are condemned, will be entitled to no leſs a ſum than 5000l.

I do not mean to ſay, that to a man who has ſcarcely a livelihood, whoſe all is but 50l. a year, the proſpect of obtaining 5000l. would hold out ſuch a temptation to perjury as he would not be able to reſiſt — my experience of human nature does not juſtify ſo harſh a concluſion; but confident I am that his wiſhes, at leaſt, would be adverſe to the accuſed. that a bias, inſenſible perhaps to himſelf, but ſtrongly operative on his evidence, would perpetually lead him to thoſe circumſtances in the caſe that are moſt preſumptive of guilt, and would urge him to declarations partial, at leaſt, and fraught, at the beſt, with coloured facts and mutilated truth.

Thus, as the law now ſtands, the ſubject, in eight and forty hours, may be ſtripped of his fortune, and impriſoned for life, at the diſcretion of an arbitrary court, on the evidence of a ſingle witneſs, and that witneſs under the ſtrongeſt temptations to perjury. Does the learned gentleman really think that on ſuch *evidence*, by ſuch *judges*, ſuch *penalties* ought to be inflicted?

There are alſo other dangers to which he is expoſed; for, without either fault or neglect on his part, he may be deprived of the common privilege even of the greateſt criminals—for he may be condemned unheard:—nor let it be imagined that the members of this Houſe are intereſted on this occaſion only in the cauſe of others. There is not a gentleman who hears me that is not perſonally liable to the ſudden and ſummary procedure of this deſpotic court. Has he forgotten to enter his carriage? or does an informer falſely charge him with not having entered it? or does the informer, who perhaps has ſeen him coming down to the houſe in the carriage of a friend, charge him with uſing a carriage for which he has paid no duty? In ſhort, is there, upon any ground, bad or good, an information againſt him? If there is, and the law is executed, a ſummons iſſues for his perſonal attendance on the Commiſſioners in three days time, or the notice may be ſhorter if they pleaſe. The ſummons being thus iſſued, the law does not require that it ſhould be given to him. If it is left with his ſervant, or with his child, or

in

in the keyhole of his ſtreet door, it is perfectly ſufficient — the law requires no more. If he is in town, he may not receive the ſummons: if he is in the country, it is ſcarcely poſſible he ſhould receive it. His ſervant, perhaps, ſends him the piece of paper, of which he does not know the meaning, with his letters, by the poſt; but it arrives too late. for, in the mean time, guilty or innocent, he is condemned for non-attendance — judgement is given againſt him — perhaps, anxious to prove that, at leaſt, he was not a voluntary treſpaſſer on the law, he haſtens to town — Sir, if the law is executed, he will find an Exciſeman levying on his goods, and the officers of juſtice in poſſeſſion of his houſe.

I know that, in theſe mild and beneficient times, the Commiſſioners of Exciſe have too much diſcretion to execute the law in its utmoſt rigour, or to give to its operations ſuch unneceſſary ſpeed, eſpecially towards perſons who are in the higheſt ſituations of life but I alſo know that there is nothing but their diſcretion to reſtrain them.

I am ſenſible, too, that the right honourable Chancellor of the Exchequer, from that regard to the rights of the ſubject which governs all his proceedings, has given notice of his intention to bring in a bill for entruſting to other hands the collection of the duty on carriages but I am likewiſe ſenſible that what I have ſtated is, at this hour, the law.

I am perſuaded, too, that the Houſe will not feel their deſire of relieving the People from a hard and oppreſſive law in any degree diminiſhed by the conſideration that they themſelves are no longer expoſed to its effects.

The only queſtion with the Houſe will be, will this bill be attended with any hazard to the revenue, or be any impediment to the practice of the courts?

The learned gentleman is of opinion that both theſe evils will follow — I conſider myſelf as at iſſue with him on theſe points.— Let us examine the proofs.

Firſt, then, he declares, that the revenue could not be collected under this bill; for that the proceſs of trial by jury is not ſufficient to enforce that collection.

Sir, there is certainly one deſcription of caſes, it is that which is expreſſly excepted by the bill, in which the trial by jury would be too ſlow to arreſt the progreſs of fraud. This deſcription of caſes conſiſts of all thoſe which are diſtinguiſhed in law by the forfeiture of double duties. I will beg leave to explain to the Houſe the meaning of the term.

When any perſon who is ſubject to the Exciſe laws refuſes or neglects to pay the duties with which he is charged, the law directs that he ſhall forfeit double the amount of the duties which he thus withholds. Now, in caſes of this ſort, no other proceſs but that of the ſummary courts can fulfil the intention of the law for, if a diſtiller ſhould refuſe the payment of the duty which ariſes from the ſpirits he manufactures, his fortune, if he is conſiderable in his buſineſs, would accumulate by that detention at the rate of five thouſand pounds per month, and, before the ſlow proceſs of trial by jury could have given effect to the law, he would have retired with enormous wealth, beyond the reach of the Government which he had thus defrauded.

It is therefore undoubtedly requiſite that all caſes of the forfeiture of double duties ſhould be determined in the ſummary courts; and accordingly all thoſe caſes are excepted in expreſs terms from the general operation of the bill.

Thus the collection of the revenue is effectually protected; for that collection is enforced by the forfeiture of double duties; and all ſuch caſes of forfeiture are by this bill expreſſly excepted from the change which, in other queſtions of Exciſe, it propoſes in the law. Does the learned gentleman know of any other deſcription of caſes in which the ſudden and ſummary procedure of a deſpotic court is requiſite for the ſecurity of the revenue? — I know of no ſuch caſes — the two Commiſſioners of the Exciſe, who were appointed by the Board to report their opinion of the bill, knew of no ſuch caſes — I am perſuaded the learned gentleman himſelf has none to produce.

Sir, I cannot prevail upon myſelf to take leave of this part of the ſubject without aſſuring the Houſe, and I rejoice in being able to do it, that in the caſe of a forfeiture of double duties, which forms, as I obſerved, an exception in the bill, the powers of the ſummary court cannot be employed injuriouſly for the ſubject; for it happens that in queſtions of that kind there is no diſcretion in the court; and where there is no diſcretion, there cannot be abuſe.

That the judge can have no diſcretion in any caſe of the ſort I have deſcribed, will be evident, if we conſider that in ſuch a caſe the truth or falſehood of the only charge to which the ſubject is expoſed cannot be a matter of doubt; for the charge muſt be that he has not paid the duties required by law. Now, if he has paid thoſe duties, proofs the moſt concluſive are certainly within his reach.

For,

For, to ſay nothing of the number of clerks who are generally in the office at the time of ſuch payments; to ſay nothing of the chance that other perſons were attending at the ſame time for the ſame purpoſe (the day of payment for one perſon being always a day of payment for many) it is evident that the production of the receipt which is invariably given is concluſive evidence in his favour.

Thus it appears, that with regard to the queſtion of fact, the Court can ſcarcely be ſaid to be poſſeſſed of any diſcretion, for the proofs muſt be deciſive, and againſt ſuch evidence they never, for obvious reaſons, will venture to determine.

With reſpect alſo to the extent of the penalty to be inflicted, there is no diſcretion in the Court unleſs it be that of mitigation in favour of the ſubject, for the penalty is ſtrictly defined, it is double the amount of the duty unpaid; it cannot be extended, there is preciſion in the law.

Sir, I rejoice that while the exception in the bill effectually guards the collection of the revenue, the ſafety of the ſubject is not materially diminiſhed.

But the learned gentleman will tell me perhaps, that although I have in this manner effectually provided againſt any immediate danger to the revenue by the duties being withheld; yet, that eventually the revenue may ſuffer by the Court of Exchequer being overwhelmed with buſineſs, for the learned gentleman imagines that every manufacturer will take the benefit of an Exchequer ſuit.

To determine how far this is likely to be the caſe, let us examine what are the conditions and what the diſadvantages of the removal of a ſuit from the ſummary juriſdiction to the Court of Exchequer.

In the firſt place, the expence of the trial, even if he ſucceeds and obtains a verdict in his favour, will not be leſs than ſixty or eighty pounds, and if he does not ſucceed, it will be double that ſum; for, in caſe of forfeiture, the Crown, departing from its uſual rule, demands coſts of the defendant.

Thus the deciſion of a cauſe in the Court of Exchequer brings upon the ſubject an expence at leaſt of ſixty, and perhaps 120l.; whereas in the ſummary courts the trial will coſt him nothing.

In the ſecond place, the ſubject will recollect, that the court which tries by a jury, has no power to mitigate penalties. If his cauſe is decided in a ſummary juriſdiction, and

judgement ſhould be given againſt him, the rigours of the law may be ſoftened by the compaſſion of the Court, and the penalties preſcribed for the offence be reduced to a fourth, perhaps (for this is often the practice) to a twentieth or a fortieth of their amount. Whereas, in in the Court of Exchequer, the whole penalty muſt be levied. It will be exacted to the utmoſt farthing.

In the next place, the ſubject will conſider, that if his goods have been wrongfully ſeized, and judgement in his favour ſhould be given by the ſummary court, nothing can bar him of his right to ſue the ſeizing officer for damages: whereas, if a judgement in his favour ſhould be given in the Court of Exchequer, the Barons may deprive him of his right of action againſt the officer who wrongfully ſeized; for they may certify, that the officer had a probable cauſe of ſeizure, in which caſe no action againſt him can be brought.

Under all theſe circumſtances of diſadvantage, I am confident that the ſubject will claim his trial by jury, only in two deſcriptions of cauſes.

He will claim it in cauſes of great magnitude, where the conſideration of the expence of the trial is loſt in that of the value to be tried.

And he will always claim in any cauſe in which he ſuſpects that the judge of the ſummary court has conceived a prejudice againſt him.

" I know" (he may ſay) " that my neighbour, the juſ-
" tice, is my enemy; I am confident he will give judgement
" againſt me, with a view to blaſt my character, ruin my
" trade, and deprive me of the means of life. In this ſitua-
" tion, I am determined to throw myſelf upon my country;
" I am conſcious of my innocence; and be the expence what
" it may, I will be tried by my peers."

Such are the two caſes in which the ſubject will take his trial by jury; and God forbid, that in either of theſe caſes that trial ſhould be refuſed him.

Does the learned gentleman imagine, that caſes of this ſort will be ſo numerous as to overwhelm the Court of Exchequer with buſineſs? Is there any likelihood in ſuch a ſuppoſition?

But, ſays the learned gentleman, " Other caſes will oc-
" cur, for you are to recollect, that the party does not al-
" ways conſider what his intereſt requires; he follows the
" dictates not of his intereſt but of his attorney."

My

My anſwer is, it is not the attorney's intereſt to recommend his client to the Exchequer; for, if he lives in town, he muſt employ a clerk of the Court, and if he lives in the country, he will employ an agent, and that agent muſt employ a clerk thus, the fees will be conſumed, and the attorney will find, that he has the conduct of a barren ſuit.

The laſt objection relative to the practice that has been urged againſt the bill, is founded on an idea, that all the illicit manufacturers of the kingdom may combine together to overwhelm the Court of Exchequer with innumerable ſuits. For if, ſays the learned gentleman, there ſhould be ſuch a combination, the Court would be unable to try the multitude of ſuits, and juſtice would at once be ſuſpended.

Sir, there is, it muſt be owned, in this objection, ſomething that impoſes on the fancy; the imagination is ſtartled at the vaſt magnitude of the ſuggeſtion. But let us examine the ſuppoſition on which it reſts, like other chimeras, that impoſe for a moment on the fancy, it will diſappear on a nearer view, and leave the judgement undiſturbed

The ſuppoſition is, that the fraudulent diſtiller at Briſtol, who conceals from his neareſt relations, and from his moſt intimate friends, the ſecret of his frauds, will enter into confederacy with the wax chandler in London, the ſope boiler at Coventry, and the ſtarch maker on the banks of the Tweed, to tranſgreſs the law publicly, with a view to enſure a proſecution for the purpoſe of removing all their ſuits at once into the Exchequer, in order to diſtreſs the judge. He expects this from men whoſe ſafety lies in the concealment of their frauds; he expects this from men who know that diſcovery will bring numberleſs officers upon them, who will charge them with double duties, to be ſued in the ſummary courts. He expects this from men who know, that if they obſtruct thoſe officers, indictments muſt follow, which, together with the proſecutions for double duties, would enſure expeditious ruin, even if the Court of Exchequer ſhould be utterly aboliſhed.

When the honourable gentleman talks of combination among the illicit traders, to oppreſs the Exchequer with a multitude of ſuits, I am ſurpriſed he does not alſo expreſs his fears, leſt a ſimilar agreement among the thieves and houſebreakers of the kingdom ſhould overwhelm the Court

Court of King's Bench, and drive its venerable magiſtrate from the judgement ſeat. May they not ſay, with an equal chance of ſucceſs, "Let us agree that each of us ſhall break "the peace on one and the ſame day; let each of us knock "down his man; we ſhall then have nothing to fear; for "the indictments for aſſaults will be too numerous to be "tried. The judges will renounce their offices in deſpair, "and leave us to purſue our occupation without diſturbance "from the law."

The learned gentleman through the whole courſe of his argument reaſons in ſuch a way, that things which are ſcarcely poſſible are repreſented, firſt as probable, and afterwards as certain; his fears are proofs of a fancy wonderfully fertile; they are proofs of an anxious ſolicitude for the welfare of the Public, but they are fears which ſober ſpeculation cannot but condemn, becauſe they are ſuch as practice can never realize.

The learned gentleman had alſo another reaſon of diſquietude that ſeemed to impreſs his mind with unuſual alarm, which was, the number of cauſes that are actually tried one year with another in the ſummary courts He ſtates them, and I believe the ſtatement to be true, at more than 6000— "Now, what," (ſays he) "will be the conſequence, if all "theſe cauſes ſhould be brought for trial to the Court "of Exchequer?"

Sir, the Court has no ſuch event to fear; for every man who knows any thing of the exciſe, muſt know, that of theſe ſix thouſand caſes, a very large proportion are caſes of unclaimed goods, which the owner, conſcious of guilt, is afraid to acknowledge to be his, becauſe, upon that acknowledgement, penalties attach. Now where there is no claimant, there can be no removal of the ſuit.

Of the reſt of the ſix thouſand caſes, by much the largeſt part are caſes of ſmall forfeitures, or of penalties that are leſs than twenty pounds, and which are almoſt always mitigated down to five, a ſum ſo very inconſiderable, that few men would conteſt its payment at the expence of an Exchequer ſuit.

Thus it will be found, that if this bill ſhall paſs, the number of additional ſuits that will be tried in the Exchequer, will not be more than the Court will be able to decide. And ſhall we, in order to avoid this ſmall addition to the buſineſs of the Court, ſhall we perſiſt in withholding from the ſubject that right of trial by jury which the com-

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mon law of the land and our ancient conſtitution have given him? Shall we ſay to the ſubject, we admit that your wiſhes are conſiſtent with juſtice; we admit that the language of reaſon is on your ſide; that the Conſtitution pleads ſtrongly on your behalf, and that the ſame principles which ſupport the general law of the land do alſo ſupport your cauſe; yet we cannot comply with your wiſhes, juſt and reaſonable as they are, leſt the Barons of the Exchequer ſhould ſay, leſt the ſervants of the Government, poſſeſſed of vaſt emoluments, ſhould ſay, we have given them additional trouble, and increaſed the labour of their office?

Among the objections which the learned gentleman's ingenuity has enabled him to urge againſt the bill, one there was which exceedingly ſurpriſed me; it was that which he drew from the clauſe which the right honourable Chancellor of the Exchequer propoſed in the Committee: that clauſe has undoubtedly rendered the bill a bill of experiment, and has confined that experiment to a ſmall number of articles. But, if that clauſe has leſſened the value of the bill, that diminution of its merit is not chargeable on me; I never propoſed the plan as a plan of experiment, nor meant to give a partial and mutilated operation to the bill; yet, if a perſon for whoſe judgement I have the higheſt reſpect, thinks that a trial of the bill ſhould be made on a few articles before it is generally adpoted, I have too much confidence in the reſult of the experiment to abandon the ſyſtem; for I have no doubt, that if tried on a few articles this year, it will next year be extended to all.

The learned gentleman has told the Houſe, that he diſlikes innovation in the ancient ſyſtem, grown reverend by time, and by the practice of a hundred years. Sir, the credit of the trial by jury has little to fear from any arguments drawn from the antiquity of thoſe courts that have uſurped its privileges, and trenched upon its right. Does the learned gentleman talk of the practice of a century? Sir, the trial by jury was old among our anceſtors a thouſand years ago.

But in fact the learned gentleman has little to fear from the innovating effects of the preſent bill; for though it gives an optional right of trial by jury in revenue cauſes, and reſtores to the ſubject a privilege which the exciſe, uſurping upon the common law, has unjuſtly wreſted from him; yet it will not materially diſturb the ſettled order of things, nor introduce any violent innovations in the practices of the day.

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The diſcretion of the Commiſſioners, and the general diſpoſition of the times, which is averſe to arbitrary power, have already, in ſome meaſure, eſtabliſhed as practice what the bill propoſes to eſtabliſh as law.

The Commiſſioners of Exciſe generally refer to the Exchequer all cauſes of importance, all thoſe which relate to high value: but though the ſubject in ſuch cauſes generally has a trial by his peers, yet, as the law now ſtands, he cannot claim it as a right; it is granted or withheld at the will of the officers of the Crown, for the option is with them; whereas, if the bill ſhall paſs, that option will be with him. For my own part, I am perfectly convinced, that if the choice of the court were veſted in the ſubject, the ſummary juriſdiction would almoſt always be preferred; for he would then conſider that juriſdiction as a refuge from expence. He would value, when offered as a privilege, what he now deteſts, when forced upon him as a burden; he would find his convenience liberally conſulted, without any invaſion of his rights.

But perhaps it may be ſaid, "If you approve the preſent conduct of the Comiſſioners, where is the neceſſity, or where the advantage of your propoſed reformation?"

Sir, is it no advantage to relieve the ſubject from a deſpotiſm, which, however lenient the exertion, fills his mind with alarm, and wears down and corrodes his happineſs?

The ſuſpended ſword, though it did not fall, was ſufficient to diſturb the tranquillity of the feaſt. While there is *danger in the law there can be no ſafety for the ſubject.* Have not the Commiſſioners of exciſe a power to deprive the ſubject of the benefit of the general law of the land? Have they not a power to exclude him from his right of trial by jury, his ancient hereditary privilege? Have they not a power to break down the fences by which the Conſtitution endeavours to guard the liberties of the people; and, having this power, ſhall it be ſaid, that there is no danger to be feared for that all the Commiſſioners are honourable men? Sir, it becomes us to conſider the nature of the tribunal and the permanent conſtitution of the Court, not the variable characters of thoſe who happen to preſide upon its judgement ſeat. The Commiſſioners of Exciſe may ſmooth the hideous features of the law, or conceal them entirely from view; but the nature of the law is ſtill the ſame; the power of the court is ſtill deſpotic.

ſpotic. It were folly indeed to ſuppoſe, that the engine has loſt its force becauſe it is little employed or happens to be at reſt. It is an engine admirably calculated for the eſtabliſhment of arbitrary power, and of a force ſufficient for its end whenever a hand ſhall be found to give it its full operation. Such is the caſe at preſent, but if this bill ſhall paſs, the danger of the contrivance will ceaſe, the beneſit only will remain.

Sir, I will treſpaſs no farther on your indulgence, and indeed I am much concerned that I have troubled you ſo long, for I am perfectly ſenſible, that if this bill ſhall be ſupported by the Houſe, it will owe that ſupport not to any arguments of mine, but to their warm and zealous attachment to the principles of freedom, to the general law of the land, and to the ancient conſtitution of their country.

The *Solicitor General* (Mr. Macdonald) ſpoke nearly as follows

The Solicitor General to Sir Gilbert Elliot

Sir, I cannot allow the account which the honourable gentleman has given of the exciſe ſyſtem to paſs without obſervation; I ſhould be ſorry indeed, if that ſyſtem ſhould be conſidered by the people in general in the very hideous light in which the energy of his language has enabled him to deſcribe it. There is no ſyſtem, however excellent, whoſe defects, if brought together into one view, and coloured by a man of ſtrong feeling, might not be repreſented as too monſtrous to be borne. Were ſuch a perſon to ſay, for inſtance, that there is a country wherein there is twelve hundred capital offences, twelve hundred ways in which the ſubject may incur the forfeiture of his life, who would believe that it was of England he was ſpeaking? My honourable friend has deſcribed the exciſe laws as an infringement of the Conſtitution, and a breach of the common law of the land. Sir, I ſhould be very unworthy indeed to wear the gown that marks my profeſſion, if I did not entirely agree with him in this part of his ſpeech; but at the ſame time he muſt allow me to ſay, that the neceſſities of the revenue have ſuperſeded other conſiderations, and to thoſe neceſſities the eſtabliſhment and the continuance of the exciſe ſyſtem has undoubtedly been owing. The honourable gentleman himſelf confeſſes that the practice has been mild, though the law has been ſevere.

Hence it follows, from his own ſtatement, that no political ills have reſulted from the ſyſtem, and that the alteration he ſuggeſts can only be made with a view to the ex-

cellence of the principle on which it is founded, and not with a view to the redreſs of any real and actual exiſting grievance. Now, whether for the ſake of removing ſpeculative inconveniencies, it be worth while to hazard the unknown effects of a conſiderable change, the Houſe will undoubtedly determine. I know the honourable gentleman himſelf apprehends no danger to the revenue, and if I could think the opinion of any one man a ſufficient proof that there is no riſque in ſuch an experiment, I certainly ſhould be ſatisfied; for I know he has an uncommon knowledge of the ſubject, and I equally know his zeal for the ſervice of his country.

As to my own opinion of the bill, I muſt confeſs I cannot ſtate any particular objections to it, yet I am inclined upon the whole to the opinion of my learned friend, that the bill may be dangerous; and it is, at any rate, of too much importance to be paſſed at this late period of the ſeſſion.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt. Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* ſpoke immediately after the Solicitor General, and expreſſed himſelf in the following manner:

If the dread which my learned friend near me ſeems to entertain of the probable conſequences of this bill be at all well founded, or at all likely to be realiſed in practice, I ſhould undoubtedly think with him, that the bill ought on no account to be permitted to paſs. On the other hand, if the frightful picture which my honourable friend who propoſed the bill, has drawn of the ſyſtem of excife, were taken from that ſyſtem as it actually exiſts in practice, I ſhould certainly be diſpoſed to agree with him in thinking, that a reform is abſolutely requiſite.

But I am much inclined to believe, that both of them are to a certain degree miſtaken; and that the truth, as is uſual in extremes, will be found to lie between their oppoſite opinions. for I cannot agree with my learned friend in thinking, that this bill would be attended with thoſe dangers to the revenue, or be productive of all thoſe difficulties in the practice of the Court of Exchequer, which he ſeems to apprehend: and I can as little agree with my honourable friend, in reprobating the ſyſtem of exciſe as inconſiſtent with the liberty and happineſs of the People. He himſelf is compelled to acknowledge, that the execution of the very ſyſtem he condemns has been productive of no inconvenience; and he is obliged to reaſon upon the principle, and, as he thinks,

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pernicious tendency of the law, and not upon the practice, which he allows has been uniformly juſt. He wiſhes, however, that an alteration may be made in favour of the liberty and therefore of the happineſs of the ſubject: but I would remind the Houſe, that if the revenue ſhould be injured, both the one and the other muſt be injured; for, upon its revenue, in the preſent ſituation of the country, the very exiſtence of its happineſs and liberty depends.

Without meaning therefore to ſtate ſuch exceſſive apprehenſions of the bill as the learned gentleman has deſcribed, but at the ſame time without being prepared to give my aſſent to the bill, which I am not the more diſpoſed to approve, from its being introduced by an invective againſt the exciſe, I am inclined to ſupport the motion for poſtponing its farther conſideration till this day three months.

Mr. *Beaufoy* roſe a ſecond time and ſpoke to the following effect: Mr Beaufoy.

As it ſeems to be the wiſh of the Houſe that the conſideration of this bill ſhould be referred to another ſeſſion, I ſhall not oppoſe the motion which the learned gentleman has made. But as I am anxious to preſs upon the attention of the Houſe, the expediency of paſſing this bill as early as poſſible after the recеſs, I will take the liberty of ſtating to them the ſentiments which better judges than myſelf have expreſſed of the grievances which this bill propoſes to remove. One of the Commiſſioners of Exciſe, a man of acknowledged ability, and the higheſt honour, complained to me a few days ſince, of the uneaſineſs he felt in being obliged to act in a judicial capacity, under the preſent law; for, ſays he, "The ſubject is compelled to take me for his judge, and has "no appeal from my deciſion. now, he who decides under "ſuch circumſtances, ought to be perfectly ſure that he pro- "nounces an unerring judgement. But what man has a "right to think thus confidently of himſelf? Liable to miſ- "takes as to the fact, and to miſapprehenſion as to the law, "I decide under circumſtances in which no man living ought "to decide who is not an infallible judge whereas, if the "ſubject had his option of the court and ſhould chuſe me "for his judge, I ſhould feel no uneaſineſs in deciding to "the beſt of my ability, however important the cauſe: for "in that caſe, involuntary imperfections could not be urged "as a charge againſt me—I did not force myſelf upon "him."

With this reſpectable opinion, the ſentiments of the late Judge Blackſtone ſeem to have entirely coincided: for he certainly thought that the ſubject ſhould not be reſtricted in exciſe queſtions to the Courts of Exciſe; he held, that if the goods of the trader ſhould be ſeized as forfeited, and, as ſuch, ſhould be condemned by the Commiſſioners of Exciſe, the condemnation ſhould not be conſidered as final and concluſive. The officer he thought ſhould be liable to an action for damages, and the deciſion of the cauſe be referred by that means to the judgement of a jury. If this opinion of Blackſtone's had been adopted by the other Courts, it would have made a condemnation of goods by the Commiſſioners of Exciſe little better than nugatory, and would indeed have aboliſhed as to any uſeful purpoſe, the juriſdiction of the ſummary tribunal: but he ſeemed to think, that nothing could authoriſe the depriving the ſubject of the right of a trial by his peers

There is indeed a ſeverity in the Exciſe laws, that while a right of trial by jury is withheld, muſt render them objects of abhorrence to every man who regards his freedom or values the conſtitution of his country. If, for example, a debtor to the Exciſe has ſurrendered to the officers of juſtice, and given up his body to the law, the proceſs againſt him is not, as in other caſes of debt, cloſed by that ſurrender A warrant will iſſue to levy on his goods, his houſehold furniture is ſeized, the laſt bed is taken from his family; for againſt the execution of the warrant, neither ſickneſs nor the infirmities of age, nor the helpleſſneſs of infancy are any plea. Thus to the dreadful proſpect of impriſonment for life, a ſufficient puniſhment for all crimes but murder, is ſuperadded, the miſery of knowing that his family is deſtitute of bread.

Sir, I do not ſay that this law is unneceſſary, I do not ſay that it ought to be repealed, however humanity may plead for that repeal, but I do ſay, that the execution of ſo ſevere a law ought not to be entruſted to an arbitrary judge there is bitterneſs enough in the law itſelf, it wants not this aggravation

Till this hardſhip of a deſpotic tribunal ſhall be removed, by the optional right of a trial by jury being given to the ſubject, the intereſts of the revenue will always be at variance with the rights and privileges of the people, an oppoſition which no friend to the revenue can poſſibly wiſh to prolong.

Wedneſday,

Wednesday, June 15.

In the bill for impoſing a tax on male ſervants, a clauſe was introduced exempting officers in full pay, under the rank of field officers, from the tax, if their ſervant was a ſoldier.

Mr. Courtenay moved to extend the exemption to officers on half pay.

On a diviſion, the numbers were,

Ayes - - - - - - - - - - -	23
Noes - - - - - - - - - - -	57

Monday, June 20.

Mr. *Attorney General* gave notice that he intended to bring in a bill to regulate the future elections for Weſtminſter, and to limit the duration of the poll to a certain period. Mr Attorney General

The Houſe went into a Committee of Supply.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* ſtated the caſe of the American Loyaliſts. The whole of the claims given in, he ſaid, amounted to between four and five hundred thouſand pounds; of this ſum 471,000l. had been allowed by the Commiſſioners, to whom that inquiry had been referred by the late Parliament. Thoſe Commiſſioners had made a return of the number of claimants, and the amount of their claims very judiciouſly divided into ſeparate claſſes: in the firſt claſs, which conſiſted of but thirty-ſeven perſons, were included thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by certain material ſervices, and their claims amounted to 181,000l.; the next claſs conſiſted of ſuch as had borne arms in our ſervice, and had actually fought the battles of Britain; among whom were comprehended thoſe who had formerly ſided with the Americans, but had afterwards come over to us on the faith of proclamations. This laſt deſcription, though perhaps leſs meritorious than the former, might yet be thought by ſome more entitled to remuneration, becauſe they came in under ſpecific engagements and promiſes; the claims of this claſs amounted to 66,000l. He farther enumerated a claſs of claimant, whoſe loſſes were admitted by the Commiſſioners at about 157,000l., thoſe were perſons no other way diſtinguiſhed than merely by their loſſes. Another claſs conſiſted of thoſe who, having reſided in England during the whole war, had ſuffered under the charge of neutrality. The ſituation of thoſe people was ſuch as not to demand that immediate relief which juſtice and humanity called for on the part of the others: Mr Chancellor Pitt.

others: he ſhould not, therefore, include them in the motion he propoſed to introduce; but, at all events, their claims were not very important, amounting only to 33,000l. It was not, he ſaid, his idea that the whole of theſe claims ſhould now be diſcharged; and in what he propoſed ſhould be done, he intended to have a view to the probability of ſome of the ſufferers receiving that amends in another place, to which they were entitled on the grounds of public faith and national confidence. He ſhould for the preſent propoſe that the ſum of 150,000l. ſhould be granted for the purpoſe of paying ſo much on account to the American Loyaliſts, by way of affording them a temporary relief. This ſum to be apportioned to the ſeveral claſſes, according to the rate of forty per cent. on the allowed claims of the two firſt claſſes, and of thirty per cent. on thoſe of the others. He ſaid he was the more happy in thus ſuggeſting an act of benevolence and juſtice, becauſe it could be effected without any direct burden on the people. How this ſum was to be raiſed was not at preſent ſo immediately his duty to explain until the Committee of Ways and Means ſhould ſit, for the preſent, therefore, he ſhould only mention, that the plan for raiſing that ſum was by a lottery, which, from the propoſals he had received, he had reaſon to calculate would produce the ſum of 150,000l. He therefore moved,

"That the ſum of 150,000l. be granted to His Majeſty "for the preſent relief and on account of ſuch perſons who "have ſuffered in their rights and properties, and have given "ſatisfactory proof of the loſſes they have incurred to the "Commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe."

The reſolution was voted.

Tueſday, June 21.

On the report being brought up, which voted 150,000l. to the Loyaliſts,

Mr Martin. Mr. *Martin* ſaid, that though he had not the honour of being much acquainted with either of the reſpectable gentlemen who had undertaken to examine the claims of thoſe perſons called American Loyaliſts, yet, from the general good character he had heard of them, he had no doubt of their being worthy of any truſt that could properly be repoſed in them; but that he thought that in matters where the intereſts of the community were deeply concerned, that the repreſentatives of the People ſhould, as far as is poſſible, ſee into every

every thing with their own eyes. He truſted he was totally free from any ſpirit of cruelty or revenge; but that he could not but make a difference in his own mind between two deſcriptions of Loyaliſts, namely, ſuch as ſhould appear to have acted upon principle, however he might differ from that principle, or ſuch who had ſacrificed their opinions to a narrow ſelf intereſt, and always ſtuck to that ſide which they thought at the time moſt likely to prevail. That it appeared to him that the weight of numerous, inconvenient, and complicated taxes ſhould make the Houſe of Commons more careful how they lay freſh burdens on the People, and that a fuller inquiry into the hiſtory and preſent circumſtances of the Loyaliſts ſeemed the more proper, as it would probably be found that the fatal American war was continued to that pernicious length by their encouragement and inſtigation. He could not but think that the promoters and obſtinate adherents to that war, if they had the decency of repentance for the miſchiefs they had occaſioned, ſhould ſtand forth and offer to contribute largely upon this occaſion; that the noble Lord, the great champion of that war, the gentleman who was ready to pay thirteen ſhillings in the pound for carrying it on, the Miniſter who rejected Mr. Penn's petition, alſo ſeveral diſtinguiſhed friends of the preſent Miniſter, and the various deſcriptions of perſons who had enriched themſelves while the poor were ſtarving, ſhould make ſome amends to the Public by eaſing their burden of indemnifying thoſe of the Loyaliſts who ſhould appear to have really acted upon principle. The noble Lord, it was true, had frequently, with a triumphant air of undaunted courage, called loudly for inquiry; but the noble Lord ought not to aſſume much merit for ſuch challenge. Mr. Martin ſaid, it appeared to him to ſavour little more of courage than inſulting a man whom it was known would not fight, for that this country had in great meaſure loſt its breed of noble bloods, and was ſunk in indolence, ſelfiſhneſs, and indifference to the public welfare. That the man who for many years they had moſt truſted to, had joined in cloſeſt bands of political friendſhip with the perſon he had taught the nation to execrate; and though he ſays in his defence that they differed only reſpecting that *trifling* buſineſs of the American war, the right honourable gentleman contradicts himſelf completely by differing in the higheſt degree from the noble Lord on *another little, trifling, unintereſting ſubject*, namely, the reform

reform of Parliament; but ſtill theſe bonds are to be indiſſoluble, and this amiable connection to laſt eternally.

Mr. Martin ſaid, that upon this occaſion he could not but lament the ſeeming injuſtice of the Public in the violent rage manifeſted againſt the preſent Miniſter on account of an injudicious tax, when at the ſame time they ſeemed completely to forget the enormous grievances of the American war, and the never-to-be-forgotten inſult on the Public, in the coalition of the two men who had ſo violently and ſo conſtantly oppoſed each other during the courſe it.

Mr. Martin ſaid, that in regard to a lottery, he ſhould be very ſorry if it ſhould be neceſſary; for that it was always attended with infinite prejudice to the morals of the people, and greatly promoted the pernicious and deſtructive practice of gambling. That deeply impreſſed with the ideas which he had, he feared, but very imperfectly endeavoured to communicate to the Houſe, he ſhould humbly move,

"That a correct liſt of the names of thoſe perſons who "have delivered in their claims to the Commiſſioners for "ſettling the claims of the American Loyaliſts, be laid be-"fore this Houſe ſo ſoon as it can be made out, together "with the amount of each original demand, and likewiſe, "what has been allowed by the Commiſſioners to each "claimant."

After reading the motion, Mr Martin ſaid, that if it ſhould appear clearly to be the general ſenſe of the Houſe, that the paper moved for ought not to be granted, he would not trouble gentlemen with a diviſion, but that he ſhould wiſh the motion to ſtand on the Journals, that the Public might know, that their repreſentatives had not been wholly inattentive to the ſubject, and that ſome ſubſtantial reaſons had been given why it would be improper that ſuch a paper ſhould not be laid before the Houſe.

After ſome farther debate, the report was read a ſecond time and agreed to.

The Houſe then reſolved itſelf into a Committee, on the motion of Mr Pitt, to take into conſideration a propoſition for making ſome alteration in the preſent laws reſpecting the collection of the duties on the article of tobacco. Mr Gilbert having taken the chair,

Mr Chancellor Pitt

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* informed the Committee, that the ſmuggling of tobacco had increaſed to a degree truly alarming to the revenue: the conſumption of this article in Great Britain was immenſe, he was ſure that he ſhould under-rate it if he was to ſtate it ſo low as twelve millions of pounds weight

weight every year the neat duty on this quantity, if it was paid upon the whole, would amount, after every deduction for diſcount, &c., at 1s. 3d. and a ſmall fraction per pound, to 750,000l.; but ſo ſucceſsfully had the ſmuggling of tobacco been carried on, that the duty did not, on an average of the laſt three years, exceed 380,000l The Committee would therefore, he hoped, agree with him, that this article being ſo eligible for taxation, it would be highly expedient to deviſe ſome means for collecting the duty upon the whole of it.

He concluded by moving, "That the Chairman be directed to move the Houſe, for leave to bring in a bill for the better ſecuring the duty on tobacco."

After ſome debate the bill was ordered

The *Solicitor General* (Mr Macdonald) moved for leave to bring in the bill for regulating elections for the city of Weſtminſter The Solicitor General

Mr *Fox* animadverted on the conduct of Miniſtry with reſpect to this buſineſs, and gave reaſons for aſſerting that it was not neceſſary to make new laws for the regulation of elections in Weſtminſter. Mr Fox.

On a diviſion the numbers were,

Ayes	-	-	-	-	55
Noes	-	-	-	-	21

Thurſday, June 23

The *Solicitor General* roſe, and deſired the attention of the Houſe, while he ſtated ſhortly to them the heads of a bill which he held in his hand, for the better prevention of crimes, and more ſpeedy puniſhment of perſons found guilty. He truſted that every perſon within and many without the Houſe, muſt have found the danger there was in walking the public ſtreets in the night; ſo much ſo indeed, that few perſons could walk without fear, or lay down on their beds with ſafety for gangs of ſix, eight, ten, or twelve perſons together, made it a practice to knock at perſons doors, and immediately ruſh in and rob the Houſe Now the bill, he had to produce, was not to extend the ſeverity of the preſent laws, but merely to enforce them with more certainty; for it was generally obſerved, that ſeverity did not anſwer ſo well as moderate laws properly adminiſtered, and therefore, little or no new law would be introduced, but in ſome reſpects it would be found neceſſary to draw the cord a little tighter than at preſent, and particularly in the vagrant act, The Solicitor General

by extending that to objects a little higher than what at present was considered to come within the meaning of that term. He observed, that the chief reason of the present bad state of the police, was owing more to the defect of the executive power, than to the defect of the laws; for the present laws, properly put in practice, would, in a great measure, remedy all the evils complained of, but, by being neglected, the thief went on progressively, first, from the pickpocket to the housebreaker, next to the highwayman, then to the murderer, and then to the gallows, and it was a notorious fact, that eighteen out of twenty that were tried, did not exceed eighteen years of age, and most of them, in all probability might have been saved from destruction, by being stopped in the first instance But if asked, Why was the laws so badly inforced in the cities of London, Westminster, and Southwark? To which he could answer, the reason was plain the magistrates were employed in parochial business, and had a multiplicity of other concerns, which prevented them from attending solely to the duties of their office as magistrates, and few persons, he feared, could be found to give up the whole of their time without being paid for their trouble Another reason there was, that as a great part of the profits of a justice's clerk lay in fees, it was his business to foment disputes, for the sake of getting double fees from recommending the parties to make the quarrel up, and many of them were in fee with the persons who made thieftaking their employment, not for the sake of justice but of profit, as had been seen at a late trial at the Old Bailey, where two men swore away the life of a person falsely merely for the reward.

Having stated the outlines of the bill, he concluded with moving, "For leave to bring in a bill for the better prevention of crimes, and the more speedy punishment of them within the cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and certain parts adjacent," which was agreed to.

Monday, June 27.

The Attor General.

The *Attorney General* (Mr. Arden) said, the police bill brought in by his honourable friend (the Solicitor General) did not go to that extent he wished it. He then moved, "That it be an instruction to the Committee appointed to prepare and bring in a bill for regulating elections for the city of Westminster, that they prepare clauses to empower returning officers to examine witnesses on oath, and also

" clauſes obliging them to make the return of members ac-
" cording to the exigency of the writ."

He explained with reſpect to the firſt, that it would be unreaſonable to expect, that every perſon coming to vote ſhould be a competent judge of the qualification; and therefore, his oath ſhould extend no farther than to prove his identity, that he lived in ſuch a place; went by ſuch a name, and believed himſelf qualified to vote. The ſecond part he thought required little apology, and would at leaſt have the concurrence of a right honourable gentleman (Mr Fox) who felt the inconvenience of an irregular return, and had declared in the Houſe at the time the ſcrutiny was agitated, that he would be glad to have the matter tried under Mr Grenville's bill, which would give him more ſpeedy and effectual juſtice. The object of that wiſh could be accompliſhed by the preſent bill, and a ſimilar proceeding to that, ſo much complained of, prevented from happening in future.

Mr *Fox* ſaid, that it would be needleſs for him to repeat the ſame objections to this motion which he urged againſt a former one in the courſe of laſt week, and which were now equally applicable. Having conſidered this to be a period of the ſeſſion by no means proper for the introduction of buſineſs which was expected, and ought to have come before, he found the objection preſs with equal force in the preſent application, as in the former one. But before he ſhould take the ſenſe of the Houſe on the queſtion, he would firſt remark, that the right honourable gentleman's propoſition did not come much recommended by obliging the voter to ſwear only to the belief of his qualification. Mr. Fox.

He then came to the ſecond regulation, obliging the officer to make a return of members. This would be a very proper one were the law any other than it now was but as it contained no doctrine that was not already recognized by every deciſion of the Houſe, except thoſe diſagreeable deviations in the caſe of the late ſcrutiny; as it maintained no principle which was not expreſſly laid down in the body of every act of Parliament, or declared in the preamble, he muſt reſiſt the futility of re-enacting what was already enacted, and providing againſt a conduct in future which could not now be purſued without the higheſt criminality in the returning officer. He could not avoid conſidering the final deciſion of the Houſe with reſpect to the ſcrutiny, as declaratory of theſe ſentiments, and therefore conceived them bound even by conſiſtency, to oppoſe a tacit acknowledgement of that conduct being legal, which was ſo univerſally reprobated, and which

could not find even the ſhadow of ſupport except in the unconſtitutional conſtructions of the learned gentleman, and ſome others engaged in the ſame cauſe.

The learned gentleman had thought proper to remind him of ſaying, that he wiſhed to have the buſineſs come before a Committee under Mr. Grenville's bill, but he did not ſee how that could lead to an approbation of this regulation, being only a complaint of having that juſtice withheld to which he was intitled, and which, if duly obtained, would have ſaved ſeveral thouſand pounds. After this, he had no other view to conſider the regulation than as a ſalvo to former miſconduct. This ſpecies of remedy he was always averſe to, apprehending that it would tend more to the repetition than the future prevention of miſconduct. For theſe reaſons, he was reſolved to oppoſe the motion.

Mr Chancellor Pitt

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* ſaid that the right honourable gentleman, in treating this ſubject, entirely loſt ſight of, or ſeemed to forget thoſe arguments he uſed when the ſcrutiny was carrying on, and perfectly miſrepreſented the cauſe of their final deciſion. It was not becauſe they thought the ſcrutiny illegal that they put an end to it, for if it were ſo, they certainly would have complied with the motion for eraſing it from the Journals. But finding it not likely to anſwer the purpoſe for which it was intended, they diſcontinued it on motives of expediency only. The regulations of his learned friend was by no means redundant or explanatory of what was already law, for there was nothing either in the reſolutions of the Houſe, or the ſtatutes, which rendered a ſcrutiny illegal after the expiration of the writ, and the moſt zealous opponents of the ſcrutiny could ſhew no difference in principle between the late and the former ſcrutiny for Weſtminſter.

Mr Fox and Mr. Pitt charged one another with reſorting to declamation and unfounded aſſertion.

The queſtion was put on the Attorney General's motion, on which a diviſion taking place, the numbers were,

Ayes	47
Noes	55

Friday, July 1.

A debate occurred in the Committee on the bill for impoſing a duty on hawkers and pedlars, in which Mr. Dempſter bore the moſt conſiderable part. On a motion to leave the chair, they divided,

Ayes	12
Noes	47

Monday,

Monday, July 4.

Mr. *Beaufoy* introduced a chain of motions reſpecting the Britiſh fiſheries by a ſpeech to the following effect Mr Beaufoy

I had the honour, a few days ſince, of preſenting to the Houſe a Report from the Committee appointed to inquire into the ſtate of the Britiſh fiſheries, and into the moſt effectual means of their extenſion and improvement and I now riſe to diſcharge the duty which, as chairman of that Committee, I owe to the Houſe and to the Public, by moving, "That the Houſe do now reſolve itſelf into a Committee "of the whole Houſe, for the purpoſe of taking into conſi- "deration the particulars of that Report."

Sir, I am ſenſible, that at a period of the ſeſſion ſo far advanced, and ſo thinly attended as the preſent, it is neither uſual, nor, generally ſpeaking, deſirable, that new buſineſs ſhould be introduced yet, in that which I have now to propoſe, there are circumſtances that perhaps may incline the Houſe to the opinion, that its diſcuſſion ought not to be poſtponed. Thoſe circumſtances are, the approaching expiration of the temporary law which grants a bounty on the tonnage of veſſels employed in the fiſhery for herrings; and the obvious expediency of determining by actual experience, before it does expire, whether that bounty can be made effectual to its end, and of courſe, whether it ought or ought not to be renewed. Hitherto that bounty has operated as an uſeleſs expence, of little leſs than 20,000l. a year to the Public, and has amounted, upon an average of the laſt ten years, to ſeventy-five per cent. on the value of all the fiſh that has been taken by the veſſels on which it was paid

Now, before the temporary law which gives the bounty expires, and before petitions for its renewal are received, it is highly requiſite that the Houſe ſhould be able to determine, by a fairer experiment than has hitherto been made, whether the failure of the home fiſhery has ariſen from inſuperable obſtacles in the nature of things, in which caſe a continuance of the bounty would be an ill-judged and unwarrantable waſte of the Public income, or whether it has not entirely ariſen from that ſyſtem of injudicious regulation that has accompanied the bounty and contracted its effects. What the nature of the ſyſtem is, the Houſe will eaſily judge, from its general outline, which, with their permiſſion, I will endeavour to deſcribe.

Here the Speaker obſerved, that what Mr. Beaufoy ſeemed preparing to ſay, would be offered with more propriety after the

the Houſe ſhould have reſolved itſelf into a Committee. Mr. Beaufoy acquieſced, and the Houſe having reſolved itſelf into a Committee, Mr Beaufoy addreſſed the Chairman in words to the following effect

Mr. Hamilton, — The failure of the herring fiſhery of Britain has been noticed and generally lamented, but the cauſes of that failure have never yet been clearly aſcertained. The Legiſlature granted genteel bounties, unqueſtionably ample, and has at the ſame time preſcribed the ſyſtem by which the fiſhery ſhall be conducted. But whether the regulations ſo preſcribed, are ſuited to the nature of the fiſhery, the intereſts of which they profeſs to promote, ſeems not, at any rate to have been an object of inquiry

The herrings leave the polar ſeas early in the ſpring, and proceeding in a ſhoal that is ſuppoſed to fill a larger ſpace in the ocean than the iſland of Great Britain, are ſeparated at Ireland into two diviſions one of theſe purſues a weſtern courſe, along the ſhores of America, while the other arrives in the Shetland Seas early in the month of June

To theſe ſeas the Dutch reſort with a multitude of veſſels, employing from 10 to 20,000 ſeamen. They aſſemble in the Braſſa Sound, on the Shetland coaſt, on the 22d day of June, and on the 24th are permitted to caſt their nets.

Such is the practice of the Dutch. now what is that of the Engliſh? Sir, the law has declared, with incredible abſurdity, that the Engliſh veſſel, if ſhe means to have the benefit of the bounty, ſhall not ſail till the firſt of October before that day arrives, the herrings have paſſed by ſome of them indeed, winter in the ſea, lakes, or the weſtern coaſts of Scotland, but infinitely the greater part have reached the Atlantic ocean where they entirely diſappear.

In the mean time, the Dutch and the Swedes have ſupplied all the markets of Europe, and the Iriſh, whoſe Legiſlature has ſeen and avoided the impolicy of our reſtrictions, have furniſhed our own veſſels with herrings for the conſumption of our Weſt-India iſlands

The removal of this grievance, by a declaration, that veſſels ſailing on the herring fiſhery ſhall be at liberty to proceed on their voyage at any time not earlier than the 1ſt of June, is the object of one of the reſolutions contained in the Report, and will be the object of the firſt motion with which I ſhall trouble the Committee

The next obſtacle to the ſucceſs of our fiſheries is alſo occaſioned by the law, for it declares, that no veſſel ſhall be entitled to the bounty, that has not previouſly ſailed to one of

of the appointed ports of rendezvous. Now the conſequence of the reſtriction is, that a veſſel is compelled to make a circuitous voyage which often occaſions the loſs of a week, and is ſometimes, from the accidents of wind and weather, the cauſe of a much longer delay; nor is this waſte of time and accumulation of expence to the fiſhermen productive of the leaſt advantage to the Public.

The Dutch, indeed, have enjoined a general rendezvous to the veſſels employed in their fiſheries; but with them the regulation is accompanied by a code of judicious laws, enforced by a Commodore, to whom great authority is given; and in aid of whoſe power, the regulation that directs the rendezvous and forbids the ſeparation of the fleet appears to have been eſtabliſhed, whereas the Britiſh Legiſlature, in adopting one of the reſtrictions impoſed by the Hollanders, has neglected the policy by which alone it is juſtified. The Britiſh law appoints no Commodore, it furniſhes no protection, it neither permits the fiſherman to purſue his own intereſts in his own way, nor preſcribes to him a wiſe and judicious rule it impoſes the inconvenience of reſtraint without the advantage of regulation.

I flatter myſelf the Committee will not diſapprove of that reſolution in the Report that has for its object the removal of this grievance

A third exceſſive diſcouragement to our fiſhermen is, the refuſing them the liberty which the Dutch always grant to their people, that of ſending home their fiſh as they take them, without waiting till each veſſel ſhall have completed her cargo. The Engliſh law allows no other alternative to the maſter of the veſſel, but that of returning with a full cargo, or of continuing three months at ſea; the conſequence of which is, that the fiſhing veſſels from Glaſgow have the mortification of ſeeing the Weſt-India ſhips of their own port ſail by them on their way to Cork, in order to purchaſe herrings for the ſupply of the Weſt-India market.

As a remedy for this evil, it is my intention to propoſe, on the authority of the Report, that the maſter of the fiſhing buſs ſhall have liberty to ſend home, in an attendant veſſel, the fiſh as he takes them, and ſhall alſo be permitted to purchaſe fiſh of the boatmen on the coaſt for they have often a plentiful ſupply when the decked veſſel has little ſucceſs.

But in order to promote as much as poſſible the increaſe of our ſeamen, I wiſh alſo to propoſe, as the condition of the indulgence, that every veſſel which takes the benefit of both

or

or either of theſe privileges, ſhall continue three months at ſea, unleſs, before that time, ſhe ſhall return with a full cargo.

Another moſt impolitic burden on the fiſheries is created by the tax which the Legiſlature has impoſed on ſuch herrings as are ſold for the conſumption of our own people Of all taxes, thoſe which are laid upon the food of the People are ſurely the moſt unwiſe; and of all taxes upon food, that upon the ſubſiſtence of the poor is certainly the moſt oppreſſive To the inhabitants of the northern coaſts of Scotland, fiſh is the natural and almoſt the only means of ſupport; and it is found there in ſuch incredible abundance, that in the year 1780, on the ſudden ſinking of the tide in one of thoſe lakes which communicate with the ſea, no leſs than 50,000 tons of fiſh were left at once upon the ſhore The lake appears to have been full from its ſurface to its bed.

Who would imagine, that a country, whoſe coaſts are crowded, and whoſe lakes are filled with ſuch infinite multitudes of fiſh, could ever experience the miſeries of famine. yet, every gentleman who hears me knows, that within theſe two years, ſuch was the ſtate of Scotland. The Houſe allotted 14,000l. to purchaſe corn for the relief of the ſtarving inhabitants, but in the mean time many of them had periſhed from a want of food. Sir, to our tax upon fiſh, and to the ſyſtem of our ſalt laws, the miſeries of that year are wholly to be aſcribed, for had it not been for the diſcouragements and reſtraints which that tax and thoſe reſtrictions impoſed upon the curing of herrings for home conſumption, the practice of preſerving them for the home market would long ſince have been eſtabliſhed, the quantities cured in the autumn and the winter, would have been great in proportion to the ſcarcity of the harveſt; and the people in every part of the country would have been plentifully fed.

I wiſh not, at this late period of the ſeſſion, to propoſe ſo tedious and complicated a buſineſs as the reviſion of our ſalt laws, but I ſpeak the unanimous opinion of thoſe gentlemen with whom I had the honour to act in the Committee on the fiſheries, when I ſay, that till thoſe laws ſhall be corrected, and till the duty on coal carried by ſea from one part of Scotland to another ſhall be repealed, her fiſheries never can be carried to an extent in any degree proportioned to that of which they are capable Many an extenſive tract of land in Scotland has neither coals nor wood, nor even its miſerable ſubſtitute, peat, yet, by a tax, which operates almoſt as a prohibition (for through all Scotland it does not produce 2000l. a year) the inhabitants are prevented from obtaining a ſup-

a ſupply from the adjoining diſtricts. What upon this ſubject is the language of the law to the people? Does it not ſeem to ſay, "Nature has withheld from you the fuel which "is neceſſary for your convenient ſubſiſtence? She has re- "fuſed you the means of aſſembling yourſelves in towns, "and of carrying on your fiſheries to advantage; ſhe has de- "nied you materials for converting to uſeful manure the "chalk and the limeſtone with which your hills abound. "Theſe wants indeed the neighbouring diſtricts would abun- "dantly ſupply; towns would then be built upon your "coaſts, your fiſheries would flouriſh, and the corn which, "for want of manure, now periſhes unripened on your "lands, would then yield an abundant harveſt: but of this "equitable privilege, of this common benefit of neighbour- "hood the Legiſlature has determined to deprive you, the "law ſhall enforce the curſe which nature has inflicted."

Such, Sir, in effect, is the language of your ſtatutes

When the People are protected by wiſe and provident regulations, when the Legiſlature acts as it were affectionately towards them, there are few obſtacles which their induſtry does not enable them to overcome, whereas, an unwiſe and improvident law operates more ſeverely upon them than rigour of climate, or than barrenneſs of ſoil, for it binds them to calamity and renders diſtreſs perpetual

Unfortunately, Sir, what I am ſaying is not idle declamation, nor the doubtful ſuggeſtion of ſpeculative reaſoning, but an indiſputable concluſion from the evidence of acknowledged facts. Compare, for example, the natural ſtate of Holland with that of an equal tract of land on the weſtern coaſts of Scotland, and then conſider the actual ſtate of each. What was the ancient condition of the former? A wide waſte of land, with here and there a pool of ſalt water: but what is now the ſtate of population? Is it not covered with millions of inhabitants.

In Scotland, on the other hand, we ſhall find many natural advantages, its lakes are abundantly ſupplied with fiſh, its vallies are covered with paſture, its rivulets are ſuited to the uſes of many manufactures, and in addition to theſe advantages, it has alſo a natural water carriage almoſt from ſea to ſea; yet, what is the ſtate of its population? Sir, I travelled in that country from ſunriſe to ſunſet, without ſeeing a human face, or the marks of a human habitation.

I mention not theſe unhappy effects of improvident legiſlation with a view of troubling the Committee with any im-

mediate propoſal for correcting the evils which the ſalt laws and the tax on water-borne coal have produced in Scotland. In a future ſeſſion, indeed, an opportunity will, I hope, be found of relieving the weſtern diſtricts of Scotland from the vexatious, and, to a poor country, moſt deſtructive taxes, on ſalt and coal, the joint produce of which in all Scotland does not exceed 16,000l. a year, and which, in the diſtricts I have mentioned, do not even pay the expence of collection.

But at preſent I mention the pernicious effects of thoſe taxes merely with a view to ſhew, that the reſolutions which I am now to move do not include the whole of the grievances that oppreſs the fiſheries of Britain. To many of the moſt material, the removal of which is eſſential to the exiſtence of the fiſheries, conſidered as a national object, they certainly do extend, but that ſort of relief that would give to the fiſheries of Britain the proſperity of which they are capable, and unqueſtionably place them above all competition, embraces objects of too much importance to be diſcuſſed at the cloſe of a ſeſſion.

Sir, I will trouble you with no farther remarks on the home fiſheries of Britain; but before I ſit down, it will be neceſſary to explain the purport of a motion I am anxious to make on a different fiſhery, that which is carried on for cod on the coaſts of Iceland. To that fiſhery, about ſeventy years ſince, one ſigle town, that which I have the honour to repreſent, annually ſent no leſs than 200 veſſels, excluſive of thoſe which the reſt of the kingdom employed. But in the reign of Queen Anne, an act was paſſed to deprive the owners of veſſels employed in the Iceland fiſhery, of an indulgence which, till that time, they had conſtantly enjoyed in common with thoſe who are engaged in the fiſhery for herrings, that of warehouſing till the following ſeaſon, under the lock of the officer, and therefore without the payment of the duty, ſuch ſalt as was brought back in the veſſels unuſed.

The act directs, that upon all ſuch ſalt the duty ſhall be paid. This ill-conſidered and impolitic law, without having made the minuteſt addition to the revenue, has totally annihilated all that Britain poſſeſſed of this extenſive and moſt valuable fiſhery; while foreigners, profiting by our miſtakes, purſue it with eagerneſs, and monopolize all its advantages. Forty veſſels from Dunkirk alone ſailed on this fiſhery in the laſt year, and every veſſel is ſaid to have returned with a full cargo.

The

The cod which are taken on the Iceland coaſts are deſcribed as the fineſt in the world, and as being as much ſuperior to thoſe which are caught in the ſeas of the United States of America, as the latter are reported to be to thoſe of Newfoundland? a difference that would enſure to the merchant whoſe cargo is of Iceland fiſh, an advantage over the Americans in every European market.

It is from a wiſh to give to Great Britain advantages as eſtimable as they are obvious, that one of the motions which I ſhall now beg leave to ſubmit to the conſideration of the Committee, has for its object the reſtoring to the owners of veſſels employed in the Iceland fiſhery, the privilege they formerly enjoyed of warehouſing their ſurplus ſalt, a privilege which the proprietors of the herring buſſes have always been allowed, and the folly of refuſing which, to the owners of veſſels in the Iceland fiſhery, experience has abundantly proved.

The reſolutions were as follow

"That every buſs, or other fiſhing veſſel, properly fitted "out, and furniſhed as by law required for veſſels entered "for the bounty, ſhall be allowed to clear out of any port of "Great Britain, at any time between the 1ſt day of June and "the firſt day of October, and to proceed immediately to "her fiſhing ſtation, and to call her nets, without being "obliged to rendezvous at any other port or place.

"That the maſters of buſſes and other veſſels, employed "in the herring fiſhery, ſhall be at liberty to purchaſe freſh "herrings of the boat fiſhers (being Britiſh ſubjects) and "to ſhip the herrings which they ſhall take, or which they "ſhall purchaſe as aforeſaid, on board any attendant Bri"tiſh veſſel, with permiſſion to land the ſame, under "proper regulations, in any of the ports of Great Bri"tain, upon oath being made by the maſter of the ſmall"er veſſel ſo landing them as aforeſaid, or by the owner "of the fiſh, that the fiſh were, to the beſt of his know"ledge and belief, caught by Britiſh ſubjects, provided that, "if the attendant veſſel, which ſhall ſail with ſuch fiſh, ſhall "land them at any other port than that from which the prin"cipal veſſel cleared out, a proper certificate of the number "of barrels of ſalted fiſh ſo landed, ſhall be obtained from "the principal officer of the cuſtoms at ſuch port, before the "bond for the duties on the ſalt taken on board the principal "veſſel ſhall be diſcharged, and provided alſo, that no buſs "or veſſel, returning to port within the ſpace of three

" months after her clearance outwards, unleſs with a full " cargo, the whole of which ſhall have been taken, and " cured or ſalted by ſuch buſs or veſſel, ſhall be intitled to " a bounty.

" That, for reviving and encouraging the cod fiſhery in the North Seas and in Iceland, the owner of any veſſel employed therein ſhall be at liberty to uſe, in the ſaid fiſhery, Britiſh-made ſalt, duty free, and to warehouſe, under the key of the officer, any ſurplus ſalt remaining in ſuch veſſel upon her return to the place of her outfit, under the like rules and regulations as are provided for ſurplus ſalt brought back in veſſels employed in the herring fiſhery.

" That all buſſes and other fiſhing veſſels, ſhall in future, " be permitted to be entered for the bounty without any li- " mitation of their burden or tonnage, except that no veſſel " of leſs than twenty tons ſhall be entitled to any bounty, " and except that no buſs or other veſſel ſhall be entitled " to the bounty for more than eighty tons, although of a " larger burden

" That all buſſes and veſſels employed in the herring fiſhe- " ries, ſhall be at liberty, during the time of their continu- " ance at ſea, to catch and cure cod, ling, and hake, as well " as herrings, and ſhall be ſubject to the ſame regulations, " and have the ſame privilege of curing the ſaid other ſpecies " of fiſh with ſalt duty free, as in the caſe of herrings; but " that no bounty ſhall be allowed on the exportation of the " ſaid other ſpecies of fiſh, and therefore, that ſuch other " fiſh ſhall be marked by cutting their tails in the manner " preſcribed for marking fiſh cured for home conſump- " tion"

To theſe Mr Beauſoy ſaid, he would add a reſolution to declare, " That all the exiſting laws and reſolutions on the " fiſhery do ceaſe" Mr Beauſoy concluded with moving the firſt reſolution

Mr. Eden. Mr *Eden* ſaid, he did not riſe with any hoſtile intention of oppoſing the reſolution then moved, or thoſe that were to be moved after it, but there appeared to him to be a ſerious difficulty in the caſe: the reſult of the reſolutions was in fact an abandonment of the revenue, derived from the operation of the laws in being relative the Britiſh fiſheries. He wiſhed therefore to know, before he gave his conſent to the reſolution, what neceſſity exiſted for bringing forward a matter of ſo much importance at that late period of the ſeſſion, and in ſo very thin a Houſe, and upon what ground it was that

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the conduct of our forefathers, who had a few years ſince put an end to the ſyſtem now propoſed to be revived, was preſumed to be founded in bad policy? He reminded the Committee, that preciſely the ſort of ſyſtem which the reſolutions opened by the honourable gentleman would lay the ground for re-eſtabliſhing, had exiſted for thirty-five years together, and had within the laſt twenty years been aboliſhed It therefore appeared to him neceſſary that ſome reaſon ſhould have been aſſigned by the honourable gentleman in his opening, in order to convince the Committee, that the times were become more enlightened; that they were wiſer than their forefathers, and that good policy required the reſtoration of the exploded ſyſtem.

If any gentleman in Adminiſtration would ſtand up and ſay, that he was perſuaded, the propoſed alteration in regard to the fiſheries was founded in wiſdom, and that it would be worth while to riſque the revenue in the manner propoſed, Mr Eden declared he ſhould be ſatisfied; for he made no ſcruple to acknowledge, that he was not ſufficiently maſter of the ſubject to pronounce upon it with certainty. He ſaid, he had no other information reſpecting it but what he had obtained from peruſing the Report, and from conſulting two or three volumes of the ſtatute books upon the table ſince he came into the Houſe, and he would venture to ſay, without dread of being thought guilty of any affront to the Committee, that very few of the thirty members preſent, were better acquainted with the ſubject than himſelf He hoped, therefore, to hear from thoſe who were to be reſponſible for the meaſure, and to whoſe peculiar care the revenue of the country was intruſted, that they had reaſon to think that it was right, and that it would not be diſadvantageous to the revenue to revive the old ſyſtem with regard to the Britiſh fiſheries. He took notice, that Mr Beaufoy had ſtated in the courſe of his ſpeech, as one reaſon for bringing forward the reſolutions at that time of the ſeſſion, that the exiſting laws relative to the fiſheries would ſoon expire. In anſwer to that, he begged leave to remind the honourable gentleman, that they would not expire till the year 1787, and in proof of this, he read the clauſe from the laſt act of Parliament upon the ſubject. He declared therefore, that he was the more amazed at the matter's being brought forward at ſo extraordinary a ſeaſon.

Mr. *Beaufoy* roſe to explain, and ſaid, there were two ſeaſons for fiſhing, the ſummer and the winter ſeaſon The reſolutions he meant to propoſe referred ſolely to the ſummer fiſhery, Mr. Beaufoy.

fiſhery, which was by far the moſt important. Mr. Beaufoy aſſigned as a reaſon why it was neceſſary to come forward with the reſolutions then rather than defer them till the next ſeſſion.

Mr Pulteney. Mr *Pulteney* roſe and defended the reſolutions, as harmleſs on the one hand, and as likely to prove extremely beneficial on the other. He ſaid, if the Britiſh fiſheries were properly encouraged, it was incredible to what an extent of advantage for the country they might be carried Mr Pulteney obſerved, that there were two Reports before the Houſe, a third, a very voluminous one, would be completed this day, and in that would be found a ſufficient juſtification of the reſolutions then moved.

Mr Eden Mr. *Eden* in reply ſaid, that if the only argument for abandoning the preſent revenue from the fiſheries, was the great increaſe of the fiſheries that would be the conſequence, the ſame argument would ſerve as a juſtification for taking off the tax on porter or any other tax beneficial to the revenue there could be no doubt, that the leſs the duty paid by a commodity, the larger would be the conſumption of that commodity.

After the firſt reſolution had paſſed, a ſhort converſation took place on the ſecond, and, among other gentlemen, Sir Thomas Dundas roſe to ſpeak in favour of the propoſition, to take off the heavy and injurious reſtrictions at preſent impoſed on the Britiſh fiſheries. Sir Thomas contended ſtrenuouſly in favour of the herring fiſhery.

Mr. Eden Mr. *Eden* in a ſhort concluſive ſpeech ſaid. that he had great doubts of the propriety and policy of the ſeveral reſolutions, but he would not divide ſo thin a Houſe upon them He hoped and preſumed that His Majeſty's Miniſters had made up their minds upon the ſubject, and were ready to meet the conſequences, ſhould the reſolutions prove unſalutary

When the laſt reſolution came to be moved, that declaring, that all the exiſting laws and reſtrictions touching the Britiſh fiſheries do henceforth ceaſe and determine,

Mr Chancellor Pi Mr Chancellor *Pitt* roſe, and begged the reſolution might be read again, which having been complied with, he ſaid, as the obvious tendency of the reſolution was to give up the whole of the revenue riſing from the fiſheries, it was a matter that required ſome conſideration on his part before he conſented to it; he wiſhed therefore that it might be poſtponed for the preſent

Mr Beaufoy. Mr. *Beaufoy* ſaid, the right honourable Chancellor of the

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Exchequer had obſerved, that he is not aware of any ſuch reaſon for the repeal of the tax upon herrings conſumed at home, as will juſtify the relinquiſhing the income it affords. And the right honourable gentleman who ſpoke immediately after him, conſidered that repeal as a proper object of direct and determined oppoſition.

Does then the right honourable gentleman really think, that a tax upon the ſubſiſtence of the People, which always operates as a tax upon population, is the ſureſt mode of increaſing the income of the State?

Does he think that the ſhorteſt way of attaining an end, conſiſts in the deſtruction of the means?

Does he think that 1400l a year, which is all that this miſerable tax affords, ſufficiently compenſates for the diſcouragement it brings on the fiſheries, eſpecially of Scotland, in many diſtricts of which, fiſh is almoſt their only food? Even upon the narrow eſtimate of how much this tax has brought into the Exchequer, and how much the Exchequer has diſburſed in conſequence of expences created by the tax, it is doubtful if the revenue is a gainer, for to this tax is, in great part at leaſt, to be attributed, that famine in Scotland, for the removal of which no leſs a ſum than 14,000l was voted by the Houſe. So that upon the contracted ſcale of money received and money expended, the gain to the revenue is extremely problematical.

But if the effects of the tax on the population of the country be taken into the account, if the prevention of famine in diſtricts of vaſt extent be an object of any worth, if the increaſing the means of wealth, by the encouragement of the fiſheries in places from which nature has excluded almoſt every other object of induſtry, be not too contemptible a good to deſerve the attention of the Legiſlature, or if the calling the navy of England the bulwark of her people, their beſt reliance and ſure defence, be not empty and inſignificant ſounds, words of no import, frivolous and fooliſh declamation, then I am confident, that no tax more unwiſe, no impoſt, in all its effects, direct as well as collateral, more thoroughly impolitic, has ever been impoſed.

In this light I am perſuaded, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when the completion of the more urgent buſineſs that now preſſes upon his mind ſhall have left him leiſure for the inquiry, will conſider the tax, and in that hope, I ſhall certainly forbear at preſent to preſs the repeal on the judgement of the Committee.

All the other reſolutions were agreed to.

Tueſday.

Tueſday, July 6.

Mr. Hamilton brought up the report of the reſolutions on the fiſhery.

Mr. Eden. Mr. *Eden* begged leave once more to inforce a matter of fact that he had already ſtated to the Houſe in the Committee, and which he thought deſerved to be more conſidered than it had been, what he alluded to was, that the preſent laws abſolutely would not expire till the year 1787 This he argued, by going over the whole ſeries of the different laws that had been made on the ſubject, and challenged any gentleman to refute what he had ſaid; at the ſame time he admitted, that if it were otherwiſe, and that according to the opinion of ſome, thoſe laws were to expire in 1786, his argument would thereby loſe conſiderably in its force. As thoſe laws would therefore continue for two years more, there was no abſolute neceſſity, as had been argued, to prepare ſome new ſyſtem to take effect as ſoon as the preſent ſhould ceaſe, nay, even if the expiration of thoſe laws ſhould take place in 1786, inſtead of the following year, ſtill there would be time enough in the next ſeſſion of Parliament, which would certainly meet early in the next, or more probably during the preſent year, to prepare a bill on the ſubject, which he contended would be infinitely more decent, than now, at ſo late a period of the ſeſſion, and in ſo thin a Houſe, when there were but thirty or forty members preſent, to hurry a bill on a ſubject of ſuch vaſt importance to the revenue, commerce, and navigation of the kingdom, particularly, as there had been no faults diſcovered in the preſent exiſting laws that could juſtify ſuch a proceeding, and that could be now amended for he obſerved, the regulations at preſent propoſed were chiefly calculated to relieve the ſummer fiſheries, which it was too late to do for the preſent year. He declared, that he believed there were very few gentlemen in the Houſe, who had ſufficient information on the ſubject, an evil that would be remedied by poſtponing it to the next year.

Mr. Dempſter. Mr *Dempſter* defended the reſolutions, and thought there could be no reaſon for poſtponing the buſineſs to another ſeſſion. He ſaid, that if gentlemen did not attend their duty in Parliament, it was no argument, why matters of ſuch conſequence ſhould be prevented from going forward; for though certainly it was deſirable to tranſact the preſent buſineſs in a full Houſe, if ſuch a one were to be had, it was of ſuch a nature, that if it could be done in a Houſe conſiſting of but two members, it ought to be ſo, rather than left undone.

Mr.

Mr. *Beaufoy* roſe, and anſwered Mr. Eden in nearly the following words: Mr Beaufoy.

The right honourable gentleman, if I do not miſunderdand him, has obſerved, that the altering from the 1ſt of October to the 1ſt of June, the day preſcribed for the commencement of the herring fiſhery, will, in a great meaſure, reſtore the law to what it was before the act of the 19th of His preſent Majeſty was paſſed, and he wiſhes to know what reaſon can be aſſigned for re-appointing a time, which the Legiſlature on proof, he preſumes, of its inexperience, thought proper to change. I believe, Sir, an account of the circumſtances which occaſioned that change will anſwer the right honourable gentleman's queſtion in a manner the moſt ſatisfactory.

I have already had occaſion to remark, that the Dutch begin their fiſhery in June, and that before the 1ſt of October, which is the time preſcribed by the act of the 19th of His preſent Majeſty, for the commencement of the Engliſh fiſhery, the herrings are gone by, thoſe only excepted which loiter in the lakes of Scotland, and conſtitute what is called the winter fiſhery.

Now it happens, that to this fiſhery alone, which is often within a mile of their dwellings, the inhabitants of Scotland are attached, and it alſo happens, that the act of the 19th of the King, was brought in by a noble Lord (Lord Frederick Campbell) whoſe connections are in that part of the iſland. Hence it probably was, that in a bill for the regulation of the fiſhery, he thought of no other than that in which the people of his own neighbourhood were engaged, by which means the act has legiſlated (I believe very unintentionally on his part) for the benefit of the weſtern diſtricts of Scotland, without the leaſt regard to the intereſts of the reſt of the kingdom. It will accordingly be found, that the whole, or nearly the whole of the bounty on the tonnage of veſſels employed in the herring fiſhery, has been monopolized by thoſe particular diſtricts; and that not a ſingle veſſel from any part of the iſland has been engaged in the ſummer fiſhery, the only one to which the Dutch have ever applied; and which has ſometimes given employment to more than 2 ,000 of their ſeamen.

Is the right honourable gentleman unapprized, that I wiſh the Legiſlature to correct a miſtake, into which they, as well as the noble Lord who propoſed the act of the 19th of His Majeſty, have inadvertently been led? I am ſure he does

not mean to exclude the Engliſh from the ſummer fiſhery; the only one for white herrings which their ſituation permits them to purſue yet relatively to them, the preſent law is as abſurd as an act for the encouragement of agriculture would be, if it appointed the month of Auguſt for the ſowing time, and January for the ſeaſon of harveſt.

The very perſons who ſolicited the act of the 19th of the King, if they had underſtood the real intereſt of their fiſheries, or rather, if that intereſt had been the real object of their purſuit, would not have wiſhed that the time of ſailing ſhould be changed from June to October, for it is obvious, that on every commercial principle, the employing their veſſels and their men in the ſummer fiſhery, would have enabled them to have carried on the winter fiſhery with increaſe of advantage But I fear, that as the bounty, much more than the fiſhery, is often the object of the voyage, ſo the ſecuring the bounty was the principal object with thoſe at whoſe ſolicitation that noble Lord was induced to propoſe the change So entirely forgotten indeed has been the intereſts of the fiſhery, conſidered as a national object, that Government has been known to pay a bounty of 150l. on a ſingle barrel of herrings, whoſe utmoſt worth did not exceed five and twenty ſhillings.

Under theſe circumſtances, I am perſuaded the Committee will be of opinion, that the alteration made by the 19th of His preſent Majeſty was injudicious; and that veſſels ſailing on the fiſhery, ſhould be allowed to take their departure on the 1ſt of June, by which means they will reach the fiſhing ground a few days before the arrival of the Dutch, a preference to which, in their own ſeas, and upon their own coaſts, they are certainly intitled

The right honourable gentleman deſired alſo to know what reaſon can be aſſigned for bringing forward the buſineſs of the fiſheries in the preſent ſeſſion of Parliament, a buſineſs which, in his opinion, might have ſlept without the leaſt inconvenience till the Houſe ſhall again be convened.

Sir, I might obſerve upon this occaſion, that the buſineſs of the fiſheries, though it has not before been diſcuſſed in a Committee of the whole Houſe, ought not to be conſidered as new to a large proportion of its members, for a great part of the Houſe were included in a Committee, which at a late period of the laſt ſeſſion, and in that which at a much earlier of the preſent, were appointed for the examination of the ſubject.

I might

I might obſerve, that if the right honourable gentleman himſelf is wholly uninformed on the buſineſs, his want of information is voluntary, and ought not to be pleaded as a reaſon for delay. But waving ſuch arguments, allow me to aſk, what motive can he alledged for poſtponing the removal of grievances whoſe exiſtence is demonſtrated by thoſe two Reports of your Committee that have already been offered to the Houſe, and printed for the uſe of its members? for I am not chargeable with the abſurdity which the right honourable gentleman ſuppoſes, that of moving reſolutions on the evidence of a *future* Report; as not one of the reſolutions goes beyond the proofs which the two former Reports have already eſtabliſhed.

When I firſt opened the grounds of the motions I intended to make, I obſerved, that but little remained of the period for which the bounty on the tonnage of veſſels employed in the herring fiſhery was given. That before the period ſhall expire, it is of importance to determine, by actual experiment, whether the bounty, which at preſent is an uſeleſs expence to the Public, may not be made effectual to its end, by the removal of thoſe countervailing reſtrictions which the very act that grants the bounty has prepoſterouſly impoſed. Now, if the removal of thoſe abſurd reſtraints ſhould be delayed, as the right honourable gentleman propoſes, to a future year, the law which gives the bounty will expire before any fair experiment can be made, of what, when unfettered, that bounty will do. Thus, the Legiſlature will be called upon to decide on the propriety of diſcontinuing or of renewing the encouragement, without ſufficient experience to guide their judgement and direct their deciſion

I know it is often aſſerted, and even by intelligent men has been frequently believed, that the induſtry of the Dutch, and the low rate of intereſt among them, which certainly enable them to trade for a low profit, will always give to their fiſhermen a decided advantage. But a little reflection on known and acknowledged facts, will be ſufficient to diſprove this haſty and unwarranted concluſion, for, is it not obvious, that the induſtry of the Dutch is as great, and the intereſt of their money as low, when employed in the whale fiſhery as in any other? Yet, in the fiſhery to Greenland, the Engliſh have a decided ſuperiority, and in the fiſhery for whales in the ſouthern ſeas, Britain has ſcarcely any competitor. Her Newfoundland fiſhermen have alſo gained an acknowledged aſcendency it is only in the fiſhery for herrings, a fiſhery upon her own coaſts; a fiſhery which ſhe alone has

the means of continuing through the winter, uniting thereby the advantage of both ſeaſons, it is only in that fiſhery, in which ſhe has every natural advantage, that her exertions have failed of ſucceſs, and that Holland preſerves her aſcendency. Now what can be the cauſe of ſo ſtrange and ſo unnatural a phenomenon? Sir, the cauſe is ſufficiently obvious; our *laws*, the capricious, irrational, unjuſt reſtrictions impoſed on the herring fiſhery by our *laws*, are the ſole reaſon of its failure. No foreign induſtry, no ſkill, no perſeverance, no active reſolution of foreigners, could have weighed down the exertions of the Engliſh, their own *Legiſlature* alone could have baffled their efforts, their own *Legiſlature* could have ſunk their ſpirits and rendered all their endeavours ineffectual.

Sir, I am anxious, and I believe the Committee will be anxious, that this juſt reproach ſhould as ſpeedily as poſſible be removed. Wholly removed I know it cannot be till the ſalt laws are reviſed, and till the duty on water-borne coal in Scotland be repealed but if the reſolutions which I am now about to move ſhall meet the approbation of the Committee, and afterwards receive the ſanction of the Legiſlature, ſome of the principal abſurdities which diſgrace our ſtatute books will be corrected, ſeveral of the chief obſtacles to the ſucceſs of our fiſheries will be removed, and hopes will be given, that in time, the Legiſlature may permit the herring fiſhery to be carried on upon the ſame principles as a manufacture, in which every man is at liberty to purſue his own intereſts in his own way.

The reſolutions were then agreed to, and a bill ordered in upon them.

On the motion for going into a Committee on the Weſtminſter-bill,

Mr. Fox. Mr *Fox* ſaid, he would at preſent only object to the following extraordinary words in the preamble, "Whereas "certain inconveniencies may ariſe" the interpretation of which was, that the preſent ſtate of the law admitted of ſuch inconvenience ariſing; now, as he always held that, without the moſt criminal conduct in a returning officer, theſe evils could not be experienced, he muſt oppoſe that interpretation of the preamble.

The Attorney General. The *Attorney General* contended for the propriety of the preamble, and the neceſſity of his bill.

The queſtion was put on going into a Committee, on which the numbers were,

Ayes - - - - - - -	72
Noes - - - - - - -	32

The

The Houſe then went into the Committee. Mr. Fox and Mr Sheridan reprobated the bill. Mr. Pitt and the Attorney General defended it.

Mr *Courtenay* ironically complimented the Attorney General on the able and unanſwerable manner in which he had defended himſelf, and ſaid, if he were not of a very compaſſionate and feeling diſpoſition, he ſhould not have troubled the Committee with a word on the ſubject, but as he liſtened with indignation to the unmerited and ſevere ſtrictures that had been thrown out againſt the learned gentleman, which he ſaw had affected him deeply, and as he always (from ſympathetic and ſentimental feelings) pitied a great man in diſtreſs, he could not longer ſit ſilent. He then obſerved, that an unfair and uncandid advantage had been taken to attack the learned gentleman, whilſt his able colleague (the Solicitor General) was confined to the chair, and precluded from aſſiſting him, with thoſe brilliant abilities, and that profound profeſſional knowledge, which always carried conviction to the Houſe. In conſequence of this, the learned gentleman had been overpowered, by having the voluminous code of law contained in Ruffhead's edition of the Statutes at Large flung at his head, and this malicious ſpecies of attack had been carried on in the moſt inſulting and provoking manner—not by learned gentlemen of the ſame profeſſion, but by honourable members of the Houſe, who ſeemed (ſomehow or other) to have acquired more preciſe and accurate ideas of law and the conſtitution than His Majeſty's Attorney General. However, he hoped the learned gentleman would not ſink into deſpondency and deſpair on this trying occaſion. He might ſtill comfort himſelf, by reflecting, that his unlearned opponents were not lawyers, and therefore his credit and reputation could not ſuffer by any momentary victory they obtained, as they could not put him into the courts of law. He begged the learned gentleman to conſider himſelf in the ſituation of Sancho Panca, when he was beat with the ſhoemaker's laſt; Don Quixote very philoſophically proved to the diſconſolate Sancho, that the meanneſs of the inſtrument took away the diſgrace of the drubbing, but that if he had been conquered by a ſquire of his own rank and degree, the ignominy would have been indelible. This Mr Courtenay aſſerted was a caſe in point, and applied very forcibly to the Attorney General. He intreated the learned gentleman to derive patience, and to draw conſolation from ſo appoſite an example. An honourable member (Mr. Lee) had obſerved, that no man was capable of drawing up a bill better than the learned

Mr Courtenay.

learned gentleman: the contradictions, abſurdities, and blunders which had been oſtentatiouſly diſplayed in the courſe of the debate, all conſpired to evince the excellency of the Bill; they were ſo very obvious, that they were immediately diſcovered, and perfectly intelligible to the meaneſt capacity; and conſequently there could be no deception, no legal ſophiſtry meant to be impoſed on the minds and underſtandings of men, when the faults were written in capitals, and the law, reaſon, and profeſſional knowledge, on which inſidious Acts of Parliament are ſometimes founded (but not by the learned gentleman) were as perfectly illegible as if they had been written in lemon juice. Judge Blackſtone, he ſaid, had remarked, that the Emperor Caligula uſed to promulgate his laws, by having them written in a ſmall hand, and hung up his tablet ſo high that the people could not read them, yet he exacted ſevere penalties for the ſlighteſt breach of them. What a ſtriking contraſt was there between the conduct of a Roman tyrant and an Engliſh Attorney General, who adapted and lowered the ſenſe of his election laws to the humbleſt capicity, and provided no penalty whatever for the infringement of them. He likewiſe particularly admired the candour and ingenuouſneſs of the learned gentleman, who had declared fairly and openly, 'that he had not read the ſtatutes, nor taken any pains to find out whether there was any neceſſity for introducing the preſent Bill or not; nay, ſo very innocent and undeſigning did he appear, that he even did not know the name of his own Bill, probably thinking a title might be beſtowed on it, with more propriety when it went to the other Houſe.—There was no ſubtilety, no trick, no deception, he ſaid, in the learned gentleman, all was fair, liberal and candid in his proceedings, and except it had been univerſally known that he really was His Majeſty's Attorney General, no one could ever have ſuſpected it from the profeſſional talents he had exhibited that night. This modeſty was certainly a peculiar merit in the learned gentleman, and a ſingularity not practiſed by any of his predeceſſors in office, but which deſerved the higheſt eulogiums.—The learned gentleman had, likewiſe, he obſerved, in the exuberance of his fancy, triumphantly aſſerted, that there was a ſtatute purpoſely framed to regulate polls and ſcrutinies in the election of Members of Parliament for the City of Norwich, and dwelt with ſome degree of exultation on the error of an honourable gentleman, (Mr Windham) who had preſumed to differ from him on this point However, the fact turned out, that the bill alluded to was entitled, "an act for regulating

lating the meaſure of Norwich ſtuffs and druggets; and for electing proper officers, &c. to carry the ſame into execution" This ſlight miſtake, with five or ſix more of a ſimilar nature, had been pointed out, and ſeemed to have made (very improperly indeed) ſome impreſſion on the Houſe, but ſuch futile objections were inſtantly obviated by the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who obſerved with his uſual ſagacity and diſcernment, that there was no room for triumph, by exhibiting proofs of ignorance, folly, and precipitation in the bill, where every cauſe was pregnant with them, and that it was an eaſy taſk for gentlemen who ſtudied the ſtatutes for the purpoſe of cavilling and faction, to embaraſs and perplex his learned friend, who had repeatedly acknowledged he had never read one of them Mr. Courtenay threw out a variety of ſarcaſtic and ludicrous remarks to the ſame purpoſe, all of which were received by the Houſe with great reliſh.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt and Mr Adam alſo ſpoke. On a diviſion on Mr Fox's motion the numbers were,

Ayes,	-	-	-	-	44
Noes,	-	-	-	-	89

They then went through the clauſes.

Thurſday, July 7.

A debate took place on a claim of Meſſrs Mac Knight, Parker, and Cormick, as American ſufferers.

The motion was withdrawn.

Friday, July 8.

Mr *Sheridan* deſired to know from Miniſters, whether the bill for preventing the exportation of manufactures and materials for the manufacture of iron beyond ſeas, extended to Ireland. And not receiving a ſatisfactory anſwer, he moved that the bill be printed. After ſome debate he withdrew his motion Mr Sheridan.

Monday, July 11.

Sir *James Erſkine* moved that the Weſtminſter election bill be recommitted. This produced a deſultary debate The bill was recommitted, and received various amendments. Sir James Erſkine.

Wedneſday, July 13.

The Houſe in Committee on the bill for the Commiſſioners of Public Accounts.

Lord

Lord Beauchamp.

Lord *Beauchamp* roſe to move for a clauſe in the preſent bill; the object of which was to give a very brave and deſerving officer (Sir Henry Clinton) an opportunity of vindicating his reputation, which he felt conſiderably affected by the Reports of the Commiſſioners of Public Accounts. The Reports he alluded to were the 4th and 7th. The principal cauſe of uneaſineſs that thoſe Reports occaſioned proceeded from their ſtating, that although His Majeſty's eſtabliſhment in America was very much decreaſed, and continued to decreaſe after the end of General Sir William Howe's command, yet the expence of that eſtabliſhment did increaſe conſiderably. Lord Beauchamp explained how this circumſtance aroſe At the beginning of the war, a conſiderable part of the proviſions for the army were ſent from Europe, and therefore did not affect the account of extraordinaries of America. Beſides, that ſuch proviſions as were procured in America, were had at a much cheaper rate at the commencement than they could have been at the concluſion of the war. It alſo appeared from the Report, that the Expence of Lord Cornwallis's army was much leſs in proportion to the ſize of each, than that of Sir Henry Clinton. This he pointed out to be a neceſſary conſequence of their different ſituations, Lord Cornwallis being in the field, but Sir Henry Clinton cooped up in New York, and depending upon the Loyaliſts for proviſions for his army, who of courſe made their own terms with him. Another indirect cenſure was thrown upon Sir Henry, by a ſuggeſtion that the hiring of waggons and horſes was a leſs œconomical way of doing the King's ſervice, than the buying them would have been, as they might have been afterwards ſold to advantage, but if any gentleman would conſider the ſituation of our affairs before our army quitted that country, or at the time when we evacuated it, they would be very well able to form a judgement, that it was no time for diſpoſing of uſeleſs ſtores of any kind, and that the waggons and cattle would by no means bring any thing like their value Though all theſe circumſtances ſufficiently accounted for appearances, which, if unaccounted for, muſt leave a ſtrong impreſſion againſt Sir Henry Clinton, and though his eſtabliſhed reputation and acknowledged integrity placed him far beyond any ſuſpicion of diſhonourable dealings in his command, or any want of that œconomy which it was ſo much his duty to practiſe, yet as thoſe reaſons had not been inveſtigated by the Commiſſioners, they were of courſe omitted in the Report, and therefore the ground of a probable charge—the fact—appeared againſt him.

and

and would go down to poſterity without the vindication, by which means, at a future period, the deſcendants of one of the firſt families in the kingdom would look back to one of their anceſtors as a perſon guilty of public peculation or prodigality. Sir Henry had applied to the Commiſſioners to reviſe their Report, and to add to it obſervations ariſing from ſuch materials as he ſhould lay before them, by which his character would receive ample juſtice, but they had refuſed to comply, alledging that it was not within their province to interfere in matter of private crimination or vindication. There was, therefore, no alternative to preſerve the name of Sir Henry Clinton from diſgrace, but to inſert a clauſe in the preſent Bill, impowering and enjoining them to reviſe the report in queſtion, and to hear ſuch evidence as could be produced concerning the reaſons that occaſioned the facts ſtated in that Report He then moved a clauſe to that effect

General Burgoyne ſeconded the motion

Colonel *Dundas* objected to the motion, as giving the Commiſſioners new and extraordinary powers. Mr. Pitt objected to it for the ſame reaſons. On the queſtion being put the motion was negatived without a diviſion [For a full account of this buſineſs, ſee the Narrative of Sir Henry Clinton, printed for J. Debrett] Col Dundas

Thurſday, July 14.

Mr *Fox* brought up a petition againſt the Weſtminſter bill, and moved that they might be heard by Counſel, which on a diviſion was loſt Mr Fox.

Ayes	-	-	-	-	18
Noes	-	-	-	-	55

On the queſtion that the bill do paſs, the numbers were,

Ayes	-	-	-	-	46
Noes	-	-	-	-	23

Friday, July 15.

The Attorney General (Mr. Arden) propoſed ſome regulations in the Bill for taxing Attornies, to ſerve as a recompence to that body for the burden, which were refuſed.

Tueſday, July 19.

Conference with the Lords on the Iriſh Propoſitions, wherein it appeared by a paper which the Lords delivered to the Commons, that they (the Lords) had made ſome alterations

When the Commons returned, Mr. Eden mentioned theſe alterations which had been made by the Lords, and his doubts as to the right and power of their Lordſhips to make them

Mr Pitt Mr *Pitt* ſaid this caſe differed from the caſe of a money bill it was a regulation only, and that not binding until paſſed in the form of a bill.

Friday, July 22

Mr Chancellor Pitt Mr Chancellor *Pitt* ſtated that in conſequence of the very ſevere drought which had prevailed both in Great Britain and the Continent, immenſe quantities of hay had been exported, and we were threatened with the exportation of ſtill greater quantities. He moved for a Bill to prevent this evil

Leave was given, and the ſame day the Bill was run through all its ſtages and paſſed.

The next order of the day was for agreeing to the amendments made by the Lords in the Iriſh Propoſitions. A debate of ſome length took place, in which the arguments of the ſeveral Speakers for and againſt, the propoſed Commercial Regulations with Ireland were the ſame as before. The reſult was the Commons agreed to the amendments made by the Lords, and added ſome farther amendments of their own. After which there was another conference, when the Lords agreed to the laſt amendments made by the Commons.

The following is an authentic copy of the Propoſitions now agreed to, and in the proper form of reſolutions.

"Reſolved, I. That it is highly important to the general intereſt of the Britiſh empire that the intercourſe and commerce between Great Britain and Ireland ſhould be finally regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries

"II That it is conſiſtent with the eſſential intereſts of the manufactures, revenues, commerce, and navigation of Great Britain, that a full participation of commercial advantages ſhould be permanently ſecured to Ireland, whenever a proviſion, equally permanent and ſecure, ſhall be made by the Parliament of that Kingdom towards defraying, in proportion to its growing proſperity, the neceſſary expences, in time of peace, of protecting the trade and general intereſts of the empire

"III. That, towards carrying into full effect ſo deſirable a ſettlement it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, except thoſe of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to

"the

" the Streights of Magellan, ſhould be imported into each " kingdom from the other reciprocally, under the ſame re- " gulations, and at the ſame duties (if ſubject to duties) to " which they would be liable, when imported directly from " the country or place from whence the ſame may have " been imported into Great Britain or Ireland reſpectively, " as the caſe may be, and that all duties originally paid on " importation into either country reſpectively, except on ar- " rack and foreign brandy, and on rum, and all ſorts of " ſtrong waters not imported from the Britiſh Colonies in " the Weſt Indies, ſhall be fully drawn back, within a time " to be fixed, on exportation to the other, but, nevertheleſs, " that the duties ſhall continue to be protected and guarded, " as at preſent, by withholding the drawback until a certi- " ficate from the proper officers of the revenue in the king- " dom to which the export may be made, ſhall be returned " and compared with the entry outwards.

" IV. That it is highly important to the general in- " tereſts of the Britiſh empire, that the laws for regulating " trade and navigation ſhould be the ſame in Great Britain " and Ireland, and therefore that it is eſſential, towards car- " rying into effect the preſent ſettlement, that all laws which " have been made, or ſhall be made, in Great Britain, for " ſecuring excluſive privileges to the ſhips and mariners of " Great Britain, Ireland and the Britiſh Colonies and plan- " tations, and for regulating and reſtraining the trade of the " Britiſh Colonies and plantations (ſuch laws impoſing the " ſame reſtraints, and conferring the ſame benefits on the " ſubjects of both kingdoms) ſhould be in force in Ireland, " by laws to be paſſed in the Parliament of that kingdom, " for the ſame time, and in the ſame manner, as in Great " Britain.

" V. That it is farther eſſential to this ſettlement, that " all goods and commodities of the growth, produce, or " manufacture of Britiſh or foreign Colonies in America, " or the Weſt Indies, and the Britiſh or foreign ſettlements " on the coaſt of Africa, imported into Ireland, ſhould, on " importation, be ſubject to the ſame duties and regulations " as the like goods are, or from time to time ſhall be ſubject " to, upon importation into Great Britain, or if prohibited " to be imported into Great Britain, ſhall be prohibited in " like manner from being imported into Ireland.

" VI. That, in order to prevent illicit practices in- " jurious to the revenue and commerce of both kingdoms, " it is expedient, that all goods, whether of the growth,

" produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, or of any foreign country, which ſhall hereafter be imported " into Great Britain from Ireland, or into Ireland from " Great Britain, ſhould be put (by laws to be paſſed in the " Parliaments of the two kingdoms) under the ſame regula- " tions with reſpect to bonds, cockets, and other inſtru- " ments, to which the like goods are now ſubject in paſſing " from one port of Great Britain to another.

" VII. That for the like purpoſe, it is alſo expedient, " that when any goods, the growth, produce, or manu- " facture of the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands, or any other of the Britiſh Colonies or plantations, ſhall be ſhipped from Ireland for Great Britain, they ſhall be accompanied with ſuch original certificates of the revenue officers of the ſaid Colonies as ſhall be required by law on importation into Great Britain, and that, when the whole quantity included in one certificate ſhall not be ſhipped at any one time, the original certificate, properly indorſed as to quantity, ſhould be ſent with the firſt parcel, and to identify the remainder, if ſhipped within a time to be limited, new certificates ſhould be granted by the principal officers of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a regiſter of the original documents, ſpecifying the quantities before ſhipped from thence, by what veſſels, and to what ports

" VIII. That it is eſſential, for carrying into effect the preſent ſettlement, that all goods exported from Ireland to the Britiſh Colonies in the Weſt Indies, or in America, or to the Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, or to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, ſhould from time to time be made liable to ſuch duties and drawbacks, and put under ſuch regulations, as may be neceſſary, in order that the ſame may not be exported with leſs incumbrance of duties or impoſitions than the like goods ſhall be burdened with when exported from Great Britain.

" IX. That it is eſſential to the general commercial intereſts of the empire, that, ſo long as the Parliament of this kingdom ſhall think it adviſable that the commerce to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights Magellan, ſhall be carried on ſolely by an excluſive company, having liberty to import into the port of London only, no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the ſaid countries ſhould be allowed to be imported into Ireland but through Great Britain, except dye ſtuffs, drugs, cotton or other wool, and ſpiceries, which

" which may be imported into Ireland from foreign European " countries, ſo long as the ſame are importable from foreign " European countries into Great Britain. and that it ſhall " be lawful to export ſuch goods of the growth, produce, or " manufacture of any of the countries beyond the Cape of " Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, from Great " Britain to Ireland, with the ſame duties retained thereon " as are now retained on their being exported to that " kingdom, but that an account ſhall be kept of the duties " retained, and not drawn back on the ſaid goods exported to " Ireland, and that the amount thereof ſhall be remitted, by " the Receiver General of His Majeſty's cuſtoms in Great " Britain, to the proper officer of the revenue in Ireland, " to be placed to the account of His Majeſty's revenue " there, ſubject to the diſpoſal of the Parliament of that " kingdom, and that the ſhips going from Great Britain " to any of the ſaid countries beyond the Cape of Good " Hope to the Streights of Magellan, ſhould not be re- " ſtrained from touching at any of the ports in Ireland, " and taking on board there any of the goods of the " growth, produce, or manufacture of that kingdom; and " that no ſhips be allowed to clear out from Ireland for any " of the ſaid countries, but ſuch ſhips as ſhall be freighted " by the ſaid Company, and which ſhall have ſailed from the " port of London and that, whenever the commerce to the " ſaid countries ſhall ceaſe to be ſo carried on ſolely by " ſuch an excluſive company, the goods, the growth, pro- " duce, or manufacture of the ſaid countries beyond the " Cape of Good Hope, to the Straights of Magellan, " ſhould be importable into Ireland, from the Britiſh or " foreign ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies, ſubject to the " ſame duties and regulations as the like goods from time " to time ſhall be ſubject to on importation into Great " Britain, and if prohibited to be imported into Great " Britain, ſhould in like manner be prohibited from being " imported into Ireland.

" X. That no prohibition ſhould exiſt, in either country, " againſt the importation, uſe, or ſale of any article, the " growth, produce, or manufacture of the other, except " ſuch as either kingdom may judge expedient, from time " to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biſcuits; and " except ſuch qualified prohibitions, at preſent contained in " any act of the Britiſh or Iriſh Parliaments, as do abſolutely " prevent the importation of goods or manufactures, or materials

" materials of manufactures, but only regulate the weight, " the ſize, the packages, or other particular circumſtances, " or preſcribe the built or country, and dimenſions of the " ſhips importing the ſame; and alſo, except on ammu- " nition, arms, gunpowder, and other utenſils of war, " importable only by virtue of His Majeſty's licenſe, and " that the duty on the importation of every ſuch article (if " ſubject to duty in either country) ſhould be preciſely the " ſame in the one country as in the other, except where " an addition may be neceſſary in either country, in " conſequence of an internal duty, on any ſuch article of " its own conſumption, or an internal bounty in the coun- " try where ſuch article is grown, produced, or manu- " factured, and except ſuch duties as either kingdom may " judge expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, " malt, flour, and biſcuits.

" XI. That, in all caſes in which the duties on articles " of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of either country " are different, on the importation into the other, it is " expedient that they ſhould be reduced, in the kingdom in " which they are the higheſt, to an amount not exceeding " the duties which were payable in the other on the 17th " day of May, 1782, ſo that in every caſe in which any " article was charged with a duty, on importation into " Ireland, of ten and a half per centum, or upwards, on " the 17th day of May, 1782, the amount of the duties " ſo reduced ſhall not be leſs than the ſaid duty of ten " and a half per centum, unleſs in caſes where any " articles are importable duty free into either kingdom " from the other, which articles ſhall hereafter be im- " ported duty free into each from the other reſpectively; " and that all ſuch articles ſhould be exportable, from the " kingdom into which they ſhall be imported, as free " from duties as the ſimiliar commodities, or home manu- " facture of the ſame kingdom provided always, that " when any ſuch articles ſhall be liable, in either country, " to any duty on being exported to any foreign country, " the ſame articles, when re-exported from either of the " ſaid kingdoms into which they ſhall have been ſo im- " ported as aforeſaid, ſhall pay the like duties as if they " had been originally exported from the kingdom of " their growth, produce, or manufacture, to ſuch foreign " country.

XII. That

XII. " That it is alſo proper, that, in all caſes in which " the articles of the conſumption of either kingdom ſhall " be charged with an internal duty on the manufacture, " ſuch manufacture, when imported from the other, may be " charged with a farther duty on importation adequate to " countervail the internal duty on the manufacture, ſuch " farther duty to continue ſo long only as the internal " conſumption ſhall be charged with the duty or duties to " balance which it ſhall be impoſed, provided that the countervailing duty to be paid upon manufactured ſilk imported into any part of Great Britain, ſhall be computed upon the internal duty payable thereon in England; and that, where there is a duty on the raw material of " any manufacture in either kingdom, ſuch manufacture " may, on its importation into the ſaid kingdom from the " other, be charged with ſuch a countervailing duty as " may be ſufficient to ſubject the ſame to burdens adequate " to thoſe which ſuch manufacture is ſubject to in conſequence of ſuch duties on ſuch raw material in the " kingdom into which ſuch manufacture is ſo to be imported, and that the ſaid manufactures ſo imported ſhall " be entitled to ſuch drawbacks or bounties on exportation " as may leave the ſame ſubject to no heavier burden than " the home-made manufacture, and that, in every caſe " where a duty ſhall be payable in either kingdom on " any article carried coaſtwiſe from one port to another of " the ſaid kingdom, the ſame article, when imported from " the other kingdom, ſhould be ſubject to the like duty.

" XIII. That, in order to give permanency to the ſettlement now intended to be eſtabliſhed, it is neceſſary that " no new or additional duties ſhould be hereafter impoſed, " in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of " the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other, except " ſuch additional duties as may be requiſite to balance duties " on internal conſumption, purſuant to the foregoing " reſolution, or in conſequence of bounties remaining on " ſuch article when exported from the other kingdom.

" XIV. That, for the ſame purpoſe, it is neceſſary, " farther, that no new prohibition, or new or additional " duties, ſhould be hereafter impoſed, in either kingdom, on " the exportation of any article of native growth, produce, or manufacture, from the one kingdom to the other, " except ſuch as either kingdom may deem expedient, from " time to time upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biſcuits

" pro-

" provided, that when any article of the growth, produce, " or manufacture of either kingdom, ſhall be prohibited by " the laws of the ſaid kingdom to be exported to foreign " countries, the ſame article, when exported to the other " kingdom, ſhall be prohibited to be re-exported from " thence to any foreign countries.

" XV. That, for the ſame purpoſe, it is neceſſary, that " no bounties whatſoever ſhould be paid or payable, in either " kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, " except ſuch as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and " biſcuits, and except alſo the bounties at preſent given by " Great Britain on beer and ſpirits diſtilled from corn, and " ſuch as are in the nature of drawbacks or compenſations " for duties paid; and that no bounties ſhould be payable in " Ireland on the exportation of any article to any Britiſh " Colonies or plantations, or to the Britiſh ſettlements on " the coaſt of Africa, or Britiſh ſettlements in the Eaſt " Indies, or any manufacture made of ſuch article, unleſs " in caſes where a ſimilar bounty is payable in Great " Britain, on exportation from thence, or where ſuch bounty " is merely in the nature of a drawback or compenſation " of or for duties paid over and above any duties paid " thereon in Great Britain; and that, where any internal " bounty ſhall be given, in either kingdom, on any goods " manufactured therein, and ſhall remain on ſuch goods " when exported, a countervailing duty adequate thereto " may be laid upon the importation of the ſaid goods into " the other kingdom.

" XVI. That it is expedient, for the general benefit of " the Britiſh empire, that the importation of articles from " foreign countries ſhould be regulated, from time to time, " in each kingdom, on ſuch terms as may effectually " favour the importation of ſimilar articles of the growth, " produce, or manufacture of the other; except in the caſe " of materials of manufacture, which are, or hereafter may be allowed to be imported from foreign countries duty free, and that, in all caſes where any articles are or may be ſubject to higher duties on importation into this kingdom, from the countries belonging to any of the ſtates of North America, than the like goods are or may be ſubject to when imported as the growth, produce, or manufacture of the Britiſh Colonies and plantations, or as the produce of the fiſheries carried on by Britiſh ſubjects, ſuch articles ſhall be ſubject to the ſame duties on importation

" portation into Ireland, from the countries belonging to " any of the ſtates of North America, as the ſame are or " may be ſubject to on importation from the ſaid countries " into this kingdom.

" XVII. That it is expedient, that ſuch privileges " of printing and vending books, engravings, prints, maps, " charts, and plans, as are or may be legally poſſeſſed " within Great Britain, under the grant of the Crown or " otherwiſe, and that the copy rights of the authors and " bookſellers, the engraved property of engravers, print and " map ſellers, of Great Britain, ſhould continue to be pro- " tected in the manner they are at preſent by the laws of " Great Britain; and that it is juſt that meaſures ſhould be " taken by the Parliament of Ireland for giving the like " protection to the copy rights of authors and bookſellers, " and to the engraved property of the engravers, print and " map ſellers of that kingdom.

" XVIII That it is expedient, that ſuch excluſive rights " and privileges, ariſing from new inventions, as are now " legally poſſeſſed within Great Britain, under letters " patent from the Crown, ſhall continue to be protected in " the manner they are at preſent by the laws of Great " Britain; and that it is juſt that meaſures ſhould be taken " by the Parliament of Ireland, for giving the like pro- " tection to ſimiliar rights and privileges in that kingdom; " and alſo that it is expedient that regulations ſhould be " adopted, with reſpect to letters patent hereafter to be " granted in the caſe of new inventions, ſo that the rights, " privileges, and reſtrictions, therein granted and contained, " ſhall be of equal force and duration throughout both " kingdoms.

" XIX. That it is expedient, that meaſures ſhould be " taken to prevent diſputes, touching the exerciſe of the " right of the inhabitants of each kingdom to fiſh on the " coaſts of any part of the Britiſh dominions.

" XX. That the appropriation of whatever ſum the " groſs hereditary revenue of the kingdom of Ireland " (the due collection thereof being ſecured by permanent " proviſions) ſhall produce, after deducting all drawbacks, " re-payments, or bounties granted in the nature of draw- " backs, over and above the ſum of ſix hundred and fifty-ſix " thouſand Pounds in each year, towards the ſupport of the " naval force of the empire, to be applied in ſuch manner " as the Parliament of Ireland ſhall direct, by an act to be

" paſſed for that purpoſe, will be a ſatisfactory proviſion,
" porportioned to the growing proſperity of that kingdom,
" towards defraying, in time of peace, the neceſſary expences
" of protecting the trade and general intereſts of the empire."

Mr Chancellor Pitt.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* ſaid, after the long and repeated diſcuſſions that the reſolutions had undergone in that Houſe it would not be neceſſary for him to trouble gentlemen with any thing at that time on the ſubject. If in the courſe of the debate any thing ſhould be ſaid that might call for explanation or require an anſwer, he flattered himſelf he ſhould be permitted to ſpeak to it, he would therefore reſerve himſelf for that occaſion, and would be content for the preſent with moving an addreſs to His Majeſty in order to carry the reſolutions in due form before the Parliament of Ireland.

" That the foregoing reſolutions be laid before His
" Majeſty, with an humble addreſs, aſſuring His Majeſty,
" that His faithful Commons have taken into their moſt
" ſerious conſideration the important ſubject of the commer-
" cial intercouſe between Great Britain and Ireland, recom
" mended in His Majeſty's ſpeech at the opening of the
" preſent ſeſſion, and the reſolutions of the two Houſes of
Parliament in Ireland, which were laid before us, by His
" Majeſty's command, on the 22d day of February laſt

" That, after a long and careful inveſtigation of the
" various queſtions neceſſarily ariſing out of this compre-
" henſive ſubject, we have come to the ſeveral reſolutions
" which we now humbly preſent to His Majeſty, and
" which, we truſt, will form the baſis of an advantageous
" and permanent commercial ſettlement between His Ma-
" jeſty's kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland

" That we have proceeded on the foundation of the
" reſolutions of the Parliament of Ireland, but, in conſi-
" dering ſo extenſive an arrangement, we have found it
" neceſſary to introduce ſome modifications and exceptions,
" and we have added ſuch regulations and conditions, as
" appeared to us indiſpenſably neceſſary for eſtabliſhing the
" propoſed agreement on juſt and equitable principles, and
" for ſecuring to both countries thoſe commercial advan-
" tages, to an equal enjoyment of which they are in future
" to be entitled.

" That His Majeſty's ſubjects in Ireland, being ſecured
" in a full and laſting participation of the trade of the
" Britiſh Colonies, muſt, we are perſuaded, acknowledge the

" juſtice

" juſtice of their continuing to enjoy it on the ſame terms " with His Majeſty's ſubjects in Great Britain:

" And it is, we conceive, equally manifeſt, that, as the " ſhips and mariners of Ireland are to continue, in all " time to come, to enjoy the ſame privileges with thoſe " of Great Britain, the ſame proviſions ſhould be adopted " in Ireland as may be found neceſſary in this country, for " ſecuring thoſe advantages excluſively to the ſubjects of " the empire this object is eſſentially connected with the " maritime ſtrength of His Majeſty's dominions, and con- " ſequently with the ſafety and proſperity both of Great " Britain and Ireland

" We therefore deem it indiſpenſable that theſe points " ſhould be ſecured, conditions as neceſſary to the exiſtence " and duration of the agreement between the two coun- " tries they can only be carried into effect by laws to " be paſſed in the Parliament of Ireland, which is alone " competent to bind His Majeſty's ſubjects in that king- " dom, and whoſe legiſlative rights we ſhall ever hold as " ſacred as our own.

" It remains for the Parliament of Ireland to judge, ac- " cording to their wiſdom and diſcretion, of theſe con- " ditions, as well as of every other part of the ſettlement " propoſed to be eſtabliſhed by mutual conſent:

" Our purpoſe in theſe reſolutions is, to promote alike " the commercial intereſts of His Majeſty's ſubjects in both " countries, and we are perſuaded, that the common pro- " ſperity of the two kingdoms will be thereby greatly " advanced, the ſubjects of each will in future apply them- " ſelves to thoſe branches of commerce which they can " exerciſe with moſt advantage, and the wealth, ſo diffuſed " through every part, will operate as a general benefit to " the whole.

" We have thus far performed our part in this important " buſineſs, and we truſt, that, in the whole of its progreſs, " reciprocal intereſts and mutual affection will inſure that " ſpirit of union ſo eſſentially neceſſary to the great end " which the two countries have equally in view:

" In this perſuaſion we look forward, with confidence, " to the final completion of a meaſure which, while it " tends to perpetuate harmony and friendſhip between the " two kingdoms, muſt, by augmenting their reſources, " uniting their efforts, and conſolidating their ſtrength,

" afford His Majeſty the ſureſt means of eſtabliſhing, on a " laſting foundation, the ſafety proſperity, and glory of the " empire."

Lord Beauchamp.

Lord *Beauchamp* declared he could not give his aſſent to the propoſed addreſs, becauſe it beſtowed praiſe on Miniſters to which he did not think them entitled, either from the wiſdom of the meaſure itſelf, or from the diſcretion with which it had been conducted, and that he doubted the propriety of addreſſing the Crown at all till we knew the fate of our propoſitions in the ſiſter kingdom. He obſerved, that the Iriſh Parliament ſtand in an awkward predicament, they have adopted a ſyſtem, concluding it to be final, they have thanked His Majeſty for it, and they now have the mortification to ſee it almoſt totally changed by the nation for which it was intended; and he cautioned the Houſe againſt riſking a ſimilar humiliation. He ſaid, that the addreſs was in fact a manifeſto addreſſed to the Britiſh manufacturers on one ſide, and to the Iriſh nation on the other, to calm the apprehenſions of both. that it was unuſual for Parliament to enter into ſuch a juſtification of their meaſures, and the pains taken to remove objections, betray a conſciouſneſs that they are well founded; that however the good ſenſe of both kingdoms will attend to the real merits of the queſtion abſtracted from all party colouring, and the noble Lord ſaid, he thought the addreſs was objectionable in another light, as it held out the propoſitions as the ultimatum of this kingdom, to which we were at all events determined to adhere: ſuch language had, indeed, been held in every ſtage of the buſineſs, and yet we had ſubſtantially altered it in each, and, perhaps, if we are to judge of the future by the paſt, we may ſtill be far removed from the point of union on which both nations may be diſpoſed to ſign and ſeal for ever. He ſaid, that if the aſſurance held out by the addreſs of laſting harmony between the two kingdoms, as the ſure conſequence of this ſyſtem, was well founded, the ſafety of this manufacture, or of that branch of trade, was a very inferior conſideration, that it was natural, however, to conſider how far facts ſupported this aſſertion, and he appealed to the experience of the Houſe, whether, on any former occaſion, ſuch a numerous and reſpectable body of manufacturers had ever appeared at the bar of the two Houſes. That what they have aſſerted here, they have confirmed on oath in another place, and they perſevere in their original oppoſition, notwithſtanding all the changes which this ſyſtem has received. He ſaid, that it was unjuſt to charge the repreſentatives of that intereſt with illiberal feelings in regard

gard to Ireland, becauſe, burdened as they are, they muſt naturally be jealous of every innovation; eſpecially when introduced in ſuch dark and oracular theoriſms of trade, that even members of this Houſe were ſo puzzled with them, as to declare that they ſupported the ſyſtem, not becauſe they underſtood it, but becauſe they placed an unbounded confidence in the Miniſter who propoſed it. If, indeed, the only object we have in view is to reduce the port-duties of the two kingdoms nearer to an equality, that object may be gradually attained without convulſing both by one violent experiment, and the Britiſh manufacturers would be too liberal to object to it in thoſe inſtances, when genuine equality would be the reſult. But he ſaid the policy of adopting one large ſpecious meaſure to aſſimilate, at a ſtroke, the ſituation of two countries differing in every circumſtance, was preferred to the obſolete wiſdom of applying a remedy as the caſe might happen to require it. If it is objected, that on a great political queſtion of uniting two kingdoms the wiſhes of manufacturers are not to determine the conduct of the legiſlature, the anſwer is, that if appearances are to be truſted, no ſuch union is likely to ariſe out of the preſent meaſures. Will any gentleman aſſert that the inhabitants of Dublin are now waiting, with outſtretched arms, in eager expectation of the boon and bleſſing which we have prepared for them? The very contrary is the fact; if Great Britain wiſhes for delay, Ireland appears unequivocally to wiſh alſo for delay, the haſty ratification of this treaty is deprecated with equal anxiety by both; many Iriſh counties, and great commercial cities, have already ſpoken out, many others might have done the ſame; but a general expectation has prevailed, and, perhaps, at this hour, is ſcarcely extinguiſhed, that the ſyſtem will, in ſome ſtage or other, be again accommodated to their wiſhes. He ſaid that it was a very weak mode of reaſoning, which infers, that both kingdoms cannot have cauſe to complain, and what is loſt by one muſt be acquired by the other. In different points of view it may be diſadvantageous to both; it may cruſh the infant manufactory of Ireland in the firſt inſtance, and ultimately tend to the removal of thoſe of Great Britain. Should any leakage happen from it in our revenue, Ireland would receive a ſlender compenſation for her ſhare of the calamity by the increaſe of her exports, or ſhould the laws of navigation be leſs faithfully adminiſtered, a part of the carrying trade, and of our naval ſtrength may be transferred not from one kingdom to the other, but to the natural rivals of both beſides, this is a complex arrangement, conſiſting of

politics

politics as well as commerce, Ireland may complain in the one inſtance, and Great Britain feel herſelf aggrieved in the other. If this is the caſe in any degree, why ſhould we obtrude upon both kingdoms what is grudgingly given by the one, and reluctantly accepted by the other? Will the bonds of affection be ſtrengthened by fixing them into this political marriage, as it has been called? The diſguſt of one party is ſufficient to embitter that ſtate, will the diſinclination of both improve the proſpect of future happineſs? He farther ſaid, this meaſure had been vindicated, on a ſuppoſed determination in the Iriſh Parliament to lay protecting duties, of which four inſtances have been produced in the Report of the Privy Council, who were directed, after the meaſure was opened in Ireland, to find out the beſt reaſons on which it might be juſtified here. That in none of theſe could he trace any ſpirit of hoſtility to the trade of Great Britain. The caſe of beer was ſimply this: the inland exciſe having been augmented, it became neceſſary to raiſe the port duty, that foreign beer might not have a new advantage over the home-made beer in the Iriſh market. The duty on wire is equally inconcluſive to the purpoſe for which it is adduced; it was pointed againſt the importation of a Dutch, not an Engliſh commodity, and as it laſted only a year, if it proves any thing, it proves the direct reverſe of what the Privy Council have endeavoured to convey. The caſe of muſlins and callicoes is only the application of an old law of Charles II, and the increaſe of duty upon imported ſugars aroſe from the different principles on which the drawback of our laſt duty was calculated, of which the Iriſh Parliament made the application, and fixed their port duty accordingly. But the noble Lord ſaid, that though two or three ſtraggling inſtances might be found in the Iriſh ſtatute book of protecting duties, they would not juſtify the broad averment of the Privy Council. That either a ſyſtem of prohibiting duties on Britiſh manufactures muſt be expected, or the preſent meaſure adopted to prevent them. He ſaid he ſaw no neceſſity for either, eſpecially as in the caſe of woollens, the Iriſh Parliament have recently diſclaimed the principle, and, indeed, the whole hiſtory of their rates is a proof that they have carried their commercial preference for Great Britain to as great a length as one country can expect from another. He ſaid, that to him, therefore, the ſyſtem ſeemed to have begun in a miſtake, and that the progreſs of it had exactly correſponded to the beginning. The grant of the Britiſh market was opened without the knowledge or participation of the grantors, whoſe conſent

conſent was ſtipulated for as a thing of courſe. The country gentlemen of Ireland were as little in the ſecret as the members of this Houſe. From the rapidity with which it proceeded, it appeared more like the offer of one Miniſter to another than as a negociation between two independent legiſlatures; and the ſmalleſt delay was objected to in the indecent ſuggeſtion, that it would give time to the Britiſh manufacturers to collect their force, and, perhaps, oppoſe it with effect. National ſettlements can only be permanent where the preciſe nature and extent of them is fully underſtood. Were the matter of the preſent treaty unexceptionable, the manner in which it had been conducted could not fail to give offence. In every ſtage it has been called a permanent arrangement, yet, in every part of its progreſs, it has been materially altered, and it ſtill retains the name, though ſcarcely a veſtige remains of the original plan. Indeed the two kingdoms have proceeded on parallel lines, without a poſſibility of meeting, until the one or the other ſhall abandon the principles on which it has profeſſed to act. Perhaps commercial concerns are of too fluctuating a nature to reſt on any other foundation than the acts of the two legiſlatures, which will continue as long as they find their mutual intereſt in obſerving them, leaſt the preſent plan aims at a higher ſanction, by making the whole depend on the failure of a ſingle article. Were any of the bad conſequences which have been predicted actually to happen, how little would ſuch a declaration of perpetuity be conſidered, as each kingdom would be forced, by ſelf-preſervation, to a breach of the treaty. But I find myſelf diſagreed with thoſe great authorities who prefer this agreement to the union of Scotland, becauſe the articles of it may be revived, for to what does ſuch a mode of reaſoning tend but to give the more powerful nation a claim to hold the weaker to her ſtipulations, whilſt ſhe may explain away thoſe parts of the treaty which ſhe finds inconvenient to herſelf? He further ſaid that reciprocity is not the baſis of this treaty. It may be urged to be fair to both kingdoms on the final balance, but it is improper to apply to it the terms of a full participation of commercial advantages as conferred upon Ireland, becauſe they are more comprehenſive than the ſubſequent reſolutions will warrant. For inſtance, will the two kingdoms be on a footing, in regard to the exportation of raw materials to each other? By the ſeventh reſolution, as tranſmitted from Ireland, no prohibitions could be laid by either, except to counteravail an exiſting prohibition in the other kingdom. The laſt clauſe is now omitted, and conſequently all the Britiſh

[redacted] prohibition on wool and fuller's earth are perpetuated; while the bay yarn, linen yarn, and raw hides from Ireland are ſecured to the Britiſh market for ever. With regard to beer and ſpirits, the reciprocity is alſo laid aſide, for to what purpoſe are the bounties on thoſe articles reſerved, unleſs to give a decided ſuperiority againſt the brewery and diſtillery of Ireland? If Ireland is to countervail thoſe bounties, it it only a ſacrifice of ſo much of the Britiſh revenue. He farther ſaid, that the eleventh and twelveth propoſitions were liable to the ſame obſervation, and if carried into full execution, which it cannot be doubted they will be under the apprehenſions of our manufacturers, the Iriſh merchandize will, in many inſtances, by their joint operation, become chargeable with duties beyond what are at preſent paid, and, in many others, be ſubjected to total prohibitions. He alſo obſerved, that the [illegible] intercourſe between the two kingdoms to the coaſt regulations of a bond and cocket, will be found burdenſome and expenſive, as well as contrary to the expreſſed deſire of the Iriſh Parliament, to extend as much as poſſible, and facilitate the means of future intercourſe; and that it is very ſtrange to find a ſcheme of reciprocal reſtriction built on ſuch a foundation. As to the ſeventh reſolution, he ſaid, it is an open variance with the third, which expreſſly ſtates, "that the import of colonial goods ſhall be made into each kingdom from the other reciprocally, under the ſame regulations," whereas the reſtraints impoſed by the ſeventh affect Ireland only, and do not purport to extend to Great Britain. In regard to the linen trade, which Great Britain has ſtipulated in a former reign to encourage in Ireland, it does not appear to derive any new ſecurity from theſe propoſitions, or, indeed, to require any, as her preſent policy is founded in the wiſeſt views of the ſubject for her own intereſt. By ſuffering Iriſh linens to come here free from duty, we ſecure the beſt materials for our own printing trade, and by granting a bounty on their export, we inſure to the factors of London the commiſſion, and other advantages of ſending them to every part of the world. And he ſaid, he hoped this ſyſtem was not intended to be altered under the power reſerved of countervailing the Iriſh bounty on flax ſeed, and the premiums of the Dublin Society, by the thirteenth and fifteenth reſolutions. The noble Lord farther obſerved, in relation to the Eaſt Indies, that the ninth reſolution tends to put the ſubjects of the two kingdoms in very different ſituations, in caſe Great Britain ſhould ever lay that commerce open, it is improbable that ſuch a caſe will happen, as all the

European

European nations which carry on a trade to the East found it advisable to do it through the medium of a company, and therefore it does not seem very necessary just now to bind Ireland to any conditions on such a contingency taking place, especially as the Irish Parliament, by not touching on the subject in their original propositions, have plainly indicated their unwillingness to enter upon it. With regard to the East-India trade during the subsistence of the present charter, it is held, that the Irish are equally comprehended with the subjects of Great Britain, in the restraint against trading between the Streights of Magellan and the Cape of Good Hope, but upon the expiration of the charter they will be at liberty to purchase East-India goods wherever they please, and consequently have a very valuable subject in their hands to treat upon, the Irish Parliament will then, no doubt, shew every fair attention to the views and interest of Great Britain, but what a sacrifice are they, under this resolution, called upon to make? to renounce all intercourse for ever with one half of the globe. How many new sources of trade may be discovered within these extensive limits, of which we debar them the use for ever by the stroke of a pen, without any rational motive for excluding our fellow subjects from a chance in that commercial lottery which is open to every other people upon earth. To a nation with so small a capital, and so very inconsiderable a stock of shipping, such a speculation would probably prove very mischievous under her present circumstances, but those circumstances may hereafter so far change, as to make Ireland regret the having assented to so severe and so uncalled-for a restriction, as the present resolution purports to impose, and the price held out to her as a temptation to submit to it, is founded on absolute deception, as no India ships will ever be suffered by the Company to go out of their course, and possibly lose their passage, to touch in the Irish ports. The Company does not victual their own ships, but employs contractors to do so, who furnish them with English provisions; and if Irish linens, or other articles are wanted for private trade, they may be had in England as cheap as in Ireland, and consequently no alteration is to be expected in the usual course, which the outward-bound Indiamen have hitherto taken. In the case of the Indian commerce being laid open, the House of Commons had suggested to Ireland their wishes, that the East-India importations might be made from the same countries as those of Great Britain, but the amendment of the Lords, by confining the Irish to receive them from foreign or British settlements in the East Indies, will prevent their im-

portations of tea, or other East-India goods, in every poſſible caſe, from any nation in Europe, which Parliament have often found it neceſſary to admit, and therefore will make a great eventual difference in the ſituation of the two kingdoms. As it ſubjects Ireland alſo to ſimilar duties with Great Britain, it is liable to the ſame objection, as many other articles of the treaty, of propoſing to legiſlate for Ireland, and particularly if this kingdom ſhould think fit to revive the high duties on tea, it will be found to be a very oppreſſive application of the doctrine contained in the fourth and fifth reſolutions, to which the noble Lord ſaid, he had already objected, but would ſhortly reſtate his objections to the Houſe. He never had conſidered them as forcibly reſuming the right to legiſlate for Ireland It is an attempt to recover a large ſhare of that right, by negociation with the Parliament of Ireland. The fourth reſolution propoſes to Ireland, to bind her public faith to adopt ſuch laws as have previouſly been paſſed in the Britiſh Parliament, provided they anſwer to the deſcription given in the reſolution, the policy of theſe laws can never be entered into by Ireland, the only ſubject on which ſhe can deliberate is, whether they purport to confer equal benefits, and impoſe equal reſtraints, in which caſe the treaty muſt of neceſſity attach upon them. For his part, he ſaid, he conſidered this propoſal as impolitic as well as unneceſſary, becauſe Ireland has recognized in the preamble to one of her ſtatutes, the propriety of having ſimilar laws of trade and navigation. An independent country cannot give a ſtronger ſecurity; for if ſhe is not to exerciſe her judgement on each ſeparate propoſition as it is tendered to her, how can her legiſlature be ſaid to be free? Beſides the words mutual benefit, and mutual reſtraint, give no ſecurity, for a regulation of commerce, purporting to be equal, may be advantageous to a rich country, and ruinous to a poor one, and the purview of the reſolution has a wide range—it is not confined to the ſimple caſe of ſecuring excluſive privileges to Britiſh and Iriſh ſhipping, but includes every poſſible regulation of trade, even in thoſe inſtances where the ſanctions are internal, and muſt depend for their execution on Iriſh Courts, and on Iriſh juries. He ſaid, that he ſaw no middle term between the perfect independence of Ireland, and the incorporation of her legiſlature into this, and that an union appeared to him to be leſs exceptionable, even on Iriſh principles, than the mutilation of her powers in the manner propoſed; as, in the one caſe, ſhe muſt retain a large ſhare of influence in the councils of the empire; in the other, her conſent is as a matter of courſe. She may indeed reject it;

but

but if ſhe accepts this reſolution, the ſtipulated [redacted] ject what we may think fit to require? He farther obſerved, that a ſimilarity of duties makes a part of this arrangement, and that the exports, as well as imports of Ireland from the Weſt Indies, and even the United States, though they now form a branch of the foreign trade of Ireland, are to be loaded with the ſame burdens as thoſe of Great Britain. Can Ireland ever hope for a Weſt-India trade on this footing? She has a ſmall ſtock of ſhipping, ſmall capital, and the long-eſtabliſhed correſpondencies of Great Britain, to prevent her making large importations, but for her own conſumption. Why ſhould we wiſh to put her in a worſe ſituation than ſhe now ſtands in, by taking from her the option of importing through Great Britain, at the low duties, which now depends ſolely on herſelf? Under this arrangement we aſſume the power of fixing at our pleaſure the amount to be paid on the moſt productive branches of the Iriſh revenue, and of perpetuating her additional duties, which now depends on the free will of her Parliament, and on which their ſecurity for frequent ſeſſions principally reſts. Suppoſe that we ſhould take off the drawback on the ſalted proviſions exported from hence to the Weſt Indies, on the principle, that the tax will fall only on the conſumption of our own iſlands. Ireland, notoriouſly in the poſſeſſion of that trade, muſt impoſe a correſponding burden on her beef and butter, or declare the treaty to be at an end. As to her imports, it is unneceſſary to prove that ſhe cannot bear the Britiſh duties, and the probable increaſe of them on rum and ſugar. The part of the globe to which Ireland naturally looks for a vent of her produce, and the extenſion of her commerce, is America, but under the ſixteenth reſolution, we aſſume the control over her exports to that continent, by the power of regulating her import duties on every article which is, or may hereafter be produced in the Weſt-India iſlands, comprehending rum, tobacco, and various materials of manufacture. Under ſuch a ſyſtem of uncertainty on one ſide, and reſtriction on the other, without the power of granting a bounty on her infant manufactures but by the conſent of Great Britain, will not Ireland loſe all encouragement to embark in new ſpeculations of commerce, and ſoon become ſenſible that her ſituation, inſtead of being improved, is rendered worſe by the grant of a Weſt-India trade, on account of the many various conditions with which it is accompanied?

The noble Lord ſaid he had always regretted that the twentieth reſolution made any part of the propoſed treaty, as

it embarrassed both countries in the commercial adjustment and the smallness of the object made it of no moment, except to those who wish to abuse former settlements with Ireland, because no such grant was annexed to them. He said that only two methods occurred of treating with Ireland, the one is to trust to her known generosity and friendship, the other is to make a close bargain which she cannot set aside. In the present instance we have done neither, but have adopted a middle course we struggle pertinaciously for a bond, though that bond only implies distrust, and confers no security whatever. Would any man of sense act in a private transaction on the same principle which he here recommends to the adoption of the legislature? We fall at the same time into another inconsistency; we abandon the principle as soon as we have established it, and after exacting a very limited assistance from Ireland in time of peace, we trust entirely to her generosity in time of war when we want assistance much more. In other words, we invert every rule of policy, and act most ungraciously towards one kingdom for no purpose but to delude the other, with the expectation of a revenue which we know can never be realized. The noble Lord said, that in another view he disapproved the present resolution; if any claim subsists on the part of the Crown to the disposal of this surplus, or if the revenue in question is already appropriated to public uses, what pretensions have we to interpose for the purpose of determining an unsettled point in the constitution of Ireland? Can the question of right ever come before us, or can we take upon ourselves to decide what is or is not inherent in the Crown of Ireland? We last year, without either message or recommendation from His Majesty, thought fit to make a new appropriation of estates actually vested in the Crown, of which he legally had no knowledge till it was tendered for His Royal assent. Let us not extend the principle of that duress upon the Crown to a case so singularly circumstanced, and so beset with constitutional difficulties as the present. He farther said that the question had been argued upon grounds which the history of the hereditary revenue, and the accounts upon the table flatly contradict. Upon what facts does it appear to be the barometer of the public prosperity of Ireland, when that kingdom has been the poorest? The flow into that revenue has been unusually high. Since the peace of Paris, it cannot be denied that Ireland has gradually increased

creaſed in opulence and in commerce; yet, upon every medium of ſeven years, ſince that period to the preſent, inſtead of growing with her growth, and increaſing in proportion to her wealth, it has actually declined. Even the freedom given to her trade has produced no favourable variation in this branch of her revenue; but whether the produce of it be conſiderable or not, it depends ſolely on the future pleaſure of the Iriſh Parliament, whether any benefit ſhall ariſe from it to the general purpoſes of the empire, as if they repent of the grant, they can make a proportionate reduction in their army to countervail their payments to the navy; or if that meaſure ſhould appear undeſirible, as a productive year is uſually followed by an unproductive one, they can ſo arrange the payments into the Exchequer, as to prevent an exceeding on the account of one year. Yet to get at this miſerable pittance of revenue, what rule of propriety have we not infringed? In the firſt place we have altered the original terms of a grant of money from Ireland; the tenth reſolution as tranſmitted to us was not coupled with the others, as the price at which ſhe was to purchaſe an enlargement of her trade; the idea was cautiouſly avoided, and it was tendered as a gratuitous gift. It provided, at the ſame time, for the œconomy of her own government, as adminiſtered by Britiſh Miniſters, and purported to equalize the expenditure of Ireland with her revenue, which was followed by new duties to the amount of 140,000l. a year. Of this we have thought fit to take no notice whatever, and have proceeded, on the ſuppoſition of this grant, though we have rejected the condition which was ſtated as eſſential to it; and we now require a perpetual bill of regulation to ſecure its collection. The noble Lord ſaid he had many objections to this on Britiſh as well as Iriſh grounds; if the participation of the Britiſh market was a wrong conceſſion, no ſum of money ought to tempt us to part with it. If it is right in itſelf, we ſhall be abundantly rewarded by the increaſe of Iriſh proſperity; and ſhall be very ſure of the liberal contributions to the general purpoſes of the empire, but that the acceptance of this ſurplus may be conſidered as a final price, and give a check to that generoſity, as well as bar the equity of all future expectations. The noble Lord ſaid, that he held himſelf juſtified in ſtating thoſe objections, becauſe, ſtrange as it is, the matters immediately affecting Ireland, have not yet been ſubmitted to her Parliament, and therefore every Britiſh member is to judge whether the terms

terms in queſtion are fit to be offered to an independent kingdom or not. He ſaid he had not touched on the ſuppoſed compenſation to Ireland for all the real ſacrifices he had mentioned, by the privilege of ſending her manufactures to this market, becauſe, under the condition annexed to the privilege, the Iriſh do not believe in the efficacy of the compenſation, while the Britiſh manufacturers regard it with horror. The condition is couched in terms ſo perplexed and obſcure, that we ſhall retain the power of expounding them hereafter as we pleaſe. The Iriſh propoſal to add the amount of the duty of exciſe, the material of the manufacture to the port duty, is a ſimple idea, and admits of an eaſy calculation. From that idea we have departed, and under the twelfth reſolution we retain the right to add ſo much to both as may ſubject the manufactures of Ireland on importation to burdens adequate to thoſe of Great Britain. In the firſt place it may be aſked, why this idea was never communicated to the Parliament of Ireland, as plain dealing is the beſt policy, and they ought to have known the whole of what we intended. The anſwer may poſſibly be, that it never was thought of, but the conſequence clearly is, that Ireland will make palpable ſacrifices of her intereſt, which cannot afterwards be explained away, to purchaſe problematical advantages, depending on ſuch a latitude of interpretation, that though ſhe finds herſelf baulked in every expectation, ſhe cannot fix upon any breach of the engagement. What is the preciſe meaning of a duty adequate to countervail the burdens impoſed on a manufacture? Is the diminution of capital occcaſioned by the advanced duty in the early ſtage of it to be comprehended, or the ſecondary articles of coal, oil, iron, ſoap, &c. which make a part of almoſt every manufacture? The difficulty is to fix the data on which to begin the calculation. When the data are ſettled, computers may include the minuteſt objects. The manufacturers of glaſs, and of leather, have told us, that the difficulties are inſurmountable in their branches of buſineſs. Their reaſons are in every body's hands, and it is unneceſſary to repeat them. It forms a ſtrong preſumption in favour of their judgement, that the ſyſtem in queſtion has never been tried, and therefore its operation muſt be conjectural. It applies not only to every poſſible branch of intercourſe between the two kingdoms, but to every ſeparate article in each to be grounded on a diſtinct principle of calculation. The countervailing duty, which applies to a pair of Iriſh ſhoes, will not aſſiſt the calcu-

calculation with regard to an Iriſh ſaddle. One obſervation applies to every caſe—If it is placed too low, it will give no ſecurity to our manufacturers; if it is placed too high, we ſhall keep no faith with Ireland. To aſcertain the medium, is a matter of infinite difficulty, and endleſs controverſy muſt be the reſult; but ſuppoſing it once fixed in every article that can paſs between the two kingdoms, the embarraſſment is only removed for a time—new taxes will call for new countervailing duties, and no rate is eſtabliſhed at which the progreſſion is to go on.—How is that to be fixed?—The ſignature of the treaty is not, as in the caſe of ordinary contracts, the term, but the commencement of diſputes—What one Parliament ſays is a ſufficient countervailing duty in a given caſe, the other may happen to deny; the merchants and manufacturers on each ſide will interfere, the pride of competition will join itſelf to the rivalſhip of intereſt. The letter of the treaty will be appealed to by one party, and the ſpirit of it by the other. The multitude in both kingdoms will catch the flame—between equal and co-ordinate bodies who is to arbitrate, leſt a ſingle embarraſſment ſhould ariſe about a protecting duty laid in Ireland—you will plunge into ten thouſand errors, by adopting a ſyſtem of countervailing duties unknown and unpractiſed—you provoke and encourage difficulties, on the vain expectation of ſhewing your wiſdom in removing them. Whoever remembers the agitation of men's minds in Ireland on the ſubject of the ſugar duties, may form ſome conjecture of the conſequences to be expected if this ſyſtem takes place.—Upon the whole, are we warranted to change the commercial ſituation of both kingdoms, on the ſcanty information, or on the vague ſuggeſtions which have been ſubmitted to us? Shall we ſtrike a blow in the dark ſo irremediable in its conſequences, as this ſyſtem is deſcribed to be by thoſe who are to be the moſt affected by it? If we are not ſure that it is right, it becomes both kingdoms to ponder and deliberate—delay has pointed out many errors, and thoſe errors have been corrected; the ſame, or perhaps more advantage may be derived from farther deliberation; and; therefore, the noble Lord ſaid he ſhould diſagree to the addreſs.

Mr. *Jenkinſon* ſaid, though ſo much had been ſaid by him on the ſubject of the reſolutions on former occaſions, yet ſome things had fallen from the noble Lord, that appeared ſo extraordinary, that he muſt make a few remarks Mr Jenkinſon.

on

and to refined ſugars. With regard to the firſt, he ſaid, it was true the duty had been ſince repealed, but it had exiſted at the time the Report had been drawn. With regard to beer, ſo high a duty had been laid upon it, that it operated as an actual prohibition, and the ſame was the caſe with regard to refined ſugars, reſpecting which the duty was as high as ſeven ſhillings and three-pence the Cwt. Having explained this at ſome length, he proceeded to diſcuſs the other arguments of the noble Lord, and to reaſon upon what was the wiſeſt mothod of carrying into effect a plan of arrangement with Ireland, ſuch as ſhould meet that neceſſity, which he had proved to exiſt. There were, he ſaid, but two modes of doing this, that he had ever heard or read of. The one was, by taking off all duties, and thus enabling both countries to carry on a free commercial intercourſe. The other, by impoſing mutual moderate duties. To the firſt of the two, he owned, he was the more inclined to lean, as that which was the moſt fit to exiſt between two ſiſter kingdoms with one common Sovereign at the head of both of them, but with independent legiſlatures. When any man turned his attention to the ſtate of Great Britain and the ſtate of Ireland, when any man conſidered the ſituation of our manufactures, the ſums their inſtitution had coſt, the taxes the manufacturers had paid, the revenue derived from them, and the critical condition of our national affairs, they would ſee that a free intercouſe could not be afforded by the country. Having ſtated this, he reaſoned on the other mode, that of regulating the trade between Great Britain and Ireland by moderate and mutual duties. This, he ſaid, was adopted in the preſent plan, and thus a duty of ten and an half per cent. had been the given quantum of duty. He reaſoned upon the good end and aim of ſuch a duty, and upon its different effects in different caſes. He inſtanced the duty on foreign iron, as one reaſon out of many that might be adduced to ſhew, that it was impoſſible for this country to open an intercourſe with Ireland free of all duty. Foreign iron, he ſaid, paid ſo high a duty, in order to protect our own raw material and to give Britiſh iron a chance of conſumption. The policy was certainly a wiſe one, and therefore it was not expedient to drop it. He treated farther on the ſubject of the manufactures of Great Britain, and ſaid, he thought the manufacturers that had been examined, were men of reſpectable characters, and that they had acted very laudably in the zeal they had manifeſted on the occaſion, and the anxiety and alarm they had expreſſed, leſt their ma-

nufactures ſhould be injured by the operation and effect of the reſolutions, but inclined as he was to think well of the[illegible]duct, that Houſe as a legiſlative body, with a capital an[illegible]important conſideration before them, in which the political and the commercial intereſts of the empire were blended and deeply involved, ought to act with an equal degree of firmneſs and caution, they ought to be directed by their own judgements, formed upon a view of the whole of the caſe, without giving up their opinions to others, and either blindly relying on the prejudices of manufacturers, naturally addicted to look at that ſide of the queſtion only [illegible]moſt concerned their own individual intereſts, or timidly giving way to the loud voice of clamour, ariſing from artful excitement and deluſion, or from a complete ignorance of the true tendency of the plan in agitation. That the manufacturers of this country would in ſome degree be affected by the ſyſtem in queſtion, he had no ſcruple to ſay, was in his opinion probable The lower and inferior ſorts of manufactures of iron, for inſtance, might, and poſſibly the ſilk manufacture, but that was a matter that did not weigh greatly on his mind, becauſe in all manufactures that regarded the clothing of the country, there was conſtantly a rivalſhip and an emulation, and that of ſilk was, perhaps the leaſt important of any, beſides, it was not likely that a manufacture worn by ſo few, and that depended ſo much on ſuperior taſte and delicacay, ſhould leave the capital. He entered into a diſcuſſion of the nature of manufactures in general, and contended, that in proceſs of time, manufactures would ſhift to that country where they could beſt be carried on to advantage. He ſaid, individuals, as they grew wealthy, traded in that ſingle line of commerce that they underſtood beſt, and found they were moſt fit for. The caſe of individuals, in this point of view, and the caſe of kingdoms, were perfectly applicable, thus in time Ireland would carry on ſuch manufactures as beſt ſuited her, and ſuch as beſt ſuited Great Britain would remain with us; and while the intereſts of the two kingdoms were mutual, and the proſperity of Ireland added to the ſtrength, the power, and the glory of the empire, it mattered not where the manufactures were carried on He ſtated, that we had already loſt the coarſe iron manufactory, which Flanders and Liege had ſome time ſince got from us it was therefore worth our while to encourage Ireland to proſecute that manufacture, in order that we might buy of her inſtead of foreigners. Having ſtated this very fully, and ſaid that

if Ireland ſhould ever arrive at ſuch perfection in her iron manufacture, as to abandon the coarſe manufacture, ſhe muſt then adopt our policy, and lay a duty equally heavy on the importation of foreign iron, he went into a conſideration of the fourth reſolution, which he declared related ſolely to commerce, and not to legiſlation. It was a commercial condition, and to be conſidered as the condition of a treaty between two independent legiſlatures, in like manner as any condition in a treaty between two independent ſtates was to be regarded. But the Right Hon. Gentleman oppoſite to him [Mr Fox] had ſaid, who ever heard of a condition in a treaty between two independent Princes of an indefinite nature? In anſwer to that he muſt obſerve, that it was definite as to its object, and in every other point of view as definite as the nature and circumſtances of the caſe would allow. The whole ſyſtem contained in the reſolutions was a treaty for admitting Ireland to a participation of our commercial advantages, and the fourth reſolution was the condition of the compact; and what was the condition? nothing more than that Ireland ſhould conſent to the ſame laws and the ſame regulations in point of navigation and commerce that we were bound by ourſelves. Would any reaſonable man ſay, that was legiſlating for Ireland? Would any reaſonable man ſay, candidly conſidering the true meaning of the condition, that it ought to be conſtrued into an attempt to reſume that independence conceded to Ireland in 1782, and which once conceded, it would be the heighth of abſurdity, as well as injuſtice, to attempt to reſume? He was perſuaded, however men's minds might be inflamed againſt it for the preſent, when the Parliament of Ireland conſidered it coolly, when it had been diſcuſſed fairly, and was fully underſtood, there would not be a man in his ſober ſenſes in Ireland, who would contend, that it was an unfair, or an unreaſonable condition on the part of the Parliament of Great Britain to make, or a raſh or an improper condition for the Parliament of Ireland to accede to. It was, however, ſuch a condition, as Ireland had it in her option to accept or reject. She was to be determined by herſelf, and he had little doubt of her deciding wiſely. With regard to the conſtitutional queſtion which had been ſtarted on the ſubject, he wiſhed to ſtate his ſentiments.—Much had been ſaid of the navigation laws, theſe were to be conſidered not as legal monopolies of trade, but of ſeamen, on whoſe gallantry and exertions the ſalvation of this country depended. The preſent ſyſtem was, however, intended to en-

large this monopoly, it was its object to unite the Iriſh ſailor to the Britiſh ſailor, and in this way to connect the intereſts and conſolidate the ſtrength of both kingdoms. He quoted on this ſubject the opinion of a learned politician, who had expreſſed his hope that the Iriſh propoſitions would be rejected by that Parliament in which they originated—he meant the Dean of Glouceſter It was in fact to call on the Iriſh Parliament to renounce its legiſlative rights, it was merely a part of a treaty; it was a condition which the Parliament was to take into contemplation. They were to compare it with the boon offered, and they were either to retain or give it up for the equivalent ſuggeſted agreeable to their own ſentiments and choice. It was no doubt true, that Ireland had a free and decided right to legiſlate for itſelf. It was not the intention of this country to invade her privilege. The propoſitions in queſtion by no means affected it, it only ſuggeſted a meaſure to Ireland, calculated for the good of both countries, which, upon mutual principles of advantage, it was preſumed ſhe would accept. Here, therefore was no forcing her will, no reſumption of the old ſyſtem, but a mere renunciation of right *quoad hoc*, which would entirely depend on her own voluntary determination Whatever meaſure, therefore, would follow, what line of conduct the Iriſh would of courſe adopt, would undoubtedly be conſidered not as a conſequence of violence committed againſt their unalienable rights, but as the completion of an engagement and action into which they had entered of their own accord With regard to the objections that had been urged againſt the whole of the reſolutions, as well by the noble Lord, as on former occaſions by others, they did not ſo far operate on his mind as to induce him to entertain an unfavourable idea of the plan, he remembered that the treaty of union, as great a political bleſſing as had ever dropped from heaven on two countries ſo circumſtanced and ſituated as North and South Britain were, had long before the time that the act paſſed, while it was in agitation, and for ſometime afterwards, been the ſubject of as much obloquy, as much clamour, and as much abuſe as any meaſure that ever was ſuggeſted and carried into effect by any Miniſter in any country. The authors of that ſolid national benefit were neceſſarily involved in all the obloquy that had attended it, but there was not, he believed, an individual in exiſtence who did not now revere them as the beſt friends to their country, and conſider the union itſelf as the choiceſt bleſſing that had ever befallen it—For the ſake

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of Great Britain and Ireland, he hoped the treaty then under conſideration would, in ſome degree at leaſt, lead either through the means of the preſent, or of ſome other reſolutions, to the ſame happineſs, and produce the ſame ſalutary effects, conceiving, as he did, that it might be attend with conſequences ſo deſirable, and being of opinion that the addreſs moved by his honourable friend, by the ſolemn aſſurance it conveyed of the Britiſh Parliament having no intention to reſume the independence of the legiſlature of Ireland, might tend to conciliate the minds of the people of that country, to quiet their alarms, and to remove all doubt and uneaſineſs, he ſhould certainly give it his ſupport,

Mr. *Eden* ſaid, that he roſe chiefly to take ſome notice of that part of the right honourable gentleman's preſumed ſpeech which the intereſt of particular manufactures in this kingdom ought, in many poſſible caſes, to be ſacrificed to important objects of ſtate. It was very true, that in abſtract theories of trade and commerce, each individual of a community ought to be confined to whatever exertions of his talents can be made with moſt advantage, and that what is true in this reſpect, with regard to individuals, is alſo true as to communities and nations; but he had repeatedly remarked and regretted, that both the right honourable gentleman and others were apt, in their partiality and zeal for their own project, to forget the difference in the relative ſituation of the two kingdoms. If that difference had not exiſted, he truſted that neither he nor thoſe with whom he acted would ever have doubted, as to the expediency of making the communication of commercial advantages between the people of Ireland and of Great Britain as free as the air which they breathed. It was eaſy to make plauſible ſpeeches upon commercial ſubjects replete with philanthropy and liberality, but, if thoſe ſpeeches were to be the ground-work of laws, and to influence the proſperity of millions, it was ſurely right to look a little to practicability and exiſting circumſtances. He would then, in plain words, endeavour to ſtate the preſent meaſure and its tendencies. Mr. Eden.

The treaty purported to have two objects, a more complete intercourſe between the two kingdoms, and a full participation of commercial advantages from the one kingdom to the other. At the firſt view, nothing could be more pleaſing, or more eligible; but it was neceſſary to recollect, that Great Britain, in the acquiſition of thoſe advantages required to be communicated, had incurred an immenſe debt, the intereſt of which depended on the collection of certain taxes

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impoſed on every article both of conſumption and commerce: that under theſe circumſtances the public credit and political exiſtence of the kingdom depended on a complex ſyſtem of revenue —That this ſyſtem could be proved only by ſtrict regulations of port duties and internal exciſes Here, then, there aroſe a neceſſity that every participation of the duties, exported on that trade, and that again could only be guarded by participating the commercial regulations, the exiſtence of which would be both imperfect and precarious, if left to the ſeperate diſcretion of ſeperate and co-ordinate legiſlatures. Thus, then, there was a regular progreſſion of the ſeveral incidents of the preſent negociation; an union of commerce led to an union of taxation and regulation, which could only be procured by an union of commercial legiſlation. If, therefore, the treaty was to go forward, he would freely confeſs, that he differed totally from his noble friend, who ſeemed ſo earneſtly to regret the inſertion of the fourth, fifth, and ſixteenth propoſitions he had heard with pleaſure, the words of the intended addreſs, which ſtated thoſe propoſitions as "conditions neceſſary to the exiſtence and duration of the "plan" In this method of appreciating the buſineſs, he would confeſs, that he differed from others who extended their conſideration ſo far, as to profeſs an impartial attention to the intereſts of both kingdoms. In great diſcuſſions of the general and joint intereſts of the empire, he could purſue the ſame ſentiment, he could go farther, and could cordially ſeek the advancement of Ireland, in all matters unconnected with the immediate intereſts of Great Britain But in the preſent treaty, he left the affairs of Ireland to her own managers, and no nation could have abler or better managers, and he muſt conſider himſelf as one of the agents for the Britiſh manufacturers, and for the landed intereſts and ſtockholders of the kingdom, and he could add, that, in every caſe where thoſe immediate objects of his parliamentary truſt were not oppoſed to the wiſhes of Ireland, no man could be more diſpoſed than himſelf to act with fairneſs and with zeal as agent alſo for the intereſts of the ſiſter country In naming the manufacturers, Mr Eden added, and deſcanted much on the benefits reſulting in the preſent buſineſs from their interpoſition. It had given time for underſtanding the buſineſs, which would otherwiſe have been precipitated, he would acknowledge, that the lights and information obtained from thoſe excellent and reſpectable members of the community, had been the occaſion of introducing into the propoſitions, many articles of high and ſolid advantage to this country, if

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it could be made plain, that the price to be paid for them was not attended with too much riſque, and too great diſadvantage to valuable claſſes of manufacturers. He here ſtated what Great Britain was to give, and what ſhe was to get She was to give, 1ſt, the carriage from Ireland to this kingdom of colonial produce after landing in Ireland, and alſo of North American produce; 2d, an acceſs to the Britiſh markets, 3d, a national compact not to raiſe the duties on Iriſh linens In return, ſhe was to obtain, 1ſt, a control and ſuperintending power of legiſlation in matters of trade and commerce, 2d, an acquieſcence of Ireland in the perpetual duration of the Eaſt and Weſt-India monopolies, 3d, a confirmation in Britiſh prohibitions of exports, without the power of making them reciprocal To which, perhaps, he ought to add, the contribution in proportion to the increaſing opulence of Ireland, but he conſidered this rather as the acknowledgement of a principle which Ireland muſt carry into execution, than as the eſtabliſhment of any charge likely to produce a ſolid advantage. But here it peculiarly deſerved remark, that theſe great and important acquiſitions, (for ſuch he muſt allow them to be, if the treaty ſhould go forwards) namely, the ſupreme power of originating all commercial laws for the empire in Great Britain, the perpetual eſtabliſhment of the great monopolies, and the excluſive prohibition to be poſſeſſed by this country upon various great articles of exports, were all introduced ſince the original plan had been brought from Ireland, and would never have been admitted, if the manufacturers of this kingdom had not appeared at the bar, and given to their repreſentatives much information, which certainly was much wanted

Such were the outlines, in the detail, however, infinite difficulties had ariſen It was undeniable, that it threatened great diſtreſſes to the cotton trade, the glaſs trade, the manufactures of leather, and the coarſe woollens. And it was undeniable, that the ſugar refineries, the breweries, and the iron and ſilk manufactures would, inſtead of being ſupported, be plunged by this moſt inauſpicious plan into a ſtate of mutual prohibitory duties It would, indeed, be little conſolation to the ſuffering bodies of men in this country, to be told in the words of the addreſs, "That the ſubjects of each kingdom will be taught to apply themſelves to thoſe branches which they can exerciſe with moſt advantage!" Such phraſes were ſuitable enough to theoretical eſſays, but calamitious when made applicable to the complicated and involved ſtate of this great kingdom.

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He had now given a general ſtatement of the advantages and diſadvantages, and he truſted with firmneſs and candour, and it was impoſſible to deny that a great convulſion was riſqued in the plan. A noble Lord (Camelford) in ſpeaking of that plan in another place, had ſaid, it was permanent in its principle, and changeable in its detail. He allowed that phraſe was whimſical enough, as an argument in defence of the plan, it was however ſufficiently true, and its truth was a great argument againſt the meaſure; in ſhort, the country was to be bound in promiſes, and to be perpetually wrangling in the execution of thoſe promiſes, and Ireland would be ſimilarly ſituated. As to Ireland, he would only ſay, that thoſe who had the immediate care of her intereſts would know ſufficiently how to conduct them; but the immediate acceptance of the propoſitions in Ireland, if ſuch at laſt ſhould take place, would not change his ſentiments. It had happened to him, and was alſo within the experience of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to know that Parliaments can change their opinions in conformity to the ſenſe of the people whom they repreſent. He particularly had ſeen many meaſures voted in the Iriſh Parliament, which at the moment he had thought right, and of infinite importance; but which even in the ſame ſeſſion had been reſcinded by the unanimous ſuffrages of the ſame body —It was in Ireland as in England When the people call aloud, their Parliament would hear.

Mr. Fox. Mr. *Fox* began by an alluſion to Lord Beauchamp's apology for the apparent inconſiſtency of approving of the original propoſitions, and yet objecting to the reſolutions as now before the Houſe, declaring that he was ready to acknowledge himſelf in much greater danger of the cenſure of inconſiſtency,—for ſo far was he from approving either the one or the other, that he moſt ſincerely and heartily reprobated them both, although he confeſſed that they appeared at the ſame time to be completely contradictory to each other, he believed indeed that there never had been known two ſyſtems ſo diametrically oppoſite, and yet each ſo objectionable, as the two ſyſtems, that which had been ſent from Ireland, and that which originated in that Houſe, were in all their parts. His right honourable friend had made an attempt to ſum up the whole account between Great Britain and Ireland, but he was afraid the calculation would be found much too ſanguine, and ſo far from each country gaining by the arrangement, they would both of them be conſiderable loſers. Great Britain would loſe her own market, and the direct trade to her colonies, together with her navigation laws, on which her ſtrength and

and importance ſo much depended, while Ireland would loſe her conſtitution, and again become a dependent, ſubordinate kingdom. One ſtrong objection againſt the arrangement with him was, that there was at preſent no neceſſity for it, and that ſuch an arrangement ought never to be wantonly brought forward, but only reſorted to when it was found neceſſary. This neceſſity was known by the Miniſter and his friends to be ſo eſſential to the propriety of the plan, that he had endeavoured on many occaſions to enforce it by that topic—but what means did he take to point out the neceſſity? the principal one was that which a right honourable gentleman oppoſite to him had juſt ſtated, namely, that the neceſſity of ſuch an adjuſtment had been declared by a reſolution, which he had the honour to move in that Houſe in the year 1782. He declared then, as he had declared before, that no idea of a commercial regulation had been entertained, by the Adminiſtration of that day, in propoſing that reſolution. There were at that time certainly ſome regulations wanting between the two countries; but thoſe regulations were to extend to political objects alone, and not to commercial; they were partly to eſtabliſh what was much wanted, ſomething to replace that power, which, in their ſtruggles for independence, the Iriſh had imprudently inſiſted on having aboliſhed, and which he had himſelf given up, in compliance with the ſtrong current of the prejudices of that nation, though with a reluctance that nothing but irreſiſtible neceſſity could have overcome. The power which he wiſhed to have ſeen replaced was that, which had been ſo often of late under diſcuſſion in Parliament, and which had been variouſly termed, being ſometimes called commercial, at other times external, and frequently, imperial legiſlation,—It certainly was highly neceſſary, that power being precipitately aboliſhed, that ſome ſuccedaneum ſhould be found for it, for without one general and ſuperintending authority to embrace and comprehend the whole ſyſtem of the navigation of the empire, it muſt neceſſarily happen, that much confuſion and great inconvenience ſhould take place. It was an unpromiſing circumſtance in thoſe reſolutions, that they were not ſo much argued to be the reſult of the judgement of thoſe who brought them forward, as of a ſtrained and fabricated opinion, ſaid to have originated with a former Adminiſtration, and, as ſuch, forced down the throats of thoſe who had compoſed that Adminiſtration, and under the ſanction of their names impoſed upon the Houſe. He declared, that ſuch gentlemen as had aſſerted, that that reſolution went to any idea of commercial

regulation, asserted what was wholly unfounded in fact, and diametrically opposite to the truth. Having so often trespassed on the time of the House in debating the different parts of the system, he said, he would not now enter into any arguments on the detail of the resolutions, but would confine what he had to say on the general question of policy and justice that arose out of the whole But admitting that there was any necessity for a commercial arrangement, how was it to be ascertained which system was best, when two systems had been brought forward by the very same person, the one to be laid before the Parliament of Ireland to which it had agreed, and the other for the use of the English Parliament. Those two systems, each invented by the same person, each promising the same effect, the mutual and permanent good understanding between the two countries, and the one professing to be an amendment of the other, were unfortunately so completely contradictory between themselves, as to afford no possibility of finding a single argument in support of the one, that did not apply with equal force against the other. He desired to know why the motives for making so complete and effectual an alteration, as well in the spirit as in the words of every one of the propositions, had not been communicated to Parliament? Was the right honourable gentleman encouraged to this omission by that confidence which so many of his friends had declared they placed in him? a confidence so unlimited and so determined as not to give way to the vast body of evidence which was offered to that House, and which they had since confirmed by their oaths at the bar of the House of Lords. If confidence, and blind acquiescence in the opinion of others was a proper ground of parliamentary conduct, he thought that confidence ought to be rather placed with those persons, who, from their number, from their knowledge of the subject, from their interest in it, and from their oaths, were much better intitled to it than a single individual could possibly be It was not his intention, however, at present, to make any effort to overturn or destroy this confidence in the Minister; for being intirely at a loss to conceive on what it was founded, so must he be ignorant of the means by which it could be attacked. He reprobated the absurdity of the whole proceeding, which had been conducted on a principle of making each Parliament state what it would be willing to accept, instead of what it would be satisfied to give. Whereas on the contrary, the proper mode would have been, he said, for each Parliament to have well weighed what they could give, and then they would have been competent to determine

termine; for each knowing, and having ſpecified what it could give, and the other aſcertaining what it was to receive, it would be eaſy to ſtrike a balance between them, whereas, on the contrary, Ireland was firſt brought to make her demands on Great Britain in the eleven propoſitions ſent from thence, and Great Britain in her turn had made her demands on Ireland, in the fourth and fifth of the amended propoſitions. Hence it was, that the whole plan had the misfortune of being equally deteſted, both in England and Ireland. This equal and violent degree or averſion had afforded room for a weak and pitiful argument that he had heard uſed, that the clamour of one country againſt the reſolutions, was a ſtrong argument in favour of them with the other. After expoſing the fallacy and illiberal tendency of ſuch an argument, he obſerved, that it was in one reſpect the moſt fortunate argument he had ever known, for being built on the unpopularity of the meaſure, it enjoyed the advantage of that unpopularity, to the utmoſt poſſible extent, and was equally applicable in both kingdoms, the plan being equally execrated in both. It was an unhappy omen, that in an arrangement propoſed as a baſis for mutual affection, and a pledge of mutual advantage, each party to the negociation had diſcovered the ſtrongeſt motives of diſcontent, and the ſtrongeſt grounds of jealouſy and apprehenſion. A right honourable gentleman oppoſite to him had indulged the benevolence of his own mind, and the luxuriancy of his fancy, with a picture of a liberal ſyſtem of commerce, without any reſtraint whatſoever; but after amuſing himſelf and the Houſe with his theories, he at laſt acknowledged that he had been only amuſing them, for that they were incapable of being applied to the caſe of the two kingdoms. He recommended it to the right honourable gentleman for the future rather to employ his ingenuity of diſcovering what was practicable and uſeful, inſtead of hunting for ſyſtems, which, however beautiful in theory, were perfectly incapable of being reduced to practice.

When he had ſaid, that he had regretted the giving up the power of external legiſlation, as likely to prejudice the general intereſts of the Empire, and therefore neceſſary to be replaced, he deſired not to be underſtood as meaning to ſeek for it again, what he meant was, to find ſome ſyſtem, that without reclaiming the power, or infringing in the ſmalleſt degree on the full emancipation and independence formerly conceded to Ireland, ſhould afford the means of avoiding that confuſion which was otherwiſe ſo much to be dreaded. The right honourable gentleman had made uſe of an expreſſion on

a former occaſion that ſomewhat ſurprized him, as little calculated to allay thoſe apprehenſions in Ireland which he had ſo wantonly excited. He had ſaid, that it was by no means his intention to reſume that legiſlative ſupremacy over Ireland in ſo ſhort a time after having relinquiſhed it. For his part, he did not think any time could be long enough to juſtify this country in again poſſeſſing herſelf of thoſe legiſlative rights, which ſhe had ſo ſolemnly ſurrendered, on the contrary, when the ſupremacy of the Britiſh Parliament was given up, although he might ſome of the neceſſity, and perhaps dread the conſequences of ſuch a meaſure, yet he looked upon it as an inviolable compact, that could never be receded from without the moſt flagrant breach of public faith, and he ſhould have thought it equally repugnant to the true ſenſe of the compact between the two kingdoms to have endeavoured to get back the power then reſigned by a fraudulent negociation like the preſent, as by a direct and barefaced act of power. He adverted to the argument that had been uſed in vindication of the fourth and fifth reſolutions, by comparing the principles of them with treaties between independent and ſovereign ſtates, arraigning it as weak and inapplicable to the relative ſituation in which Great Britain and Ireland were to ſtand after the concluſion of this arrangement. Ireland was to be bound to adopt laws made by Great Britain, of the nature and tendency of which ſhe was to have no opportunity of judging, becauſe they were not expreſſly ſtipulated at the time of making the treaty, and therefore ſhe was ſo far to give up her legiſlative diſcretion and free agency into the hands of Great Britain, whereas he defied any gentleman to produce a ſingle inſtance of any prince or ſtate having ever made ſuch a ſacrifice; or if they had, he would then contend for it, that ſuch prince or ſtate was no longer independent, but was become a vaſſal and feud to the other. But there was another ſtrong objection to the ſyſtem, inaſmuch as it contained a principle that eſſentially intrenched on the conſtitution of Ireland in another particular, this was the compelling her to ſet apart, by way of tribute, a certain ſum over which ſhe was hereafter to have no control, nor any power of reſumption, this he argued in the ſtrongeſt and moſt brilliant manner, ſhewing how modern liberty, which he contraſted with that of ancient nations, depended on the limited duration of pecuniary grants. This limitation afforded an opportunity to the legiſlature to withhold ſupplies until grievances ſhould be redreſſed. This check on the executive authority, which would be completely done

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away, if a ſum of money adequate to the immediate expences of domeſtic government were permanently to be granted. This principle of temporary grants had been never abandoned by the Parliament of Great Britain, except in a particular inſtance, where a permanent grant was neceſſary to ſecure the intereſt of the national debt to the public creditors; but he ſhould be glad to know what would any gentleman think of a miniſter who ſhould propoſe to make the malt and land tax perpetual, and yet this he declared to be an exactly ſimiliar propoſal It was, he granted, true, that the ſurplus of the hereditary revenue ought never to be ſo conſiderable as to operate in this manner, but he was at liberty to argue it ſo, becauſe, if it were to be contradicted, then would it follow that this compenſation to Great Britain was negatory and contemptible. The right honourable gentleman had recommended firmneſs to Parliament in the courſe of the buſineſs, and he himſelf would join in recommending that temper as well on every other occaſion as the preſent, but he was very much afraid the right honourable gentleman, in recommending firmneſs, had unfortunately confounded the meaning of that temper, and meant, inſtead of firmneſs, obſtinacy and preſumption. The diſcontents of the people were argued from, as the cauſe which rendered this arrangement neceſſary. He was willing to admit that there were diſcontents, but they were not the forerunners or cauſe of theſe reſolutions, they were their effect and conſequence But how were theſe diſcontents to be appeaſed by the plan now going forward, or what reaſon was there for ſuch a hope? Was it becauſe that from their firſt appearance in each of the different ſhapes which they had aſſumed, they had raiſed an univerſal outcry in both kingdoms? Was it becauſe the benefit to be derived to each nation under them were looked upon by both as trivial and inſignificant in the extreme, while, on the contrary, what each was to give, was conſidered as moſt valuable, and greatly to be regretted? He aſſured the Houſe, that if, by the exertion of influence and corruption, the reſolutions could be got through the Iriſh Parliament, ſo violent was the averſion of the people of that country to them, that they would unqueſtionably in a ſhort time be able to effect their repeal, for the united voice of the people muſt at laſt be obeyed, when their views were ſtedfaſtly directed to one great object, and regularly enforced by firm and conſtitutional exertions. It was, he concluded, extremely unfortunate and ominous, that this ſyſtem, which profeſſed to be a pledge of future affection between the two countries, ſhould be ſo odious and

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deteſtable to each of them. He declared, that if it was a philter, it was, of all he had ever heard of, the moſt diſguſting and nauſeous, but ſtill the Miniſter, like a ſelf-ſufficient phyſician, was determined to pour the draught down the throats of his patients, aſſuring them, that however it might hurt their taſtes and violate their inclinations at the time, yet when ſwallowed, it would amply compenſate their ſufferings, by the comfortable effects they would in the end find from it.

Mr Chancellor Pitt.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* confeſſed, that if to aſſert roundly and boldly could be admitted as argument, then the Houſe would be fully juſtified in rejecting the motion he had made, for he had never before ſeen ſo palpable an attempt to impoſe upon them by loud and poſitive affirmations and aſſertions, unſupported by any thing elſe than the mere credit of the party, as he had been lately a witneſs of. The noble Lord and the two right honourable gentlemen oppoſite to him (Lord Beauchamp, Mr Eden, and Mr Fox) had each of them contrived to diſcover a diſtinct ground of oppoſition, and every one incompatible with and contradictory to the other two. The noble Lord, who had profeſſed himſelf the champion of Ireland on the preſent occaſion, had diſapproved of the reſolutions; not ſo much from any thing objectionable in them, as becauſe they came ſhort of the original eleven propoſitions ſent from Ireland, which had been fortunate enough to meet with the noble Lord's full approbation. The right honourable gentleman next him (Mr. Eden) though he expreſſed ſome tenderneſs for the twenty reſolutions voted by the two Houſes of Parliament in England, though he had even betrayed an inclination to receive them as his own by adoption, and regreted that they were not ſo by creation, was yet willing that they ſhould be ſtrangled in their birth, on account of the odious twin they were coupled with, the eleven propoſitions of the Iriſh Parliament —The other right honourable gentleman had introduced a new diverſity, by adopting the two contradictory objections of his two friends, and by exclaiming againſt the whole ſyſtem, as well upon account of the deleterious quality of the propoſitions voted in Ireland, as upon account of the equally noxious, but directly contrary tendency of the reſolutions of the Britiſh Parliament. In this, it was true, the right honourable gentleman had ſhewn ſome reluctance, and had entered a proteſt in favour of his own conſiſtency; and he would do him the juſtice to acknowledge, that, however inconſiſtent he might have been in the different parts of his conduct during the courſe of the buſi-

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neſs, yet inaſmuch as he had been uniformly and conſtantly ſo, it might be ſaid, that he had at leaſt the merit of practiſing a perfectly conſiſtent inconſiſtency. There was but one argument, in which the noble Lord and his two right honourable friends concurred, which was, that there was at preſent no neceſſity for any arrangement of a commercial nature between the two countries. The two right honourable gentlemen, however, had ſtrangely contradicted themſelves in the courſe of that argument, for the one had declared his approbation of the amended reſolutions on the ground of their eſtabliſhing (what he confeſſed to be wanting) an authority that ſhould control and regulate the whole of the commercial concerns of the empire, and the other had regretted, that in the year eighty two, when he moved for the independence of Ireland, he had not retained in the hands of this country an external or imperial right of legiſlation, which he acknowledged he thought neceſſary to the full and proper regulation of commercial concerns, thus it was a thing to be regretted that the means had not been retained of regulating the affairs of commerce and navigation, while at the ſame time it was contended, that no neceſſity for regulation exiſted in either. But this was not the only example of inconſiſtency that the arguments of the gentlemen on the other ſide afforded; it happened unfortunately for them that the ſimple argument on which they all agreed, was directly contrary to the ſpirit of that reſolution on which alone the Houſe had been unanimous, and which was made ſeparate from all the reſt, merely becauſe it was on all hands, and by thoſe gentlemen themſelves, admitted to be a perfect truiſm, on which there could not poſſibly be a ſecond opinion. He alluded to the firſt reſolution, which ſtated, that it was highly important to the general intereſts of the Britiſh empire, that a permanent arrangement of commercial concerns ſhould be made between the two countries on principles of reciprocity and mutual advantage. Beſides this, the words of the reſolution moved in the year eighty-two by the right honourable gentleman himſelf, and the meaning of which was too ſtubborn and obvious to be explained away, or denied by the right honourable gentleman, were ſtill ſtronger; for therein it was declared to be indiſpenſably neceſſary to the happineſs of the two kingdoms, that the connection between them ſhould be fixed upon a permanent footing, by mutual conſent. Now, coupling theſe two reſolutions, both of which had been unanimouſly voted, with the arguments uſed by three gentlemen oppoſite to him, the whole force of their reaſoning amounted to this, that

that what was indiſpenſable was not at all neceſſary. The noble Lord, in endeavouring to eſtabliſh this argument, had attempted to prove, that the new duties impoſed on Britiſh imports in Ireland were not to be conſidered as proceeding from any hoſtile views in the Iriſh Parliament, but as being merely calculated to anſwer the purpoſe of equalizing, not of protecting duties. Equalizing duties, Mr Pitt ſaid, were, to a certain degree and extent, protecting duties, but the duties impoſed by the Iriſh Parliament were not ſimply equalizing duties, they were conſiderably greater, and they were the conſequence of the uniform and perſevering voice of the people. Would any man, he deſired to know, preſume to deny, that at that very moment there exiſted in Ireland an almoſt univerſal clamour for protecting duties, and had not the right honourable gentleman (Mr Fox) declared, that the voice of the people muſt ultimately have its weight with their Parliament, and be crowned with ſucceſs? If then there was no neceſſity at preſent for this arrangement, was it not evident and certain, from the right honourable gentleman's own argument, that ſuch a neceſſity muſt ſhortly exiſt? It had been argued alſo, that the proper time for ſuch an arrangement as the preſent, would be when it was found to be demanded by preſſing and urgent circumſtances. Was it, he wiſhed to know, a thing to be ſeriouſly recommended in any buſineſs, and particularly in one ſo important as that before them, to defer any ſtep until the moment when neceſſity ſhould come upon them, like an armed man, and irreſiſtible, and leave no time for the deliberation, nor no diſcretion for the free will of Parliament, but enforce the ſudden and crude adoption of a ſyſtem built on the emergency of the moment, wanting all the advantages of previous diſcuſſion and minute inquiry.

A regular and ſettled ſeries of objections had been made to the arrangement, and repeated on every occaſion that offered; the ground-work of which was, that on the one hand it materially injured the commerce of Great Britain, and on the other, infringed on the conſtitutional freedom of Ireland. The noble Lord, on behalf of the manufacturers, had lamented, that inſtead of the idea of equal port duties, and countervailing duties to counterbalance the duties on internal conſumption, there had not been a general equalization and diminution of all duties propoſed, and had declared, that if the latter had been done, he firmly believed it would have gone a great way to remove the oppoſition the plan had met with, but he was willing to reſt upon the common

common ſenſe of the queſtion, which was moſt beneficial to the manufactures,—a duty exactly equal on importation into each kingdom from the other; or equal port duties and countervailing duties to balance the internal impoſts? for to what a diſadvantage would the Engliſh manufacturer meet the Iriſh, if the latter had only to pay a ſmall port-duty, while the former was burdened with the ſame port-duty, together with additional impoſitions on the raw material and on the conſumption? Much emphaſis had been laid on the liberty given to Ireland to ſupply this country with the produce of our own colonies; but as the countervailing duties would afford an effectual protection to the Britiſh merchant in the Britiſh market, the oppoſition on that head had been ſupported by the old arguments drawn from our navigation laws, thoſe great pillars of our naval power and importance, the cuſtody of which, it was ſaid, we were going to intruſt in the hands of the Iriſh revenue officers, over whom the executive government of Great Britain had no control.—But here the right honourable gentleman had forgot, that it was not in the Iriſh officers that this truſt was repoſed, but in the officers of our colonies abroad, over whom there was the ſame control that exiſted over thoſe at home, and by whom the intereſts of the navigation laws of England had been hitherto managed; for the checks that had been adopted for the ſecurity of thoſe laws were the certificates of exportation from our colonies, which certificates only were to entitle the Iriſh merchant to the benefit of the Engliſh market. His right honourable friend, (Mr. Jenkinſon) had fallen under the animadverſion of the right honourable gentleman, for laying down abſtract propoſitions, which he had admitted could not apply in practice to the ſituation of the two countries; but he by no means thought it blameable, in a caſe of a particular nature, to have the general theory always in ſight, ſtill however accommodating it to the peculiar circumſtances of a particular caſe. Thus if it were admitted to be an ill-founded principle, that between two countries, whoſe ſituations with reſpect to taxes were exactly ſimilar, the proper method of knitting them together in a commercial connection would be by mutually admitting each other's exports either duty free or on low duties, it naturally followed, that where their ſituations were eſſentially different, in conſequence of heavy taxes in the one, and an exemption from taxes in the other, the way to accommodate the principle or theory to the difference of ſituation was to ſuperadd to the equal duty on

exports of the country leſs taxed, a countervailing duty adequate to the internal duty paid in the other on its conſumption, or on the raw material.

The right honourable gentlemen now proceeded to examine the ſuggeſtions that had been made of its affecting the independence of the legiſlature of Ireland, by the proviſion of the 4th reſolution. It had been attempted to be laid down, that no parallel could be drawn between thoſe two kingdoms, and two ſtates wholly diſtinct and ſeparate, upon the ſubject of the preſent treaty. This diſtinction he combated with great ſpirit and ingenuity, pointing out not only the neceſſity of ſuch a proviſion, but alſo that it was exactly correſpondent to the general practice of all countries and ſtates, the moſt independent and unconnected with one another; and moreover, that it was entirely innocent of the danger with which it was ſaid to be pregnant. The argument by which this diſtinction was endeavoured to be ſupported was, that in the preſent treaty Ireland was to give up her own diſcretion, as well with regard to the expediency, as to the juſtice of any new proviſions ſhe might be called upon, by the example of the Britiſh Parliament, to adopt; that ſhe was to be bound blindly, and without any power of deliberation, or diſcuſſion, by Engliſh acts, which ſhe had no right either to alter or reject, and that there was no expreſs previous ſtipulation of the acts ſhe was to paſs, but that they were from time to time to be dictated to her by this country. In order to ſhew that it was no uncommon or unlikely thing for a treaty between two independent countries to ſtipulate in the ſame manner for acts, not particularly ſpecified, he ſhould put a caſe that would ſhew the Houſe how familiar and how natural ſuch a conduct would be, nay in many inſtances how unavoidable. Suppoſe, ſaid he, in a treaty with Portugal, that Great Britain ſhould engage that that ſhould be the favoured country, ſhould it afterwards be found adviſeable to lower the other duties on any commodity of France ſimilar to what we had before imported from Portugal, would it not be incumbent on us, in performance of the before-mentioned treaty, to lower the duty on the Portugueſe article in proportion? And would any perſon pretend to ſay, that our being ſo obliged to act by treaty, was a dereliction of our independence and ſovereignty as a nation. Perhaps it might be argued, that this was not a caſe in point, inaſmuch as the original act, by which Great Britain ſhould become liable to the performance of the condition in favour of Portugal,

was an act arising from her own discretion, the consequences of which she would have an opportunity of weighing, and which she might either avoid or perform, as she saw most convenient: whereas such an option was not to be left with Ireland, whose acts, under this branch of the adjustment, are to flow from the determination of the British Parliament, without any power being left with her to examine the policy or justice of each. But he would put another case equally probable, and to which the same objection could not apply. He supposed, for instance, that in a treaty with Portugal, this country were to bind herself to lower the duties on the exports of that, in proportion as she should lower her duties on our exports in this instance, he observed, the discretion under which we would be bound to act, would not be our own discretion, but that of Portugal. But if it was true, that the principle of this resolution could not interfere with the independence of Ireland, so neither could its operation affect or injure her interests. There was nothing that so effectually secured the liberty of a people as a community of interests between them and their legislature, for when those persons who had the power of framing laws were themselves to be as effectually subjected to them as the rest of their countrymen, there was every reason to suppose that such persons would, from motives of private interest, be extremely cautious in passing any laws whatsoever, because they would themselves be subject to them all. If this argument had any weight as applied to a people and their legislature, it equally applied to Great Britain and Ireland on the present occasion, and proved, that of all the treaties ever entered into by any two separate states, this was the safest of all others on the part of Ireland, for in most treaties, one state was bound to the performance of a certain act, as soon as a different act should be performed by the other, which other had therefore an opportunity of judging how far the whole would be for her benefit, or the contrary, and would of course so far have peculiar advantage, but there was no room for such an advantage between Great Britain and Ireland, because the latter was only to be expected to adopt the very same measures that the former had already found necessary to her own interest, which it was impossible to conceive could ever differ from those of Ireland.

With respect to the idea that Ireland was to be bound to receive every or any law passed by Great Britain on subjects of a commercial nature, and by her construed to ex-

tend to the principle of this reſolution, without being at liberty to deliberate on it, and to examine how far it was really conſiſtent with that principle; and if otherwiſe, to reject it; any ſuch variety of opinion between the two legiſlatures would, no doubt, be a very deplorable calamity, becauſe it would be nothing leſs than a breach of the public faith of one or other of the two nations; ſince if the law paſſed in England were really inconſiſtent with the principle of the reſolution, namely, the "impoſing the ſame reſtraints, "and conferring the ſame benefits on the ſubjects of both "kingdoms," in that caſe England would have broken her good faith; whereas, if the law were really ſquared to the principle, it could not be rejected in Ireland without an equal breach of the treaty: but each of theſe caſes he looked upon as impoſſible to happen, becauſe the People of Ireland were too well acquainted with their own intereſt to adopt either; and he could not conceive how a law, that would be beneficial to Great Britain, could be detrimental to Ireland; and it was abſurd to ſuppoſe that Great Britain, merely for the purpoſe of doing a prejudice to Ireland, ſhould alſo injure herſelf. The noble Lord had complained, that an amendment propoſed by him, and which would have obviated all his objections, had not been received. He had been, he ſaid, upon all occaſions, as attentive as poſſible to the noble Lord, knowing and feeling him to be a great ſource of general information; and this attention had led him to record, with peculiar exactneſs, an expreſſion of the noble Lord concerning that ſubject. His Lordſhip's words were as follow: "that if laws ſhould be paſſed in one country, relative to navigation and the colonial trade, and rejected in the other, it muſt neceſſarily lead to the worſt conſequences, to conſequences which he could not foreſee or conceive." Now as the noble Lord could neither foreſee, nor conceive thoſe conſequences, the noble Lord was determined to gratify his curioſity, and to diſcover, by experience, what they would be; and accordingly he had propoſed an amendment, that would, in all probability, have produced the events that were to lead to thoſe conſequences with which he was ſo deſirous to be acquainted. This amendment of the noble Lord made it entirely optional with Ireland, whether ſhe was to accede to the navigation laws hereafter to be paſſed in England; whereas the reſolution, as it now ſtood, would in a great meaſure govern the diſcretion of Ireland, not by impoſing on her an abſolute neceſſity of adopting ſuch laws, but

but by voiding the whole arrangements, if ſhe ſhould refuſe to do it. The whole of the treaty was to depend on that which alone could give ſtability to any treaty, the good faith of the two nations that were parties to it; but there was another ſecurity ſtill ſtronger, the mutual and demonſtrative advantage of each, which was ſo eſſentially connected with the preſervation of it; for Great Britain could not be detrimental to Ireland. It was ſomewhat extraordinary, but conſidering the general conduct of certain gentlemen in that Houſe, by no means ſingular, that it ſhould be imputed as a blame to the reſolutions, that the amendments made in them, and, among the reſt, thoſe that had been marked out as ſo deſtructive to the conſtitution of Ireland, that they had not been ſuffered to originate in Ireland, in order that Parliament might be apprized of the diſpoſition of the people of that country towards them, and that this objection ſhould be made by the very perſons who formerly made ſuch grievous complaints, that the firſt propoſitions were not ſuffered to originate in this country rather than in Ireland. The right honourable gentleman had enlarged with great vehemence, and with much boldneſs on the general diſcontents againſt the reſolutions in both kingdoms, although he had not, as his friend near him had done, diſclaimed his being an agent for Ireland, and though by his conduct, at preſent, he ſeemed to wiſh to be looked upon in that light, yet he muſt excuſe him, if he by no means conſidered him as the repreſentative of the Parliament or People of Ireland, and more particularly when he recollected, throughout the whole of the proceedings, although the right honourable gentleman's zeal had always been very great, yet it had been occaſionally directed to different objects. He at firſt ſtood forward as the champion of the Engliſh manufacturers againſt the Iriſh; who he was extremely apprehenſive would receive too great a benefit by thoſe reſolutions, and afterwards, he was become as warm an advocate for that very nation whoſe intereſts he had ſo lately moſt violently oppoſed, nay, was even ſanguine enough to flatter himſelf, that, forgetful of his recent hoſtility, they would echo back the ſame topic of oppoſition that he himſelf had taught them, and come to him for grounds of diſcontent and jealouſy. But he was not afraid of the right honourable gentleman being able to propagate his idle ſuggeſtions in the ſiſter kingdom, he was perſuaded ſhe would ſee in the reſolution, of which ſo bad a uſe had been attempted to be made, nothing but what

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was abſolutely neceſſary, nothing but what was eſſential to the whole of the arrangement, and above all, nothing that in the ſmalleſt degree could be ſuppoſed to tend to a ſurrender of her complete and acknowledged ſovereignty. It was, he obſerved, rather extraordinary to objeſt to the addreſs on arguments grounded on the danger likely to reſult from a part of the arrangement to the independence of Ireland, when that addreſs, ſo far from countenancing any idea of an infringement of the independence of Ireland, contained a ſolemn reprobation of any ſuch intention. With regard to the right honourable gentleman's aſſertion, that the plan was univerſally diſapproved by the people of this country, he had only to ſay, that certainly it was evident that conſiderable diſtricts, led away by motives of private intereſt, and that captious jealouſy with which trade is generally accompanied, had certainly expreſſed their diſapprobation of the whole arrangement. But that the majority of the people at large were averſe to it, was a circumſtance, for the truth or falſehood of which he was ready to appeal to the knowledge of ſuch gentlemen as had availed themſelves of the late interruption of the buſineſs of that Houſe, and had viſited ſuch parts of the kingdom as were not ſwayed by partial conſiderations or biaſſed by perſonal inducements; to thoſe gentlemen he was willing to appeal for the true ſtate of the public mind on the occaſion, which he was firmly convinced was not decided againſt the meaſure as had been repreſented. He hoped he ſhould always have firmneſs enough, even to face the loudeſt clamour, if it was ill founded, and he ſhould be equally ready to liſten attentively, and give the fulleſt conſideration to the opinion of the Public, or of large and reſpectable bodies of men, as ſeveral of thoſe manufacturers, that had oppoſed this ſyſtem, certainly were; yet ſtill in a great and comprehenſive arrangement that extended over ſo great a part of the national concerns, that embraced as well ſubjects of general policy, as of commerce, he thought it by no means fit, that Parliament ſhould be blindly directed by the voice of the mercantile part of the country, even admitting that the majority of that deſcription of people ſhould come forward on the ſubject. In all that had been ſaid by the three gentlemen who had ſpoken againſt the motion, there was nothing that applied to the queſtion itſelf; they had all gone upon grounds already debated and determined on by both Houſes of Parliament. The merits of the plan itſelf was a thing at preſent of courſe out of the queſtion, all that remained for Parliament now to do, after having approved of the reſolutions,

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was to be informed of the ſenſe of Ireland concerning them, and how was that to be done but by having them tranſmitted by the crown in conſequence of an addreſs. He wiſhed to know how gentlemen could account for it, that after a clamour and complaint for ſo many months, that Ireland was kept in the dark with reſpect to the ſyſtem going forward, they ſhould know when that complaint was to be removed, and when the whole of what had been done, was to be laid before the Parliament, of that country, ſo ſuddenly change their opinions and become deſirous of ſtill concealling from the ſiſter kingdom, that which they hitherto thought it ſo improper to conceal. There was but one topick more on which, after all the trouble he had already given the Houſe, he would then detain them, and that was the laſt reſolution, that which provided for a contribution from Ireland by the ſurplus of the hereditary revenue. This he obſerved had been uſed for the purpoſe of raiſing a jealouſy in Ireland on the grounds of conſtitutional infringement. But the argument uſed that day was, of all others, the moſt curious and the moſt contradictory he had yet heard. It had been ſtated, that it was repugnant to the principles of modern liberty, and ſubverſive of the policy of the Gothic Conſtitution to veſt in the Crown a grant of money for an unlimitted time. And by what means was this violation ſaid to be effected? By taking from the hands of the Crown that which it has already an uncontrolable right to diſpoſe of and appropriating it to a particular and certain purpoſe This was indeed a ſurpriſing method of increaſing the power of the Crown, and overturning that ſyſtem by which the executive Government had been kept dependent on Parliament for its neceſſary ſupplies Another turn had been given to this reſolution, as if it were an impoſition of tribute on Ireland, and a mark of ſubordination, but how far, he ſaid, were men reduced to go for argument when they had no other method of ſupporting their doctrines, than by finding out and applying odious names to bring in themſelves innocent or even deſirable. Thus to a proviſion for the defence of the empire, and that in the way moſt conſonant with freedom, (naval force) was given the name of a tribute, and an inſinuation of ſubordination raiſed upon the equitable and fair propoſal of a contribution for mutual defence. But he would not credit any man who ſhould ſo far injure the people of Ireland as to ſay, that they would ever ſuffer themſelves to be duped by the artifices and deceptions of any man, or ſet of men, into an adoption of all thoſe monſtrous chimeras that had been ſo induſtriouſly propagated.

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He had two great a dependance on the good ſenſe of Ireland, and of her regard for this country, to ſuppoſe that ſhe would ſacrifice her own intereſts, and the common welfare of the empire, to the far-fetched and ſpeculative punctilios that were ſo artfully ſuggeſted. After a warm panegyric on the Iriſh nation, he concluded with adjuring the Houſe, that now that they had ſo far done their duty in the buſineſs of this arrangement, they would put it into the hands of the Iriſh Parliament, on whoſe concurrence the farther progreſs of the whole depended.

The motion for this addreſs was agreed to without any diviſion: after which Mr. Pitt moved, "That leave be "given for finally regulating the intercourſe and commerce "between Great Britain and Ireland, on permanent and "equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both king-"doms." Which was alſo agreed to.

Thurſday, July 28.

A conference was held with the Lords upon the joint addreſs of both Houſes, when the blanks were filled up with the words "Lords ſpiritual and temporal."

Friday, July 29.

The Lords and Commons went up to St. James's, and preſented their addreſs to His Majeſty — The following is a copy.

"*Moſt gracious Sovereign,*

"We, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the "Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of Great "Britain in Parliament aſſembled, have taken into our moſt "ſerious conſideration, the important ſubject of the com-"mercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland, "recommended in Your Majeſty's ſpeech at the opening of "the preſent ſeſſion, and the reſolutions of the two Houſes "of the Parliament in Ireland, which were laid before us "by Your Majeſty's command, on the 22d of February "laſt.

"After a long and careful inveſtigation of the various "queſtions neceſſarily ariſing out of this comprehenſive ſub-"ject, we have come to the ſeveral reſolutions, which we

"now

" now humbly preſented to Your Majeſty and which, we " truſt, will form the baſis of an advantageous and per- " manent commercial ſettlement beween Your Majeſty's " kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland.

" We have proceeded on the foundation of the reſolu- " tions of the Parliament of Ireland; but in conſidering ſo " extenſive an arrangement, we have found it neceſſary to " introduce ſome modifications and exceptions, and we have " added ſuch regulations and conditions as appeared to us " indiſpenſably neceſſary for eſtabliſhing the propoſed agree- " ment, on juſt and equitable principles, and for ſecuring " to both countries thoſe commercial advantages to an " equal enjoyment of which they are in future to be en- " titled.

" Your Majeſty's ſubjects in Ireland, being ſecured in " a full and laſting participation of the trade with the " Britiſh Colonies, muſt, we are perſuaded, acknow- " ledge the juſtice of their continuing to enjoy it on the " ſame terms with Your Majeſty's ſubjects in Great " Britain.

" And it is, we conceive, equally manifeſt, that as the ſhips " and mariners of Ireland are to continue in all time to come " to enjoy the ſame privileges with thoſe of Great Britain, " the ſame proviſion ſhould be adopted in Ireland as may be " found neceſſary in this country, for ſecuring thoſe advan- " tages excluſively to the ſubjects of the empire. This ob- " ject is eſſentially connected with the maritime ſtrength of " Your Majeſty's dominions, and conſequently with the " ſafety and proſperity both of Great Britain and Ire- " land.

" We therefore deem it indiſpenſable, that theſe points " ſhould be ſecured as conditions neceſſary to the exiſtence " and duration of the agreement between the two countries; " they can only be carried into effect by laws to be paſſed in " the Parliament of Ireland; which is alone competent to " bind Your Majeſty's ſubjects in that kingdom, and whoſe " legiſlative rights we ſhall ever hold as ſacred as our " own.

" It remains for the Parliament of Ireland to judge, ac- " cording to their wiſdom and diſcretion, of theſe conditions, " as well as of every other part of the ſettlement propoſed " to be eſtabliſhed by mutual conſent.

" Our purpoſe in theſe reſolutions is to promote alike the " commercial intereſts of your Majeſty's ſubjects in both

" countries; and we are perſuaded, that the common proſpe-
" rity of the two kingdoms will be thereby greatly advan-
" ced; the ſubjects of each will in future apply themſelves to
" thoſe branches of commerce which they can exerciſe with
" moſt advantage, and the wealth ſo diffuſed through every
" part will operate as a general benefit of the whole.

" We have thus far performed our part in this important
" buſineſs; and we truſt that in the whole of its progreſs
" reciprocal intereſts and mutual affection will inſure that
" ſpirit of union, ſo eſſentially neceſſary to the great end
" which the two countries have equally in view.

" In this perſuaſion we look forward with confidence to
" the final completion of a meaſure which, while it tends to
" perpetuate harmony and friendſhip between the two king-
" doms, muſt, by augmenting their reſources, uniting their
" efforts, and conſolidating their ſtrength, afford Your
" Majeſty the ſureſt means of eſtabliſhing, on a laſting
" foundation, the ſafety, proſperity, and glory of the
" empire."

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I receive with the greateſt ſatisfaction theſe reſolutions,
" which, after ſo long and diligent an inveſtigation, you
" conſider as affording the baſis of an advantageous and per-
" manent commercial ſettlement between my kingdoms of
" Great Britain and Ireland. Nothing can more clearly ma-
" niſeſt your regard for the intereſts of both my kingdoms,
" and your zeal for the general proſperity of my dominions,
" than the attention you have given to this important object
" A full and equal participation of commercial advantages,
" and a ſimilarity of laws in thoſe points which are neceſſary
" for their preſervation and ſecurity, muſt be the ſureſt bond
" of union between the two kingdoms, and the ſource of reci-
" procal and increaſing benefits to both. The ſame ſpirit
" in which this great work has begun and proceeded will, I
" doubt not, appear throughout the whole of its progreſs;
" and I concur with you in thinking, that the final comple-
" tion of it is of eſſential importance to the future happineſs
" of both countries, and to the ſafety, glory, and proſperity
" of the empire."

Tueſday,

Tueſday, Auguſt 2.

Mr. Chancellor *Pitt* brought in a bill for adjuſting a final intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland, which was read a firſt time, and ordered to be read a ſecond time and printed; he then ſaid it was His Majeſty's pleaſure, that the Houſe ſhould adjourn until Thurſday the 27th of October.

The Speaker then put the queſtion, "That this Houſe do "now adjourn until Thurſday the 27th day of October," which was agreed to; and the Houſe adjourned accordingly.

On the 27th of October the Houſe met, and was prorogued by commiſſion — the ſeſſion was therefore concluded without any ſpeech from the Throne.

☞ The following ſpeech was delivered by the *right honourable* EDMUND BURKE, on the motion made, "For papers relative to the directions for charging the "Nabob of Arcot's private debts to Europeans on the revenues of the Carna-"tic." This motion was made on the 28th of Feb 1785, in which place we gave an abſtract of Mr Burke's argument. but having it in our power to lay a more detailed account before our readers, we are ſenſible they will agree with us, that though out of place, ſuch a compoſition cannot be out of ſeaſon.

Mr BURKE began with an obſervation on the ſingular ſpectacle of the day, in which Mr Dundas, who formerly ſtood forth as the proſecutor of Sir Thomas Rumbold, was now charged by the worthy Baronet — and that for a breach of public truſt — relative to the government of India.

But, ſays he, leaving theſe two gentlemen to alternate, as criminal and accuſer, upon what principles they think expedient, it is for us to conſider, Whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Treaſurer of the Navy, acting as a Board of Control, are juſtified by law or policy, in ſuſpending the legal arrangements made by the Court of Directors, in order to transfer the public revenues to the private emolument of certain ſervants of the Eaſt-India Company, without the inquiry into the origin and juſtice of their claims, preſcribed by an act of Parliament?

It is not contended, that the act of Parliament did not expreſſly ordain an inquiry. It is not aſſerted that this inquiry was not, with equal preciſion of terms, ſpecially committed under particular regulations to the Court of Directors. I conceive, therefore, the Board of Control had no right whatſoever to intermeddle in that buſineſs. There is nothing certain in the principles of juriſprudence, if this be not undeniably true, that when a ſpecial authority is given to any perſons by name, to do ſome particular act, that no others, by virtue of general powers, can obtain a legal title to intrude themſelves into that truſt, and to exerciſe thoſe ſpecial functions in their place: I therefore conſider the intermeddling of Miniſters in this affair as a downright uſurpation. But if the ſtrained conſtruction by which they have forced themſelves into a ſuſpicious office (which every man delicate with regard to character, would rather have ſought conſtructions to avoid) were perfectly ſound and perfectly legal, of this I am certain, that they cannot be juſtified in declining the inquiry which had been preſcribed to the Court of Directors. If the Board of Control did lawfully poſſeſs the right of executing the ſpecial truſt given to that Court, they muſt take it as they found it, ſubject to the very ſame regulations which bound the Court of Directors It will be allowed, that the Court of Directors, had no authority to diſpenſe with either the ſubſtance, or the mode of inquiry preſcribed by the act of Parliament. If they had not, where in the act did the Board of Control acquire that capacity? Indeed, it was impoſſible they ſhould acquire it — What muſt we think of the fabric and texture of an act of Parliament which ſhould find it neceſſary to preſcribe a ſtrict inquiſition, that ſhould deſcend into minute regulations for the conduct of that inquiſition, that ſhould commit this truſt to a particular deſcription of men, and in the very ſame breath ſhould enable another body, at their own pleaſure, to ſuperſede all the proviſions the Legiſlature had made, and to defeat the whole purpoſe, end, and object of the

law?

law? This cannot be ſuppoſed even of an act of Parliament conceived by the Miniſters themſelves, and brought forth during the delirium of the laſt ſeſſion

I think I can trace all the calamities of this country to the ſingle ſource of our not having had ſteadily before our eyes, a general, comprehenſive, well-connected and well-proportioned view of the whole of our dominions, and a juſt ſenſe of their true bearings and relations After all its reductions, the Britiſh empire is ſtill vaſt and various after all the reductions of the Houſe of Commons (ſtripped as we are of our brighteſt ornaments, and of our moſt important privileges) enough are yet left to furniſh us, if we pleaſe, with means of ſhewing to the world, that we deſerve the ſuperintendance of as large an empire as this kingdom ever held, and the continuance of as ample privileges as the Houſe of Commons in the plenitude of its power, had been habituated to aſſert. But if we make ourſelves too little for the ſphere of our duty, if, on the contrary, we do not ſtretch and expand our minds to the compaſs of their object, be well aſſured, that every thing about us will dwindle by degrees, until at length our concerns are ſhrunk to the dimenſions of our minds It is not a predilection to mean, ſordid, home-bred cares, that will avert the conſequences of a falſe eſtimation of our intereſt, or prevent the ſhameful dilapidation into which a great empire muſt fall, by mean repairations upon mighty ruins

It is to draw your attention to œconomy of quite another order, it is to animadvert to offences of a far different deſcription, that my honourable friend has brought before you the motion of this day. It is to perpetuate the abuſes which are ſubverting the frame of your empire, that the motion is oppoſed It is therefore with reaſon (and if he has power to carry himſelf through, I commend his prudence) that the right honourable gentleman makes his ſtand at the very outſet, and boldly refuſes all parliamentary information Let him admit but one ſtep towards inquiry and he is undone, — You muſt be ignorant or he cannot be ſafe But before his curtain is let down, and the ſhades of eternal night ſhall veil our eaſtern dominions from our view, permit me, Sir, to avail myſelf of the means which were furniſhed in anxious and inquiſitive times, to demonſtrate, out of this fine act of the preſent Miniſter, what advantages you are to derive from permitting the greateſt concern of this nation to be ſeparated from the cognizance, and exempted even out of the competence of Parliament. The greateſt body of our revenue, your moſt numerous armies, your moſt important commerce, the richeſt ſources of your public credit (contrary to every idea of the known ſettled policy of England) are on the point of being converted into a myſtery of ſtate You are going to have one half of the globe hid even from the common liberal curioſity of an Engliſh gentleman Here a grand revolution commences mark the period, and mark the circumſtances — In moſt of the capital changes that are recorded in the principles and ſyſtem of any government, a public benefit of ſome kind or other has been pretended The Revolution commenced in ſomething plauſible, in ſomething which carried the appearance at leaſt of puniſhment of delinquency, or correction of abuſe But here, in the very moment of a converſion of a department of Britiſh government into an Indian myſtery, and in the very act in which the change commences, a corrupt, private intereſt is ſet up in direct oppoſition to the neceſſities of the nation A diverſion is made of millions of the public money from the public treaſury to a private purſe It is not into ſecret negociations for war, peace, or alliance, that

the

the Houſe of Commons is forbidden to inquire—It is a matter of account; it is a pecuniary tranſaction, it is the demand of a ſuſpected ſteward upon ruined tenants and an embarraſſed maſter, that the Commons of Great Britain are commanded not to inſpect The whole tenor of the right honourable gentleman's argument is conſonant to the nature of his policy, the ſyſtem of concealment is foſtered by a ſyſtem of falſehood — Falſe facts, falſe colours, falſe names of perſons and things, are its whole ſupport.

Sir, I mean to follow the right honourable gentleman over that field of deception, clearing what he has purpoſely obſcured, and fairly ſtating what it was neceſſary for him to miſrepreſent For this purpoſe, it is neceſſary you ſhould know with ſome degree of diſtinctneſs, a little of the locality, the nature, the circumſtances, the magnitude of the pretended debts on which this marvellous donation is founded, as well as of the perſons from whom and by whom it is claimed.

Madras, with its dependencies, is the ſecond (but with a long interval, the ſecond) member of the Britiſh empire in the Eaſt. The trade of that city, and of the adjacent territory, was, not very long ago, among the moſt flouriſhing in Aſia. But ſince the eſtabliſhment of the Britiſh power, it has waſted away under an uniform gradual decline, inſomuch, that in the year 1779, not one merchant of eminence was to be found in the whole country*. During this period of decay, about 600,000l ſterling a year have been drawn off by Engliſh gentlemen on their private account, by the way of China alone† If we add 400,000l as probably remitted through other channels, and in other mediums, that is, in jewels, gold, and ſilver directly brought to Europe, and in bills upon the Britiſh and foreign Companies, you will ſcarcely think the matter over-rated If we fix the commencement of this extraction of money from the Carnatic at a period no earlier than the year 1760, and cloſe it in the year 1780, it probably will not amount to a great deal leſs than 20,000,000 of money

During the deep ſilent flow of this ſteady ſtream of wealth, which ſet from India into Europe, it generally paſſed on with no adequate obſervation, but happening at ſome periods to meet rifts of rocks that checked its courſe, it grew more noiſy, and attracted more notice The pecuniary diſcuſſions cauſed by an accumulation of part of the fortunes of the ſervants in a debt from the Nabob of Arcot, was the firſt thing which very particularly called for, and long engaged the attention of the Court of Directors This debt amounted to 880,000l ſterling, and was claimed, for the greater part, by Engliſh gentlemen reſiding at Madras. This grand capital, ſettled at length by order, at ten per cent. afforded an annuity of 88,000l ‡

Whilſt the Directors were digeſting their aſtoniſhment at this information, a memorial was preſented to them from three gentlemen, informing them, that their friends had lent likewiſe, to merchants of Canton in China, a ſum of not more than 1,000,000l. ſterling In this memorial, they called upon the Company for their aſſiſtance and interpoſition with the Chineſe government for the

* Mr Smith's examination before the Select Committee, Appendix, No 2

† Appendix, No 2

‡ Fourth Report, Mr Dundas's Committee, p 4.

recovery

recovery of the debt. This sum lent to Chinese merchants, was at 24 per cent. which would yield, if paid, an annuity of 240,000l. *

Perplexed as the Directors were with these demands, you may conceive, Sir, that they did not find themselves very much disembarrassed, by being made acquainted, that they must again exert their influence for a new reserve of the happy parsimony of their servants, collected into a second debt from the Nabob of Arcot, amounting to 2,400,000l. settled at an interest of 12 per cent. This is known by the name of the Consolidation of 1777 as the former of the Nabob's debts was by the title of the Consolidation of 1767. To this was added, in a separate parcel, a little reserve called the Cavalry Debt, of 160,000l. at the same interest. The whole of these four capitals, amounting to 4,440,000l. produced at their several rates, annuities amounting to 623,000l. a year; a good deal more than one third of the clear land tax of England, at four shillings in the pound, a good deal more than double the whole annual dividend of the East-India Company, the nominal master to the proprietors of these funds. Of this interest, 383,200l. a year stood chargeable on the public revenues of the Carnatic.

Sir, at this moment, it will not be necessary to consider the various operations which the capital and interest of this debt have successively undergone. I shall speak to these operations when I come particularly to answer the right honourable gentleman on each of the heads, as he has thought proper to divide them. But this was the exact view in which these debts first appeared to the Court of Directors, and to the world. It varied afterwards, but it never appeared in any other than a most questionable shape. When this gigantic phantom of debt first appeared before a young Minister, naturally would have justified some degree of doubt and apprehension. Such a prodigy would have filled any common man with superstitious fears. He would exercise that shapeless, nameless form, and by every thing sacred, would have adjured it to tell by what means a small number of slight individuals, of no consequence or situation, possessed of no lucrative offices, without the command of armies, or the known administration of revenues, without professions of any kind, and without any sort of trade sufficient to employ a pedlar, could in a few years (and as to some, even in a few months) have amassed treasures equal to the revenue of a respectable kingdom. Was it not enough to put these gentlemen, in the noviciate of their administration, on their guard, and to call upon them for a strict inquiry (if not to justify them in a reprobation of those demands without any inquiry at all) that when all England, Scotland, and Ireland, had for years been witness to the immense sums laid out by the servants of the Company, in stocks of all denominations, in the purchase of lands, in the buying and building of houses, in the securing quiet seats in Parliament, or in the tumultuous riot of contested elections in wandering throughout the whole range of these variegated modes of inventive prodigality which sometimes have excited our wonder, sometimes roused our indignation, that after all, India was still 4,000,000l. in debt to them! India in debt to them! For what? Every debt for which an equivalent of some kind or other is not given, is on the face of it a fraud. What equivalent had they to give? What are the articles

* A witness examined before the Committee of Secrecy says, that 18 per cent. was the usual interest but he had heard that more had been given. The above is the account which Mr B received.

of

of commerce, or the branches of manufacture which thoſe gentlemen have carried hence to enrich India? What are the ſciences they beamed out to enlighten it? What are the arts they introduced to chear and to adorn it? What are the religious, what the moral inſtitutions they have taught among that people as a guide to life, or as a conſolation when life is to be no more? That there is an eternal debt, a debt "ſtill paying, ſtill to owe," which muſt be bound on the preſent generation in India, and entailed on their mortgaged poſterity for ever? A debt of millions, in favour of a ſet of men, whoſe names, with few exceptions, are either buried in the obſcurity of their origin and talents, or dragged into light by the enormity of their crimes.

In my opinion, the courage of the Miniſter was the moſt wonderful part of the tranſaction, eſpecially as he muſt have read, or rather the right honourable gentleman ſays, he has read for him, whole volumes upon the ſubject. The volumes, by the way, are not by one tenth part ſo numerous as the right honourable gentleman has thought proper to pretend, in order to frighten you from inquiry, but in theſe volumes, ſuch as they are, the Miniſter muſt have found a full authority for a ſuſpicion (at the very leaſt) of every thing relative to the great fortunes made at Madras. What is that authority? Why no other than the ſtanding authority for all the claims which the Miniſtry has thought fit to provide for—the grand debtor—the Nabob of Arcot himſelf Hear that Prince, in the letter written to the Court of Directors, at the preciſe period, whilſt the main body of theſe debts were contracting In his letter he ſtates himſelf to be, what undoubtedly he is, a moſt competent witneſs to this point After ſpeaking of the war with Hyder Ali, in 1768 and 1769, and of other meaſures which he cenſures (whether right or wrong it ſignifies nothing) and into which he ſays he had been led by the Company's ſervants, he proceeds in this manner—"If all "theſe things were againſt the real intereſts of the Company, they are ten thou- "ſand times more againſt mine, and againſt the proſperity of my country, and the "happineſs of my people, for your intereſts and mine are the ſame. What "were they owing to then? To the private views of a few individuals, who "have enriched themſelves at the expence of your influence, and of my coun- "try; for your ſervants *have no trade in this country*, neither do you pay "them high wages, yet in a few years they return to England, with many lacks "of pagodas How can you or I account for ſuch immenſe fortunes, acquired "in ſo ſhort a time, without any viſible means of getting them?"

When he aſked this queſtion, which involves its anſwer, it is extraordinary that curioſity did not prompts the Chancellor of the Exchequer to that inquiry which might come in vain recommended to him by his own act of Parliament. Does not the Nabob of Arcot tell us in ſo many words, that there was no fair way of making the enormous ſums ſent by the Company's ſervants to England? and do you imagine that there was or could be more honeſty and good faith in the demands, for what remained behind in India? Of what nature were the tranſactions with himſelf? If you follow the train of his information you muſt conclude, that if theſe great ſums were at all lent, it was not property but ſpoil that was lent, if not lent, the tranſaction was not a contract but a fraud Either way, if light enough could not be furniſhed to authoriſe a full condemnation of theſe demands, they ought to have been left to the parties who beſt knew and underſtood each other's proceedings. It was not neceſſary that the authority of government ſhould interpoſe in favour of claims, whoſe very foundation was a defiance

a defiance of that authority, and whoſe object and end was its entire ſubverſion.

The great patron of theſe creditors (to whoſe honour they ought to erect ſtatues) the right honourable gentleman *, in ſtating the merits which recommended them to his favour, has ranked them under three grand diviſions. The firſt, the creditors of 1767; then the creditors of the cavalry loan, and laſtly, the creditors of the loan in 1777. Let us examine them, one by one, as they paſs in review before us.

The firſt of theſe loans, that of 1767, he inſiſts, has an indiſputable claim upon the public juſtice. The creditors, he affirms, lent their money publicly; they advanced it with the expreſs knowledge and approbation of the Company; and it was contracted at the moderate intereſt of ten per cent. In this loan the demand is, according to him, not only juſt, but meritorious in a very high degree, and one would be inclined to believe he thought ſo, becauſe he has put it laſt in the proviſion he has made for theſe claims.

I readily admit this debt to ſtand the faireſt of the whole, for whatever may be my ſuſpicions concerning a part of it, I can convict it of nothing worſe than the moſt enormous uſury. But I can convict upon the ſpot the right honourable gentleman, of the moſt daring miſrepreſentation in every one fact, without any exception, that he has alledged in defence of this loan, and of his own conduct with regard to it. I will ſhew you that this debt was never contracted with the knowledge of the Company, that it had not their approbation, that they received the firſt intelligence of it with the utmoſt poſſible ſurprize, indignation, and alarm

So far from being previouſly apprized of the tranſaction from its origin, that it was two years before the Court of Directors obtained any official intelligence of it "The dealings of the ſervants with the Nabob were concealed from the firſt, "until they were found out," (ſays Mr Sayer, the Company's council) "by "the report of the country." The preſidency, however, at laſt thought proper to ſend an official account On this the Directors tell them, "to your great re- "proach it has been concealed from us We cannot but ſuſpect this debt to have "had its weight in your propoſed aggrandizement of Mahomed Ali (the Nabob "of Arcot), but whether it has or has not, certain it is, you are guilty of an "high breach of duty in concealing it from us"

Theſe expreſſions, concerning the ground of the tranſaction, its effect, and its clandeſtine nature, are in the letters, bearing date March 17, 1769. After receiving a more full account on the 23d of March, 1770, they ſtate, that "Meſſrs John Pybus, John Call, and James Bourchier, as truſtees for them- "ſelves and others of the Nabob's private creditors, had proved a deed of aſſign- "ment upon the Nabob and his ſon of fifteen diſtricts of the Nabob's country, "the revenues of which yielded, in time of peace, eight lacks of pagodas "(320,000l ſterling) annually, and likewiſe an aſſignment of the yearly "tribute paid the Nabob from the Rajah of Tanjore, amounting to four lacks "of rupees (40,000l)" The territorial revenue, at that time poſſeſſed by theſe gentlemen, without the knowledge or conſent of their maſters, amounted to three hundred and ſixty thouſand pound ſterling annually They were making rapid ſtrides to the entire poſſeſſion of the country, when the Directors, whom the

* Mr Dundas.

right honourable gentleman states as having authorised these proceedings, were kept in such profound ignorance of this royal acquisition of territorial revenue by their servants, that in the same letter they say, "this assignment was obtained "by three of the members of your board, in January 1767, yet we do not find "the least trace of it upon your consultations, until August 1768, nor do any "of your letters to us afford any information relative to such transactions, till "the 1st of November 1768 By your last letters of the 8th of May 1769, "you bring the whole proceeding to light in one view"

As to the previous knowledge of the Company, and its sanction to the debts, you see that this assertion of that knowledge is utterly unfounded But did the Directors approve of it, and ratify the transaction when it was known? The very reverse On the same 3d of March, the Directors declare, "upon an im-"partial examination of the whole conduct of our late Governor and Council of "Fort George (Madras) and on the fullest consideration, that the said Governor "and Council have, in notorious violation of the trust reposed in them, mani-"festly preferred the interest of private individuals to that of the Company, in "permitting the assignment of the revenues of certain valuable districts, to a "very large amount, from the Nabob to individuals"—and then highly aggravating their crimes, they add "we order and direct that you do examine in the "most impartial manner, all the above-mentioned transactions, and that you "punish by suspension, degradation, dismission, or otherwise, as to you shall seem "meet, all and every such servant or servants of the Company, who may by "you be found guilty of any of the above offences." "We had (say the Di-"rectors) the mortification to find that the servants of the Company, who had "been raised, supported, and owed their present opulence to the advantages "gained in such service, have in this instance most unfaithfully betrayed their "trust, abandoned the Company's interest, and prostituted its influence to ac-"complish the purposes of individuals, whilst the interest of the Company is "almost wholly neglected, and payment to us rendered extremely precarious" Here then is the rock of approbation of the Court of Directors, on which the right honourable gentleman says this debt was founded Any member, Mr Speaker, who shall come into the House, on my reading this sentence of condemnation of the Court of Directors against their unfaithful servants, might well imagine that he had heard an harsh, severe, unqualified invective against the present ministerial Board of Control So exactly do the proceeding of the patrons of this abuse tally with those of the actors in it, that the expressions used in the condemnation of the one, may serve for the reprobation of the other, without the change of a world

How they came to contract the debt to themselves, how they came to act as agents for those whom they ought to have controlled, is for your inquiry The policy of this debt was announced to the Court of Directors, by the very persons concerned in creating it "Till very lately," (say the Presidency) "the Na-"bob placed his dependence on the Company Now he has been taught by ill "advisers, that an interest out of doors may stand him in good stead He has "been made to believe that his private creditors have power and interest to over-"rule the Court of Directors*" The Nabob was not misinformed The private

* For the threats of the creditors and total subversion of the authority of the Company in favour of the Nabob's power, and the increase thereby of his evil dispositions, and the great

vate creditors inſtantly qualified a vaſt number of votes; and having made themſelves maſters of the Court of Proprietors, as well as extending a powerful cabal in other places as important, they ſo completely overturned the authority of the Court of Directors at home and abroad, that this poor baffled government was ſoon obliged to lower its tone. It was glad to be admitted into a partnerſhip with its own ſervants The Court of Directors eſtabliſhing the debt which they had reprobated as a breach of truſt, and which was planned for the ſubverſion of their authority, ſettled its payments on a par with thoſe of the public, and even ſo, were not able to obtain peace or even equality in their demands. All theſe conſequences lay in a regular and irreſiſtible train By employing their influence for the recovery of this debt, their orders, iſſued in the ſame breath, againſt creating new debts, only animated the ſtrong deſires of their ſervants to this prohibited prolific ſport, and it ſoon produced a ſwarm of ſons and daughters not in the leaſt degenerated from the virtue of their parents.

From that moment the authority of the Court of Directors expired in the Carnatic, and every where elſe "Every man," ſays the Preſidency, who oppoſes the government and its meaſures, finds an immediate countenance from "the Nabob, even our diſcarded officers, however unworthy, are received into "the Nabob's ſervice *." It was indeed a matter of no wonderful ſagacity to determine whether the Court of Directors, with their miſerable ſalaries to their ſervants of 4 or 500l. a year, or the diſtributor of millions, was moſt likely to be obeyed It was an invention beyond the imagination of all the ſpeculatiſts of our ſpeculating age, to ſee a government quietly ſettled in one and the ſame town, compoſed of two diſtinct Members, one to pay ſcantily for obedience, and the other to bribe high for rebellion and revolt.

When you conſider the enormity of the intereſt at which theſe debts were contracted, and the ſeveral intereſts added to the principal, I believe you will not think me ſo ſceptical, if I ſhould doubt, whether for this of 880,000l. the Nabob ever ſaw 100,000l in real money The right honourable gentleman ſuſpecting, with all his abſolute dominion over fact, that he never will be able to defend even this venerable patriarchal job, though ſanctified by its numerous iſſue, and hoary with preſcriptive years, has recourſe to recrimination, the laſt reſource of guilt. He ſays that this loan of 1767 was provided for in Mr Fox's India bill, and judging of others by his own nature and principles, he more than inſinuates, that this proviſion was made, not from any ſenſe of merit in the claim, but from partiality to General Smith, a proprietor, and an agent for that debt. If partiality could have had any weight againſt juſtice and policy, with the then miniſters and their friends, General Smith had titles to it. But the right honourable gentleman knows as well as I do, that General Smith was very far from looking on himſelf as partially treated in the arrangements of that time, indeed what man dared to hope for private partiality in that ſacred plan for relief to nations?

great derangement of all public concerns, ſee Select Committee Fort St George's letters, 21ſt November 1769, and January 31ſt, 1770, September 11, 17 2 And Governor Bourchier's letters to the Nabob of Arcot, 21ſt November 1769, and December 9, 1769

* "He (the Nabob) is in a great degree the cauſe of our preſent inabilities by diverting "the revenues of the Carnatic through private channels"—"Even this pelteriſh (the Tanjore tributary) circumſtanced as he and we are, he has aſſigned over to others, who now "ſet themſelves in oppoſition to the Company" Conſultation, October 11, 1769, on the 24th communicated to the Nabob.

It is not neceſſary that the right honourable gentleman ſhould ſarcaſtically call that time to our recollection. Well do I remember every circumſtance of that memorable period God forbid I ſhould forget it. O, illuſtrious diſgrace! O, victorious defeat! May your memorial be freſh and new to the lateſt generation! May the day of that generous conflict be ſtamped in characters never to be cancelled or worn out from the records of time! Let no man hear of us, who ſhall not hear that in the ſtruggle againſt the intrigues of Courts, and the perfidious levity of the multitude, we fell in the cauſe of honour, in the cauſe of our country, in the cauſe of human nature itſelf! But if Fortune ſhould be as powerful over Fame, as ſhe has been prevalent over Virtue, at leaſt our conſcience is beyond her juriſdiction My poor ſhare in the ſupport of that great meaſure no man ſhall raviſh from me. It ſhall be ſafely lodged in the ſanctuary of my heart, never, never to be torn from thence, but with thoſe holds that grapple it to life.

I ſay, I will remember that bill, and every one of its honeſt and its wiſe proviſions. It is not true that this debt was ever protected or enforced, or any revenue whatſoever ſet apart for it. It was left in that bill juſt where it ſtood, to be paid or not to be paid out of the Nabob's private treaſures, according to his own diſcretion The Company had actually given in their ſanction, though always relying for its validity on the ſole ſecurity of the faith of him * who without their knowledge or conſent entered into the original obligation It had no other ſanction, it ought to have had no other. So far was Mr Fox's bill from providing funds for it, as this Miniſtry have wickedly done for this, and for ten times worſe tranſactions, out of the public eſtate, that an expreſs clauſe immediately preceded, poſitively forbidding any Britiſh ſubject from receiving aſſignments upon any part of the territorial revenue, on any pretence whatſoever

You recollect, Mr Speaker, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſtrongly profeſſed to retain every part of Mr Fox's bill, which was intended to prevent abuſe, but in his India Bill, which (let me do juſtice) is as able and ſkilful a performance for its own purpoſes, as ever iſſued from the wit of man, premeditating this iniquity—*hoc ipſum ut ſtrueret Troiamque aperiret Achivis*, expunged this eſſential clauſe, broke down the fence which was raiſed to cover the public property againſt the rapacity of his partizans, and thus levelling every obſtruction, he made a firm, broad highway for ſin and death, for uſury and oppreſſion, to renew their ravages throughout the devoted revenues of the Carnatic

The tenor, the policy, and the conſequences of this debt of 1767, are in the eyes of Miniſtry, ſo excellent, that its merits are irreſiſtible, and it takes the lead to give credit and countenance to all the reſt Along with this choſen body of heavy-armed infantry, and to ſupport it in the line, the right honourable gentleman has ſtationed his corps of black cavalry If there be any advantage between this debt and that of 1769, according to him the cavalry debt has it It is not a ſubject of defence, it is a theme of panegyric Liſten to the right honourable gentleman, and you will find it was contracted to ſave the country, to prevent mutiny in armies, to introduce œconomy in revenues, and for all theſe honourable purpoſes, it originated at the expreſs deſire, and by the repreſentative authority of the Company itſelf

* The Nabob of Arcot.

Mr.

Mr. Burke here ſtated at ſome length the ſhameful circumſtances of this tranſaction, and to ſhew the infamy of *foucaring*, he read a letter written from one of undoubted information in Madras, to Sir John Clavering, deſcribing the practice that prevailed there, whilſt the Company's allies were under ſale, during the time of Governor Winch's adminiſtration

——"One mode" (ſays Clavering's correſpondent) "of amaſſing money at "the Nabob's coſt is curious. He is generally in arrears to the Company. "Here the Governor, being caſh keeper, is generally on good terms with the "banker, who manages matters thus The Governor preſſes the Nabob for "the balance due from him, the Nabob flies to his banker for relief, the banker "engages to pay the money, and grants his notes accordingly, which he puts in "the caſh-book as ready money, the Nabob pays him an intereſt for it at two "or three per cent. per menſem, till the tunkaws he grants on the particular "diſtricts for it are paid. Matters in the mean time are ſo managed, that there "is no call for this money for the Company's ſervice, till the tunkaws become "due By this means not a rupee of caſh is advanced by the banker, though he "receives a heavy intereſt from the Nabob, which is divided as lawful ſpoil."

Here, Mr Speaker, you have the whole art and myſtery, the true free-maſon ſecret of the profeſſion of foucaring, by which a few innocent, inexperienced young Engliſhmen, ſuch as Mr Paul Benfield, for inſtance, without property upon which any one would lend to themſelves a ſingle ſhilling, are enabled at once to take provinces in mortgage, to make princes their debtors, and to become creditors for millions,

But it ſeems the right honourable gentleman's favourite ſoucar cavalry have proved the payment before the Mayor's Court at Madras! Have they ſo? Why then defraud our anxiety and their characters of that proof? Is it not enough that the charges which I have laid before you, have ſtood on record againſt theſe poor injured gentlemen for eight years? Is it not enough that they are in print by the orders of the Eaſt-India Company for five years? After theſe gentlemen have borne all the odium of this publication, and all the indignation of the Directors, with ſuch unexampled equanimity, now that they are at length ſtimulated into feeling, are you to deny them their juſt relief? But will the right honourable gentleman be pleaſed to tell us, how they came not to give this ſatisfaction to the Court of Directors, their lawful maſters, during all the eight years of this litigated claim? Were they not bound, by every tie that can bind man, to give them this ſatisfaction? This day, for the firſt time, we hear of the proofs. But when were theſe proofs offered? In what cauſe? Who were the parties? Who inſpected? Who conteſted this belated account? Let us ſee ſomething to oppoſe to the body of record which appears againſt them The Mayor's Court! The Mayor's Court! Pleaſant! Does not the honourable gentleman know, that the corps of creditors (the creditors of 1767) ſtated it as a ſort of hardſhip to them, that they could not have juſtice at Madras, from the impoſſibility of their ſupporting their claims in the Mayor's Court Why? becauſe, ſay they, the members of that Court were themſelves creditors, and therefore could not ſit as Judges*. Are we ripe to ſay that no creditor under ſimilar circumſtances was member of the Court, when the payment which is the ground of this cavalry debt.

* Memorial from the Creditors to the Governor and Council, 22d January, 1770.

was

was put in proof *? Nay, are we not in a manner compelled to conclude that the Court was ſo conſtituted, when we know there is ſcarcely a man in Madras who has not ſome participation in theſe tranſactions? It is a ſhame to hear ſuch proofs mentioned, inſtead of the honeſt vigorous ſcrutiny which the circumſtances of ſuch an affair ſo indiſpenſably call for.

But His Majeſty's Miniſters, indulgent enough to other ſcrutinies, have not been ſatisfied with authoriſing the payment of this demand without ſuch inquiry as the act has preſcribed, but they have added the arrear of twelve per cent intereſt, from the year 1777 to the year 1784, to make a new capital, raiſing thereby from 160 to 294,000l. Then they charge a new twelve per cent on the whole from that period, for a tranſaction, in which it will be a miracle if a ſingle penny will be ever found really advanced from the private ſtock of the pretended creditors.

'In this manner, and at ſuch an intereſt, the Miniſters have thought proper to diſpoſe of 294,000l of the public revenues, for what is called the cavalry loan. After diſpatching this, the right honourable gentleman leads to battle his laſt grand diviſion the conſolidated debt of 1777. But having exhauſted all his panegyric on the two firſt, he has nothing at all to ſay in favour of the laſt. On the contrary, he admits that it was contracted in defiance of the Company's orders, without even the pretended repreſentatives. Nobody, indeed, has yet been found hardy enough to ſtand forth avowedly in its defence. But it is little to the credit of the age, that what has not plauſibility enough to find an advocate, has influence enough to obtain a protector. Could any man expect to find that protector any where? But what muſt every man think, when he finds that protector in the Chairman of the Committee of Secrecy †, who had publiſhed to the Houſe, and to the world, the facts that condemn theſe debts—the orders that forbid the incurring of them—the dreadful conſequences which attended them? Even in his official letter, when he tramples on his parliamentary Report, yet his general language is the ſame. Read the preface to this part of the miniſterial arrangement, and you would imagine that this debt was to be cruſhed, with all the weight of indignation which could fall from a vigilant guardian of the public treaſury, upon thoſe who attempted to rob it. What muſt be felt by every man who has feeling, when, after ſuch a thundering preamble of condemnation, this debt is ordered to be paid without any ſort of inquiry into its authenticity, without a ſingle ſtep taken to ſettle even the amount of the demand, without an attempt ſo much as to aſcertain the real perſons claiming a ſum, which riſes in the accounts from 1,300 000l ſterling, to 2,400 000l principal money ‡? Without an attempt made to aſcertain the proprietors, of whom no liſt has ever yet been laid before the Court of Directors, of proprietors who are known to be

* In the year 1778, Mr James Call, one of the proprietors of this ſpecific debt, was actually Mayor. Appendix to 2d Report of Mr Dundas's Committee, No 65.—The only proof which appeared on the inquiry inſtituted in the General Court of 1781, was an affidavit of the lenders themſelves, depoſing (what no body ever denied) that they had engaged and agreed to pay—not that they had paid the ſum of 160,000l. This was two years after the tranſaction, and the affidavit is made before George Proctor, Mayor, an attorney for certain of the old creditors. Proceedings of the Preſident and Council of Fort Saint George, 22d February 1781.

† Right honourable Henry Dundas.

‡ Appendix to the 4th Report of Mr Dundas's Committee, No 15.

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in a colluſive ſhuffle, by which they never appear to be the ſame in any two liſts, handed about for their own particular purpoſes?

My honourable friend who made you the motion, has ſufficiently expoſed the nature of this debt. He has ſtated to you that its own agents in the year 1781, in the arrangement they propoſed to make at Calcutta, were ſatisfied to have 25 per cent. at once ſtruck off from the capital of a great part of this debt, and prayed to have a proviſion made for this reduced principal, without any intereſt at all. This was an arrangement of their own, an arrangement made by thoſe who beſt knew the true conſtitution of their own debt, who knew how little favour it merited*, and how little hopes they had to find any perſons in authority abandoned enough to ſupport it as it ſtood.

But what corrupt men, in the fond imaginations of a ſanguine avarice, had not the confidence to propoſe, they have found a Chancellor of the Exchequer in England hardy enough to undertake for them. He has cheered their drooping ſpirits. He has thanked the peculators for not deſpairing of their commonwealth. He has told them they were too modeſt. He has replaced the 25 per cent. which, in order to lighten themſelves, they had abandoned in their conſcious terror. Inſtead of cutting off the intereſt, as they had themſelves conſented to do, with the fourth of the capital, he has added the whole growth of four years uſury of 12 per cent. to the firſt over-grown principal, and has again grafted on this meliorated ſtock a perpetual annuity of 6 per cent. to take place from the year 1781. Let no man hereafter talk of the decaying energies of nature. All the acts and monuments of the records of peculation, the conſolidated corruption of ages; the patterns of exemplary plunder in the heroic times of Roman iniquity, never equalled the gigantic corruption of this ſingle act. Never did Nero, in all the inſolent prodigality of deſpotiſm, deal out to his pratorian guards a donation fit to be named with the largeſs ſhowered down by the bounty of our Chancellor of the Exchequer on the faithful band of his Indian Sepoys.

This day, and not before, the right honourable gentleman thinks that the general eſtabliſhment of all claims is the ſureſt way of lying open the fraud of ſome of them. In India, this is a reach of deep policy. But what would be thought of this mode of acting on a demand upon the Treaſury in England? Inſtead of all this cunning, is there not one plain way open, that is, to put the burden of the proof on thoſe who make the demand? Ought not Miniſtry to have ſaid to the creditors, "The perſon who admits your debt ſtands excepted "to as evidence, he ſtands charged as a colluſive party, to hand over the public "revenues to you for ſiniſter purpoſes. You ſay, you have a demand of ſome "millions on the Indian Treaſury, prove that you have acted by lawful au-"thority, prove at leaſt that your money has been *bona fide* advanced, entitle

* No ſenſe of the common danger, in caſe of a war, can prevail on him (the Nabob of Arcot) to furniſh the Company with what is abſolutely neceſſary to aſſemble an army, though it is beyond a doubt, that money to a large amount is now hoarded up in his coffers at Chepauk, and tunkaws are granted to individuals upon ſome of his moſt valuable countries, for payment of part of thoſe debts which he has contracted, and which certainly will not bear inſpection, as neither the debtor or creditors have ever had the confidence to ſubmit the accounts to our examination, though they expreſſed a wiſh to conſolidate the debts under the auſpices of this government, agreeably to a plan they had formed. Madras Conſultations, 24th July 1778. Mr Dundas's Appendix to 2d Report, 142. See alſo laſt Appendix to ſaid Report, No 36, B.

"your-

"yourſelf to my protection, by the fairneſs and fulneſs of the communications "you make." Did an honeſt creditor ever refuſe that reaſonable and honeſt teſt?

I have endeavoured to find out, if poſſible, the amount of the whole of thoſe demands, in order to ſee how much, ſuppoſing the country in a condition to furniſh the fund, may remain to ſatisfy the public debt and the neceſſary eſtabliſhments. But I have been foiled in my attempt. About one-fourth, that is about 220,000 of the loan of 1767, remains unpaid How much intereſt is in arrear I could never diſcover, ſeven or eight years at leaſt, which would make the whole of that debt about 396,000l. This ſtock, which the Miniſters in their inſtructions to the Governor of Madras ſtate as the leaſt exceptionable, they have thought proper to diſtinguiſh by a marked ſeverity, leaving it the only one on which the intereſt is not added to the principal, to beget a new intereſt.

The cavalry loan, by the operation of the ſame authority, is made up to 294,000l. and this 294,000l made up of principal and intereſt, is crowned with a new intereſt of twelve per cent

What the grand loan, the bribery loan of 1777, may be, is amongſt the deepeſt myſteries of ſtate. It is probably the firſt debt ever aſſuming the title of conſolidation, that did not expreſs what the amount of the ſum conſolidated was It is little leſs than a contradiction in terms. In the debt of 1767, the ſum was ſtated in the act of conſolidation, and made to amount to 880,000 capital When this conſolidation of 1777 was firſt announced at the Durbar, it was repreſented authentically at 1,400,000l. In that, or rather in an higher ſtate, Sir Thomas Rumbold found and condemned it *. It afterwards fell into ſuch terror, as to ſweat away a million of its weight at once, and it ſunk to 1,400,000l † However, it never was without a reſource for recruiting it to its old plumpneſs. There was a ſort of floating debt of about 4 or 500,000l. more, ready to be added, as occaſion ſhould require.

In ſhort, when you preſſed this ſenſitive plant, it always contracted its dimenſions. When the rude hand of inquiry was withdrawn, it expanded in all the luxuriant vigour of its original vegetation In the treaty of 1781, the whole of the Nabob's debt to private Europeans is by Mr Sullivan, agent to the Nabob and the creditors, ſtated at 2,800,000l which (if the cavalry loan, and the remains of the debt of 1767, be ſubtracted) leaves it nearly at the amount originally declared at the Durbar, in 1777 But then there is a private inſtruction to Mr. Sullivan, which it ſeems will reduce it again to the loweſt ſtandard of

* In Sir Thomas Rumbold's letter to the Court of Directors, March 15, 1778, he repreſents it as higher, in the following manner — "How ſhall I paint to you my aſtoniſhment "on my arrival here, when I was informed, that independent of this four lacks of pagodas "(the cavalry loan), independent of the Nabob's debt to his old creditors, and the money "due to the Company, he had contracted a debt to the enormous amount of ſixty-three "lacks of pagodas (2,520,000l) I mention this circumſtance to you with horror, for "the creditors being in general ſervants of the Company, renders my taſk, on the part of "the Company difficult and invidious. I think it proper to mention to you, that although "the Nabob reports his private debt to amount to upwards of ſixty lacks, yet I underſtand "that it is not quite ſo much" Afterwards Sir Thomas Rumbold recommended this debt to the favourable attention of the Company, but without any ſufficient reaſon for his change of diſpoſition However he went no farther

† Nabob's propoſals, November 25th 1773, and the memorial of the creditors, March 21ſt, 1779.

1,400,000l.

1,400,000l. Failing in all my attempts, by a direct account, to aſcertain the extent of the capital claimed (where in all probability no capital was ever advanced) I endeavoured, if poſſible, to diſcover it by the intereſt which was to be paid. For that purpoſe, I looked to the ſeveral agreements for aſſigning the territories of the Carnatic to ſecure the principal and intereſt of this debt. In one of them * I found in a ſort of poſtſcript, by way of an additional remark, (not in the body of the obligation) the debt repreſented at 1,400,000l. But when I computed the ſums to be paid for intereſt by inſtalments in another paper, I found they produced the intereſt of two millions, at twelve per cent. and the aſſignment ſuppoſed, that if theſe inſtalments might exceed, they might alſo fall ſhort of the real proviſion for that intereſt †.

Another inſtalment bond was afterwards granted In that bond the intereſt exactly tallies with a capital of 1,400,000l ‡. But purſuing this capital through the correſpondence, I loſt ſight of it again, and it was aſſerted that this inſtalment bond was conſiderably ſhort of the intereſt that ought to be computed to the time mentioned § Here are, therefore, two ſtatements of equal authority, differing at leaſt a million from each other, and as neither perſons claiming, nor any ſpecial ſum as belonging to each particular claimant, is aſcertained in the inſtruments of conſolidation, or in the inſtalment bonds, a large ſcope was left to throw in any ſums for any perſons, as their merits in advancing the intereſt of that loan might require, a power was alſo left for reduction, in caſe a harder hand, or more ſcanty funds, might be found to require it Stronger grounds for a preſumption of fraud never appeared in any tranſaction But the miniſters, faithful to the plan of the intereſted perſons, whom alone they thought fit to confer with on this occaſion, have ordered the payment of the whole maſs of theſe unknown unliquidated ſums, without an attempt to aſcertain them On this conduct, Sir, I leave you to make your own reflections.

It is impoſſible (at leaſt I have found it impoſſible) to form the real amount of the pretended debts with which your miniſters have thought proper to load the Carnatic They are obſcure, they ſhun inquiry, they are enormous. That is all you know of them

That you may judge what chance any honourable and uſeful end of government has for a proviſion that comes in for the leavings of theſe gluttonous demands, I muſt take it on myſelf to bring before you the real condition of that abuſed, inſulted, racked, and ruined country, though in truth my mind revolts from it, though you will hear it with horror, and I confeſs, I tremble when I think on theſe awful and confounding diſpenſations of Providence I ſhall firſt trouble you with a few words as to the cauſe

The great fortunes made in India in the beginnings of conqueſt, naturally excited an emulation in all the parts, and through the whole ſucceſſion of the Company's ſervice But in the Company it gave riſe to other ſentiments They did not find the new channels of acquiſition flow with equal riches to them On the contrary, the high flood-tide of private emolument was generally in the loweſt ebb of their affairs. They began alſo to fear, that the fortune of war might

* Nabob's propoſals to his new conſolidated creditors, November 25th, 1778
† Paper ſigned by the Nabob, 6th January 1780
‡ Kiſtbundi to July 31, 1780
§ Governor's letter to the Nabob, 25th July 1779

take away what the fortune of war had given. Wars were accordingly discouraged by repeated injunctions and menaces, and that the servants might not be bribed into them by the native princes, they were strictly forbidden to take any money whatsoever from their hands. But vehement passion is ingenious in resources The Company's servants were not only stimulated, but better instructed by the prohibition. They soon fell upon a contrivance which answered their purposes far better than the methods which were forbidden, though in this also they violated an ancient, but they thought, an abrogated order They reversed their proceedings. Instead of receiving presents, they made loans Instead of carrying on wars in their own name, they contrived an authority, at once irresistible and irresponsible, in whose name they might ravage at pleasure, and being thus freed from all restraint, they indulged themselves in the most extravagant speculations of plunder. The cabal of creditors who have been the object of the late bountiful grant from his Majesty's Ministers, in order to possess themselves, under the name of creditors and assignees, of every country in India, as fast as it should be conquered, inspired into the mind of the Nabob of Arcot (then a dependant on the Company of the humblest order) a scheme of the most wild and desperate ambition that I believe ever was admitted into the thoughts of a man so situated * First, they persuaded him to consider himself as a principal member in the political system of Europe In the next place, they held out to him and he readily imbibed the idea, of the general empire of Hindostan As a preliminary to this undertaking, they prevailed on him to propose a tripartite division of that vast country One part to the Company, another to the Marattas, and the third to himself. To himself he reserved all the southern part of the great peninsula, comprehended under the general name of the Decan

On this scheme of their servants, the Company was to appear in the Carnatic in no other light than as a contractor for the provision of armies, and the hire of mercenaries for his use, and under his direction. This disposition was to be secured by the Nabob's putting himself under the guarantee of France, and by the means of that rival nation, preventing the English for ever from assuming an equality, much less a superiority in the Carnatic In pursuance of this treasonable project (treasonable on the part of the English) they extinguished the Company as a sovereign power in that part of India, they withdrew the Company's garrisons out of all the forts and strong holds of the Carnatic, they declined to receive the ambassadors from foreign courts, and remitted them to the Nabob of Arcot, they fell upon, and totally destroyed the oldest ally of the Company, the King of Tanjore, and plundered the country to the amount of near five millions sterling, one after another, in the Nabob's name, but with English force, they brought into a miserable servitude all the princes, and great independent nobility of a vast country † In proportion to these treasons and violences, which ruined the people, the fund of the Nabob's debt grew and flourished

Among

* Report of the Select Committee, Madras Consultations, January 7, 1771 See also papers published by the order of the Court of Directors in 1776, and Lord Macartney's correspondence with Mr Hastings and the Nabob of Arcot See also Mr Dundas's Appendix, No. 376 B Nabob's propositions thro' Mr, Sullivan and Aslam Khan, Art 6. and indeed the whole

† "The principal object of the expedition is to get money from Tanjore to pay the Nabob's debts at a surplus, to be applied in discharge of the Nabob's debts to his private creditors"

Among the victims to this magnificent plan of univerſal plunder, worthy of the heroic avarice of the projectors, you have all heard (and he has made himſelf to be well remembered) of an Indian chief called Hyder Ali Khan. This man poſſeſſed the weſtern, as the Company, under the name of the Nabob of Arcot, does the eaſtern diviſion of the Carnatic It was among the leading meaſures in the deſign of this cabal (according to their own emphatic language) to extirpate this Hyder Ali *. They declared the Nabob of Arcot to be his ſovereign, and himſelf to be a rebel, and publicly inveſted their inſtrument with the ſovereignty of the kingdom of Myſore But their victim was not of the paſſive kind They were ſoon obliged to conclude a treaty of peace and cloſe alliance with this rebel, at the gates of Madras. Both before and ſince that treaty, every principle of policy pointed out this power as a natural alliance, and on his part, it was courted by every ſort of amicable office But the cabinet council of Engliſh creditors would not ſuffer their Nabob of Arcot to ſign the treaty, nor even to give to a prince, at leaſt his equal, the ordinary titles of reſpect and courteſy †. From that time forward, a continued plot was carried on within the divan, black and white, of the Nabob of Arcot, for the deſtruction of Hyder Ali As to the outward members of the double, or rather treble government of Madras, which had ſigned the treaty, they were always prevented by ſome over ruling influence (which they do not deſcribe, but which cannot be miſunderſtood) from performing what juſtice and intereſt combined ſo evidently to enforce ‡.

When at length Hyder Ali found that he had to do with men who either would ſign no convention, or whom no treaty and no ſignature could bind, and who were the determined enemies of human intercourſe itſelf, he decreed to make the country poſſeſſed by theſe incorrigible and predeſtinated criminals a memorable example to mankind. He reſolved, in the gloomy receſſes of a mind capacious of ſuch things, to leave the whole Carnatic an everlaſting monument of vengeance, and to put perpetual deſolation as a barrier between him and thoſe againſt whom the faith which holds the moral elements of the world together was no protection He became at length ſo confident of his force, ſo collected in his might, that he made no ſecret whatſoever of his dreadful reſolution. Having terminated his diſputes with every enemy, and every rival, who buried their mutual animoſities in their common deteſtation againſt the creditors of the Nabob of Arcot, he drew from every quarter, whatever a ſavage ferocity could add to his new rudiments in the art of deſtruction, and compounding all the materials of fury, havock, and deſolation, into one black cloud, he hung for a while on the declivities of the mountain. Whilſt the authors of theſe evils were idly and ſtupidly gazing on this menacing meteor, which blackened all their horizon, it ſuddenly burſt, and poured down the whole of its contents

" creditors." Conſultations, March 20, 1771, and for farther light, Conſultations, 12th June, 1771. " We are alarmed, leſt this debt to individuals ſhould have been the real motive for the aggrandizement of Mahomed Ali (the Nabob of Arcot) and that we are " plunged into a war to put him into poſſeſſion of the Myſore revenues for the diſcharge of " the debt " Letters from the Directors, March 17, 1769

* Letter from the Nabob, May 1ſt, 1768, and ditto, 24th April, 1770, 1ſt October, ditto, 16th September, 1772, 16th, March, 1773

† Letter from the Preſidency at Madras to the Court of Directors, 27th June, 1769

‡ Mr. Dundas's Committee, Report I Appendix, No 29

upon the plains of the Carnatic --Then ensued a scene of woe, the like of which no eye had seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue can adequately tell. All the horrors of war before known or heard of, were mercy to that new havock. A storm of universal fire blasted every field, consumed every house, destroyed every temple The miserable inhabitants flying from their flaming villages, in part were slaughtered, others, without regard to sex, to age, to the respect of rank, or sacredness of function, fathers torn from children, husbands from wives, enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry, and amidst the goading spears of drivers, and the trampling of pursuing horses, were swept into captivity, in an unknown and hostile land Those who were able to evade this tempest, fled to the walled cities But escaping from fire, sword, and exile, they fell into the jaws of famine

The alms of the settlement, in this dreadful exigency, were certainly liberal, and all was done by charity that private charity could do but it was a people in beggary, it was a nation which stretched out its hands for food For months together these creatures of sufferance, whose very excess and luxury in their most plenteous days, had fallen short of the allowance of our austerest fasts, silent, patient, resigned, without sedition or disturbance, almost without complaint, perished by a hundred a day in the streets of Madras, every day seventy at least laid their bodies in the streets, or on the glacis of Tanjore, and expired of famine in the granary of India I was going to awake your justice towards this unhappy part of our fellow citizens, by bringing before you some of the circumstances of this plague of hunger Of all the calamities which beset and waylay the life of man, this comes the nearest to our heart, and is that wherein the proudest of us all feels himself to be nothing more than he is but I find myself unable to manage it with decorum, these details are of a species of horror so nauseous and disgusting, they are so degrading to the sufferers and to the hearers, they are so humiliating to human nature itself, that, on better thoughts, I find it more adviseable to throw a pall over this hideous object, and to leave it to your general conceptions

For eighteen months*, without intermission, this destruction raged from the gates of Madras to the gates of Tanjore, and so completely did these masters in [illegible] Hyder Ali and his more ferocious son, absolve themselves of their [illegible], that [illegible] the British armies traversed, as they did the Carnatic for hundreds of miles in all directions, through the whole line of their march they did not see one man, not one woman, not one child, not one four-footed beast of any description whatever One dead uniform silence reigned over the whole region With the inconsiderable exceptions of the narrow vicinage of some few forts, I wish to be understood as speaking literally I mean to produce to you more than three witnesses, above all exception, who will support this assertion in its full extent. That hurricane of war passed through every part of the central provinces of the Carnatic Six or seven districts to the north and to the south (and these not wholly untouched escaped) the general ravage.

The Carnatic is a country not much inferior in extent to England Figure to yourself, Mr Speaker, the land in whose representative chair you sit, figure to yourself the form and fashion of your sweet and cheerful country from Thames

* Appendix, No 4, Report of the Committee of assigned revenue.

to

to Trent, north and south, and from the Irish to the German sea, east and west, wasted and embowelled (May God avert the omen of our crimes) by so accomplished a desolation. Extend your imagination a little farther, and then suppose your Ministers taking a survey of this scene of waste and desolation, what would be your thoughts if you should be informed, that they were computing how much had been the amount of the excises, how much the customs, how much the land and malt tax, in order that they should charge (take it in the most favourable light) for public service, upon the relicks of the satiated vengeance of relentless enemies, the whole of what England had yielded in the most exurberant seasons of peace and abundance? What would you call it? To call it tyranny, sublimed into madness, would be too faint an image, yet this very madness is the principle upon which the Ministers at your right hand have proceeded in their estimate of the revenues of the Carnatic, when they were providing, not supply for the establishments of its protection, but rewards for the authors of its ruin

Every day you are fatigued and disgusted with this cant, "the Carnatic is a "country that will soon recover, and become instantly as prosperous as ever" They think they are talking to innocents, who will believe that by sowing of dragon's teeth, men may come up ready grown and ready armed They who will give themselves the trouble of considering (for it requires no great reach of thought, no very profound knowledge) the manner in which mankind are increased and countries cultivated, will regard all this raving as it ought to be regarded In order that the people, after a long period of rapine and plunder, may be in a condition to maintain government, government must begin by maintaining them Here the road to œconomy lies, not through receipt, but through expence, and in that country nature has given no short cut to your object. Men must propagate, like other animals, by the mouth. Never did oppression light the nuptial torch, never did extortion and usury spread out the genial bed Does any of you think that England, so wasted, would, under such a nursing attendance, so rapidly and cheaply recover? But he is merely acquainted with either England or India, who does not know that England would a thousand times sooner resume population, fertility, and what ought to be the ultimate secretion from both, revenue, than such a country as the Carnatic

The Carnatic is not by the bounty of nature a fertile soil The general size of its cattle is proof enough that it is much otherwise It is some days since I moved, that a curious and interesting map, kept in the India House, should be laid before you * The Leighlin House is not yet in readiness to send it, I have therefore brought down my own copy, and there it lies for the use of any gentleman who may think such a matter worthy of his attention. It is indeed a noble map, and of noble things, but it is decisive against the golden dreams and sanguine speculations of avarice run mad. In addition to what you know must be the case in every part of the world (the necessity of a previous provision of habitation, seed, stock, capital) that map will shew you, that the use of the influences of Heaven itself are in that country a work of art. The Carnatic is refreshed by few or no living brooks or running streams, and it has rain only at a season, but a product of rice exacts the use of water subject to per-

* Mr Bernard's Map of the Jaghire.

petual

petual command. This is the national bank of the Carnatic, on which it muſt have a perpetual credit, or it periſhes irretrievably For that reaſon, in the happier times of India, a number almoſt incredible of reſervoirs have been made in choſen places throughout the whole country, they are formed, for the greater part, of mounds of earth and ſtones, with ſluices of ſolid maſonry, the whole conſtructed with admirable ſkill and labour, and maintained at a mighty charge. In the territory contained in that map alone, I have been at the trouble of reckoning the reſervoirs, and they amount to upwards of eleven hundred, from the extent of two or three acres to five miles in circuit From theſe reſervoirs currents are occaſionally drawn over the fields, and theſe watercourſes again call for a conſiderable expence to keep them properly ſcoured and duly levelled. Taking the diſtrict in that map as a meaſure, there cannot be in the Carnatic and Tanjore, fewer than ten thouſand of theſe reſervoirs of the larger and middling dimenſions, to ſay nothing of thoſe for domeſtic ſervices, and the uſe of religious purification These are not the enterprizes of your power, nor in a ſtyle of magnificence ſuited to the taſte of your miniſter These are the monuments of real kings, who were the fathers of their people, teſtators to a poſterity which they embraced as their own. Theſe are the grand ſepulchres built by ambition, but by the ambition of an unſatiable benevolence, which, not contented with reigning in the diſperſation of happineſs during the contracted term of human life, had ſtrained, with all the reachings and graſpings of a vivacious mind, to extend the dominion of their bounty beyond the limits of nature, and to perpetuate themſelves through generations of generations, the guardians, the protectors, the nouriſhers of mankind.

Long before the late invaſion, the perſons who are objects of the grant of public money now before you, had ſo diverted the ſupply of the pious funds of culture and population, that every where the reſervoirs were fallen into a miſerable decay † But after thoſe domeſtic enemies had provoked the entry of a cruel foreign foe into the country, he did not leave it until his revenge had completed the deſtruction begun by their avarice. Few, very few indeed, of theſe magazines of water that are not either totally deſtroyed, or cut through with ſuch gaps, as to require a ſerious attention and much coſt to re-eſtabliſh them, as the means of preſent ſubſiſtence to the people, and of future revenue to the ſtate.

What, Sir, would a virtuous and enlightened Miniſtry do on the view of the ruins of ſuch works before them, on the view of ſuch a chaſm of deſolation as that which yawned in the midſt of thoſe countries to the north and ſouth, which ſtill bore ſome veſtiges of cultivation? They would have reduced all their moſt neceſſary eſtabliſhments, they would have ſuſpended the juſteſt payments, they would have employed every ſhilling derived from the producing to re-animate the powers of the unproductive parts While they were performing this fundamental duty, whilſt they were celebrating theſe myſteries of juſtice and humanity, they would have told the corps of fictitious creditors, whoſe crimes were their claims, that they muſt keep an awful diſtance, that they muſt ſilence their inauſpicious tongues, that they muſt hold off their profane unhallowed paws from this holy work, they would have proclaimed with a voice that ſhould

† See Report IV Mr Dundas's Committee, p 46.

make

make itself heard, that on every country the first creditor is the plow, that this original, indefeasible claim supersedes every other demand

This is what a wise and virtuous Ministry would have done and said. This, therefore, is what our Minister could never think of saying or doing. A Ministry of another kind would have first improved the country, and have thus laid a solid foundation for future opulence and future force. But on this grand point of the restoration of the country, there is not one syllable to be found in the correspondence of our ministers, from the first to the last they felt nothing for a land desolated by fire, sword, and famine, their sympathies took another direction, they were touched with pity for bribery, so long tormented with a fruitless itching of its palms, their bowels yearned for usury, that had long missed the harvest of its returning months †, they felt for peculation which had been for so many years raking in the dust of an empty treasury, they were melted into compassion for rapine and oppression, licking their dry, parched, unbloody jaws. These were the objects of their solicitude These were the necessities for which they were studious to provide

To state the country and its revenues in their real condition, and to provide for those fictitious claims, consistently with the support of an army and a civil establishment, would have been impossible, therefore the Ministers are silent on that head, and rest themselves on the authority of Lord Macartney, who in a letter to the Court of Directors, written in the year 1781, speculating on what might be the result of a wise management of the countries assigned by the Nabob of Arcot, rates the revenues as in time of peace, at 1,200,000 l a year, as he does those of the king of Tanjore (which had not been assigned) at 450,000l On this Lord Macartney grounds his calculations, and on this they choose to ground theirs It was on this calculation that the Ministry, in direct opposition to the remonstrances of the Court of Directors, have compelled that miserable, enslaved body, to put their hands to an order for appropriating the enormous sum of 480,000l annually, as a fund for paying to their rebellious servants a debt contracted in defiance of their clearest and most positive injunctions

The authority and information of Lord Macartney is held high on this occasion, though it is totally rejected in every other particular of this business. I believe I have the honour of being almost as old an acquaintance as any Lord Macartney has. A constant and unbroken friendship has subsisted between us from a very early period, and I trust, he thinks, that if I respect his character, and in general admire his conduct, I am one of those who feel no common interest in his reputation Yet I do not hesitate wholly to disallow the calculation of 1781, without any apprehension, that I shall appear to distrust his veracity or his judgement This peace estimate of revenue was not grounded on the state of the Carnatic as it then, or as it had recently stood. It was a statement of former and better times. There is no doubt, that a period did exist, when the large portion of the Carnatic held by the Nabob of Arcot might be fairly reputed to produce a revenue to that, or to a greater amount But the whole had so melted away by the slow and silent hostility of oppression and mismanagement, that the revenues, sinking with the prosperity of the country, had fallen to about 800,000 l a year, even before an enemy's horse had imprinted his hoof on the soil of the Carnatic From that

† Interest is rated 1 l dia by the month

view

view, and independently of the decisive effects of the war which ensued, Sir Eyre Coote conceived that years must pass before the country could be restored to its former prosperity and production It was that state of revenue, (namely, the actual state before the war) which the Directors have opposed to Lord Macartney's speculation. They refuse to take the revenues for more than 800,000l. In this they are justified by Lord Macartney himself, who, in a subsequent letter, informs the Court, that his sketch is a matter of speculation, it supposes the country restored to its ancient prosperity, and the revenue to be in a course of effective and honest collection. If therefore the Ministers have gone wrong, they were not deceived by Lord Macartney, they were deceived by no man The estimate of the Directors is nearly the very estimate furnished by the right honourable gentleman himself, and published to the world in one of the printed Reports of his own Committee, but as soon as he obtained his power, he chose to abandon his account No part of his official conduct can be defended on the ground of his parliamentary information This Mr Burke proceeded to prove by a detailed account of the several estimates laid before the Committees.

The last thing considered by the Board of Control among the debts of the Carnatic, was that to the East-India Company, which after the provision for the cavalry, and the consolidation of 1777, was to divide the residue of the fund of 480,000l a year with the lenders of 1767 This debt the worthy Chairman, who sits opposite to me, contends to be three millions sterling Lord Macartney's account of 1781, states it to be at that period 1,200,000l The first account of the Court of Directors makes it 900,000l This, like the private debt, being without any solid existence, is incapable of any distinct limits Whatever its amount or its validity may be, one thing is clear, it is of the nature and quality of a public debt In that light nothing is provided for it, but an eventual suplus to be divided with one class of the private demands, after satisfying the two first classes Never was a more shameful postponing a public demand, which by the reason of the thing, and the uniform practice of all nations, supersedes every private claim

Those who give this preference to private claims, consider the Company's lawful demand, else, why did they pretend to provide for it? On their own principles they are condemned

But I, Sir, who profess to speak to your understanding and to your conscience, and to brush away from this business all false colours, all false appellations, as well as false facts, do positively deny that the Carnatic owes a shilling to the Company, whatever the Company may be indebted to their undone country It owes nothing to the Company, for this plain and simple reason.—The territory charged with the debt is their own To say that their revenues fall short, and owe them money, is to say they are in debt to themselves, which is only talking nonsense. The fact is, that by the invasion of an enemy, and the ruin of the country, the Company, either in its own name or in the names of the Nabob of Arcot and Rajah of Tanjore, has lost for several years what it might have looked to receive from its own estate If men were allowed to credit them-

* Mr Dundas's Committee, Rep I p 9, and ditto, Rep IV 60 where the revenue of 1777 is stated only at Lacs —, but is stated as the revenue, "supposing the Carnatic to be "properly managed"

selves,

ſelves, upon ſuch principles any one might ſoon grow rich by this mode of accounting. A flood comes down upon a man's eſtate, in the Bedford Level, of a thouſand pounds a year, and drowns his rents for ten years The Chancellor would put that man into the hands of a truſtee, who would gravely make up his books, and for this loſs credit himſelf in his account for a debt due to him of 10,000l It is, however, on this principle the Company makes up its demands on the Carnatic In peace they go the full length, and indeed more than the full length, of what the people can bear for current eſtabliſhments, then they are abſurd enough to conſolidate all the calamities of war into debts, to metamorphoſe the devaſtations of the country into demands upon its future production. What is this but to avow a reſolution utterly to deſtroy their own country, and to force the people to pay for their ſufferings, to a government which has proved unable to protect either the ſhare of the huſbandman or their own? In every leaſe of a farm, the invaſion of an enemy, inſtead of forming a demand for arrear, is a releaſe of rent, nor for that releaſe is it at all neceſſary to ſhow, that the invaſion has left nothing to the occupier of the ſoil, though in the preſent caſe it would be too eaſy to prove that melancholy fact * I therefore applauded my right honourable friend, who, when he canvaſſed the Company's accounts, as a preliminary to a bill that ought not to ſtand on falſehood of any kind, fixed his diſcerning eye, and his deciding hand, on theſe debts of the Company, from the Nabab of Arcot and Rajah of Tanjore, and at one ſtroke expunged them all, as utterly irrecoverable, he might have added as utterly unfounded.

On theſe grounds I do not blame the arrangement this day in queſtion, as a preference given to the debt of individuls over the Company's debt In my eye it is no more than the preference of a fiction over a chimera, but I blame the preference given to thoſe fictitious private debts, over the ſtanding defence and the ſtanding government It is there the public is robbed It is robbed in its army, it is robbed in its civil adminiſtration, it is robbed in its credit; it is robbed in its inveſtment which forms the commercial connection between that country and Europe There is the robbery

But my principal objection lies a good deal deeper That debt to the Company is the pretext under which all the other debts lurk and cover themſelves. That debt forms the foul putrid mucus, in which are engendered the whole brood of creeping aſcarides, all the endleſs involutions, the eternal knot, added to a knot of thoſe inexpugnable tape-worms which devour the nutriment, and eat up the bowels of [illegible] † It is neceſſary, Sir, you ſhould recollect two things Firſt, that the Nabob's debt to the Company carries no intereſt. In the next place you will obſerve, that whenever the Company has occaſion to borrow, ſhe has always commanded whatever ſhe thought fit at eight per cent. Carrying in your mind theſe two facts, attend to the proceſs with regard to the public and the private debt, and with what little appearance of decency they play

* "It is certain that the incurſion of a few of Hyder's horſe into the Jaghire, in 1767, "coſt the Company upwards of Pagodas 27,000, in allowances for damages" Conſultations, February 11th, 1771

† Proceedings at Madras, 17th February, 1769, and throughout the correſpondence on this ſubject, particularly Conſultations October 4th, 1769, and the Creditors' Memorial, 20th January, 1770

into each other's hands a game of utter perdition to the unhappy natives of India The Nabob falls into an arrear to the Company The presidency presses for payment. The Nabob's answer is, I have no money. Good But there are soucars who will supply you on the mortgage of your territories Then steps forward some Paul Benfield, and from his grateful compassion to the Nabob, and his filial regard to the Company, he unlocks the treasures of his virtuous industry, and for a consideration of twenty-four or thirty-six per cent. on a mortgage of the territorial revenue, becomes security to the Company for the Nabob's arrear

Your worthy Ministers, supporting what they are obliged to condemn, have thought fit to renew the Company's old order against contracting private debts in future They begin by rewarding the violation of the ancient law, and then they gravely re-enact provisions, of which they have given bounties for the breach. This inconsistency has been well exposed * But what will you say to their having gone the length of giving positive directions for contracting the debt which they positively forbid?

I will explain myself. They order the Nabob, out of the revenues of the Carnatic, to allot 480,000 pounds a year, as a fund for the debts before us For the punctual payment of this annuity, they order him to give soucar security † When a soucar, that is, a money dealer, becomes security for any native prince, the course is, for the native prince to countersecure the money dealer, by making over to him in mortgage a portion of his territory, equal to the sum annually to be paid, with an interest of at least twenty four per cent The point fit for the House to know is, who are these soucars, to whom this security on the revenues in favour of the Nabob's creditors is to be given? The majority of the House, unaccustomed to these transactions, will hear with astonishment that these soucars are no other than the creditors themselves. The Minister, not content with authorizing these transactions in a manner and to an extent unhoped for by the rapacious expectations of usury itself, loads the broken back of the Indian revenues, in favour of his worthy friends the soucars, with an additional twenty-four per cent for being security to themselves for their own claims, for condescending to take the country in mortgage, to pay to themselves the fruits of their own extortions

The interest to be paid for this security, according to the most moderate strain of soucar demand, comes to 118,000l a year, which added to the 480,000l on which it is to accrue, will make the whole charge on account of these debts on the Carnatic revenues amount to 598,000l a year, as much as even a long peace will enable these revenues to produce Can any one reflect for a moment on all those claims of debt, which the Minister exhausts himself in contrivances to augment with new usuries, without lifting up his hands and eyes in astonishment of the impudence, both of the claim and the adjudication? Services of some kind or other these servants of the Company must have done, so great and eminent, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer cannot think that all they have brought home is half enough He halloos after them, "Gentlemen, you have "forgot a large packet behind you, in your hurry, you have not sufficiently "recovered yourselves, you ought to have, and you shall have, interest upon "interest, upon a prohibited debt that is made up of interest upon interest.

* In Mr Fox's Speech. † The amended Letter, Appendix, No. 6, B

"Even

"Even this is too little. I have thought of another character for you, by "which you may add ſomething to your gains, you ſhall be ſecurity to your- "ſelves, and hence will riſe a new uſury, which ſhall efface the memory of "all the uſuries ſuggeſted to you by your own dull inventions"

I have done with the arrangement relative to the Carnatic. After this, it is to little purpoſe to obſerve on what the Miniſters have done to Tanjore Your Miniſters have not obſerved even form and ceremony in their outrageous and inſulting robbery of that country, whoſe only crime has been, its early and conſtant adherence to the power of this, and the ſuffering of an uniform pillage in conſequence of it The debt of the Company from the Rajah of Tanjore, is juſt of the ſame ſtuff with that of the Nabob of Arcot

The ſubſidy from Tanjore, on the arrear of which this pretended debt (if any there be) has accrued to the Company, is not, like that paid by the Nabob of Arcot, a compenſation for vaſt countries obtained, augmented, and preſerved for him, not the price of pillaged treaſuries, ranſacked houſes, and plundered territories —It is a large grant, from a ſmall kingdom not obtained by our arms, robbed, not protected by our power, a grant for which no equivalent was ever given, or pretended to be given The right honourable gentleman, however, bears witneſs in his Reports to the punctuality of the payments of this grant of bounty, or, if you pleaſe, of fear It amounts to 160 000l ſterling net annual ſubſidy He bears witneſs to a further grant of a town and port, with an annexed diſtrict of 30,000l a year, ſurrendered to the Company ſince the firſt donation He has not borne witneſs, but the fact is, (he will not deny it) that in the midſt of war, and during the ruin and deſolation of a conſiderable part of his territories, this Prince made many very large payments Notwithſtanding theſe merits and ſervices, the firſt regulation of Miniſtry is to force from him a territory of an extent which they have not yet thought proper to aſcertain, for a military peace eſtabliſhment, the particulars of which they have not yet been pleaſed to ſettle.

The next part of their arrangement is with regard to war As confeſſedly this Prince had no ſhare in ſtirring up any of the former wars, ſo all future wars are completely out of his power, for he has no troops whatever, and is under a ſtipulation not ſo much as to correſpond with any foreign ſtate, except through the Company Yet, in caſe the Company's ſervants ſhould be again involved in war, or ſhould think proper again to provoke any enemy, as in times paſt they have wantonly provoked all India, he is to be ſubjected to a new penalty. To what penalty?—Why, to no leſs than the confiſcation of all his revenues* But this is to end with the war, and they are to be faithfully returned?—Oh! no, nothing like it The country is to remain under confiſcation until all the debt which the Company ſhall think fit to incur in ſuch war ſhall be diſcharged, that is to ſay, for ever His ſole comfort is to find his old enemy, the Nabob of Arcot, placed in the very ſame condition.

The revenues of that miſerable country were before the invaſion of Hyder, reduced to a groſs annual receipt of 36,000l * From this receipt the ſubſidy I have juſt ſtated is taken. This again, by payments in advance, by extorting depoſits of additional ſums to a vaſt amount for the benefit of their ſoucars, and by

* Mr. Petrie's evidence before the Select Committee, Appendix.

an endleſs variety of other extortions, public and private, is loaded with a debt, the amount of which I never could aſcertain, but which is large undoubtedly, generating an uſury the moſt completely ruinous that probably was ever heard of, that is forty eight per cent payable monthly, with compound intereſt *.

Such is the ſtate to which the Company's ſervants have reduced that country. Now come the reformers, reſtorers, and comforters of India. What have they done? In addition to all theſe tyrannous exactions with all theſe ruinous debts in their train, looking to one ſide of an agreement whilſt they wilfully ſhut their eyes to the other, they withdraw from Tanjore all the benefits of the treaty of 1762, and they ſubject that nation to a perpetual tribute of 40,000 l a year to the Nabob of Arcot, a tribute never due, or pretended to be due to him, even when he appeared to be ſomething, a tribute, as things now ſtand, not to a real potentate, but to a ſhadow, a dream, an incubus of oppreſſion After the Company has accepted in ſubſidy, in grant of territory, in remiſſion of rent, as a compenſation for their own protection, at leaſt 200,000 l a year, without diſcounting a ſhilling for that receipt, the Miniſters condemn this harraſſed nation to be tributary to a perſon who is himſelf, by their own arrangement, deprived of the right of war or peace, deprived of the power of the ſword, forbid to keep up a ſingle regiment of ſoldiers, and is therefore wholly diſabled from all protection of the country which is the object of the pretended tribute Tribute hangs on the ſword. It is an incident inſeparable from real ſovereign power. In the preſent caſe to ſuppoſe its exiſtence, is as abſurd as it is cruel and oppreſſive. And here, Mr Speaker, you have a clear exemplification of the uſe of thoſe falſe names, and falſe colours, which the gentlemen who have lately taken poſſeſſion of India chooſe to lay on for the purpoſe of diſguiſing their plan of oppreſſion The Nabob of Arcot, and Rajah of Tanjore, have, in truth and ſubſtance, no more than a merely civil authority, held in the moſt entire dependence on the Company The Nabob, without military, without federal capacity, is extinguiſhed as a potentate, but then he is carefully kept alive as an independent and ſovereign power, for the purpoſe of rapine and extortion, for the purpoſe of perpetuating the old intrigues, animoſities, uſuries, and corruptions.

It was not enough that this mockery of tribute was to be continued without the correſpondent protection, or any of the ſtipulated equivalents, but ſix years of arrear, to the amount of 400,000 l ſterling, is added to all the debts to the Company, and to individuals, in order to create a new debt, to be paid (if at all poſſible to be paid in whole or in part) only by new uſuries, and all this for the Nabob of Arcot, or rather for Mr Benfield, and the corps of the Nabob's creditors, and their ſoucars Thus theſe miſerable Indian princes are continued in their ſeats, for no other purpoſe than to render them in the firſt inſtance objects of every ſpecies of extortion, and in the ſecond, to force them to become, for the ſake of a momentary ſhadow of reduced authority, a ſort of ſubordinate tyrants, the ruin and calamity, not the fathers and cheriſhers, of their people

But take this tribute only as a mere charge (without title, cauſe, or equivalent) on this people, what one ſtep has been taken to furniſh grounds for a juſt calculation and eſtimate of the proportion of the burden and the ability? None; not an attempt at it. They do not adapt the burden to the ſtrength; but they

* Appendix, No.

eſtimate

eſtimate the ſtrength of the bearers by the burden they impoſe. Then what care is taken to leave a fund ſufficient to the future reproduction of the revenues that are to bear all theſe loads? Every one, but tolerably converſant in Indian affairs, muſt know that the exiſtence of this little kingdom depends on its control over the river Cavery The benefits of Heaven to any community, ought never to be connected with political arrangements, or made to depend on the perſonal conduct of Princes, in which the miſtake, or error, or neglect, or diſtreſs, or paſſion of a moment on either ſide, may bring famine on millions, and ruin an innocent nation perhaps for ages The means of the ſubſiſtence of mankind ſhould be as immutable as the laws of nature, let power and dominion take what courſe they may.—Obſerve what has been done with regard to this important concern The uſe of this river is indeed at length given to the Rajah, and a power provided for its enjoyment at his own charge, but the means of furniſhing that charge (and a mighty one it is) are wholly cut off This uſe of this water, which ought to have no more connection than clouds and rain, and ſunſhine, with the politics of the Rajah, the Nabob, or the Company, is expreſsly contrived as a means of enforcing demands and arrears of tribute This horrid and unnatural inſtrument of extortion had been a diſtinguiſhing feature in the enormities of the Carnatic politics that loudly called for reformation. But the food of a whole people is by the reformers of India conditioned on payments from its Prince, at a moment that he is overpowered with a ſwarm of their demands, without regard to the ability of either Prince of People In fine, by opening an avenue to the irruption of the Nabob of Arcot's creditors and ſoucars, whom every man who did not fall in love with oppreſſion and corruption on an experience of the calamities they produced, would have raiſed wall before wall, and mound before mound, to keep from a poſſibility of entrance, a more deſtructive enemy than Hyder Ali is introduced into that kingdom By this part of their arrangement, in which they eſtabliſh a debt to the Nabob of Arcot, in effect and ſubſtance, they deliver over Tanjore, bound hand and foot, to Paul Benfield, the old betrayer, inſulter, oppreſſor, and ſcourge of a country, which has for years been an object of an unremitted, but unhappily an unequal ſtruggle, between the bounties of providence to renovate, and the wickedneſs of mankind to deſtroy it.

The right honourable gentleman * talks of his fairneſs in determining the territorial diſpute between the Nabob of Arcot, and the Prince of that country, when he ſuperſeded the determination of the Directors, in whom the law had veſted the deciſion of that controverſy. He is in this juſt as feeble as he is in every other part But it is not neceſſary to ſay a word in refutation of any part of his argument The mode of the proceeding ſufficiently ſpeaks the ſpirit of it It is enough to fix his character as a judge, that he never heard the Directors in defence of their adjudication, nor either of the parties in ſupport of their reſpective claims It is ſufficient for me, that he takes from the Rajah of Tanjore, by this pretended adjudication, or rather from his unhappy ſubjects, 40,000 l a year of his and their revenue, and leaves upon his and their ſhoulders all the charges that can be made on the part of the Nabob, on the part of his creditors, and on the part of the Company, without ſo much as hearing

* Mr. Dundas.

him

him as to right or to ability. But what principally induces me to leave the affair of the territorial diſpute between the Nabob and the Rajah to another day, is this, that both the parties being ſtripped of their all, it little ſignifies under which of their names the unhappy undone people are delivered over to the mercileſs uſurers, the allies of that right honourable gentleman, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In them ends the account of this long diſpute of the Nabob of Arcot, and the Rajah of Tanjore

The right honourable gentleman is of opinion, that his judgement in this caſe can be cenſured by none but thoſe who ſeem to act as if they were paid agents to one of the parties. What does he think of his Court of Directors? If they are paid by either of the parties, by which of them does he think they are paid? He knows that their deciſion has been directly contrary to his. Shall I believe that it does not enter into his heart to conceive, that any perſon can ſteadily and actively intereſt himſelf in the protection of the injured and oppreſſed, without being well paid for his ſervice, I have taken notice of this ſort of diſcourſe ſome days ago, ſo far as it may be ſuppoſed to relate to me I then contented myſelf, as I ſhall now do, with giving it a cold, though a very direct contradiction. Thus much I do from reſpect to truth. If I did more, it might be ſuppoſed, by my anxiety to clear myſelf, that I had imbibed the ideas, which for obvious reaſons, the right honourable gentleman wiſhes to have received concerning all attempts to plead the cauſe of the natives of India, as if it were a diſreputable employment If he had not forgot, in his preſent occupation, every principle which ought to have guided him, and I hope did guide him, in his late profeſſion, he would have known, that he who takes a fee for pleading the cauſe of diſtreſs againſt power, and manfully performs the duty he has aſſumed, receives an honourable recompence for a virtuous ſervice But if the right honourable gentleman will have no regard to fact in his inſinuations, or to reaſon in his opinions, I wiſh him at leaſt to conſider, that if taking an earneſt part with regard to the oppreſſions exerciſed in India, and with regard to this moſt oppreſſive caſe of Tanjore in particular, can ground a preſumption of intereſted motives, he is himſelf the moſt mercenary man I know His conduct indeed is ſuch, that he is on all occaſions the ſtanding teſtimony againſt himſelf. He it was that firſt called to this ſubject the attention of the Houſe the Reports of his own Committee are ample and affecting upon that ſubject*, and as many of us as have eſcaped his maſſacre, muſt remember the very pathetic picture he made of the ſufferings of the Tanjore country, on the day when he moved the unwieldy code of his Indian reſolutions Has he not ſtated over and over again in his Reports, the ill treatment of the Rajah of Tanjore, (a branch of the royal houſe of the Mahrattas, every injury to whom the Mahrattas felt as offered to themſelves) as a main cauſe of the alienation of that people from the Britiſh power? And does he now think, that to betray his principles, to contradict his declarations, and to become himſelf an active inſtrument in thoſe oppreſſions which he had ſo tragically lamented, is the way to clear himſelf of having been actuated by a pecuniary intereſt, at the time when he choſe to appear full of tenderneſs to that ruined nation?

* See Report IV Committee of Secrecy, p. 73 and 74, and Appendix in ſundry places

The

The right honourable gentleman is fond of parading on the motives of others, and on his own — As to himself, he deſpiſes the imputations of thoſe who ſuppoſe that any thing corrupt could influence him in this his unexampled liberality of the public treaſure I do not know that I am obliged to ſpeak to the motives of Miniſtry in the arrangements they have made of the pretended debts of Arcot and Tanjore If I prove fraud and colluſion with regard to public money on thoſe right honourable gentlemen, I am not obliged to aſſign their motives, becauſe no good motives can be pleaded in favour of their conduct — Upon that caſe I ſtand, we are at iſſue, and I deſire to go to trial This, I am ſure, is not looſe railing or mean inſinuation, according to their low and degenerate faſhion when they make attacks on the meaſures of their adverſaries: it is a regular and juridical courſe, and unleſs I chuſe it, nothing can compel me to go farther

The perſons in whoſe favour all theſe rules have been violated, and the conduct of Miniſters towards them, will naturally call for your conſideration, and will ſerve to lead you through a ſeries and combination of facts and characters, if I do not miſtake, into the very innermoſt receſſes of this myſterious buſineſs. You will then be in poſſeſſion of all the materials on which the principles of ſound jurisprudence will found, or will reject the preſumption of corrupt motives; or if ſuch motives are indicated, will point out to you of what particular nature the corruption is

Our wonderful Miniſter as you all know, formed a new plan, a plan *inſigne recens alio indictum ore*, a plan for ſupporting the freedom of our Conſtitution by Court intrigues, and for removing its corruptions by Indian delinquency. To carry that bold paradoxical deſign into execution, ſufficient funds and apt inſtruments became neceſſary You are perfectly ſenſible that a Parliamentary Reform occupies his thoughts day and night, as an eſſential member in this extraordinary project. In his anxious reſearches upon this ſubject, natural inſtinct, as well as ſound policy, would direct his eyes, and ſettle his choice on Paul Benfield. Paul Benfield is the grand parliamentary reformer, the reformer to whom the whole choir of reformers bow, and to whom even the right honourable gentleman himſelf muſt yield the palm for what region in the empire, what city what borough, what county, what tribunal in this kingdom, is not full of his labours? Others have been only ſpeculators, he is the grand practical reformer, and whilſt the Chancellor of the Exchequer pledged in vain the man and the miniſter, to increaſe the provincial members, Mr Benfield has auſpiciouſly and practically begun it Leaving far behind him even Lord Camelford's generous deſign of beſtowing Old Sarum on the Bank of England, Mr Benfield has thrown in the borough of Cricklade to reinforce the county repreſentation. Not content with this, in order to ſtation a ſteady phalanx for all future reforms, this public-ſpirited uſurer, amidſt his charitable toils for the relief of India, did not forget the poor rotten conſtitution of his native country. For her, he did diſdain to ſtoop to the trade of a wholeſale upholſterer for this Houſe, to furniſh it, not with the faded tapeſtry figures of antiquated merit, ſuch as decorate and may reproach ſome other houſes, but with real, ſolid, living patterns of true modern virtue Paul Benfield made (reckoning himſelf) no fewer than eight members in the laſt Parliament what copious ſtreams of pure blood muſt he not have transfuſed into the veins of the preſent!

But what is more ſtriking than the real ſervices of this new-imported patriot,

in his modeſty As ſoon as he had conferred this benefit on the Conſtitution, he withdrew himſelf from our applauſe He conceived that the duties of a member of Parliament (which with the elect faithful, the true believers, the *Iſlam* of parliamentary reform, are of little or no merit, perhaps not much better than ſpecious ſins) might be as well attended to in India as in England, and the means of reformation to Parliament itſelf be far better provided Mr Benfield was therefore no ſooner elected than he ſet off for Madras, and defrauded the longing eyes of Parliament We have never enjoyed in this Houſe, the luxury of beholding that minion of the human race, and contemplating that viſage, which has ſo long reflected the happineſs of nations

For ſeveral years Benfield appeared as the chief proprietor, as well as the chief agent, director, and controller of this ſyſtem of debt The worthy Chairman of the Company has ſtated the claims of this ſingle gentleman on the Nabob of Arcot, as amounting to 500,000l * Poſſibly at the time of the Chairman's ſtate they might have been as high 800,000l. had been mentioned ſome time before †, but my beſt information goes to fix his ſhare no higher than 400,000l. By the ſcheme of the preſent Miniſtry, for adding to the principal 12 per cent. from the year 1777 to the year 1781, 400,000l, that ſmalleſt of the ſums ever mentioned for Mr Benfield, will form a capital of 92,000l at 6 per cent. Thus, beſides the arrears of three years, amounting to 106,500l (which, as faſt as received, may be legally lent out at 12 per cent) Benfield has received by the miniſterial grant before you, an annuity of 35,520l a year charged on the public revenues

Our mirror of Miniſters of finance, did not think this enough for the ſervices of ſuch a friend as Benfield—He found that Lord Macartney, in order to frighten the Court of Directors from the project of obliging the Nabob to give ſoucar ſecurity for his debt, aſſured them, that if they ſhould take that ſtep, Benfield ‡ would infallibly be the ſoucar, and would thereby become the entire maſter of the Carnatic What Lord Macartney thought ſufficient to deter the very agents and partakers with Benfield in his iniquities, was the inducement to the two right honourable gentlemen to order this very ſoucar ſecurity to be given, and to recal Benfield to the city of Madras, from the ſort of decent exile into which he had been relegated by Lord Macartney. You muſt therefore conſider Benfield as ſoucar ſecurity for 480,000l a year, which at 24 per cent (ſuppoſing him contented with that profit) will, with the intereſt of his old debt, produce an annual income of 140,520l. a year

Here is a ſpecimen of the new and pure ariſtocracy created by the right honourable gentleman §, as the ſupport of the Crown and Conſtitution, againſt the old, corrupt, refractory, natural intereſts of this kingdom, and this is the grand counterpoiſe againſt all odious combinations of theſe intereſts — A ſingle Benfield outweighs them all — A criminal who long ſince ought to have fattened the region kites with his offal, is, by His Majeſty's Miniſters, enthroned in the government of a great kingdom, and enfeoffed with an eſtate, which, in the

* Mr Smith's Proteſt
† Madras correſpondence on this ſubject.
‡ Appendix, No 5. A
§ Right honourable William Pitt.

compariſon

comparifon effaces the ſplendor of all the nobility of Europe. To bring a little more diſtinctly into view the true ſecret of this dark tranſaction, I beg you particularly to advert to the circumſtances which I am going to place before you.

The general corps of creditors, as well as Mr. Benfield himſelf, not looking well into futurity, nor preſaging the Miniſter of this day, thought it not expedient for their common intereſt, that ſuch a name as his ſhould ſtand at the head of their liſt. It was therefore agreed among them, that Mr. Benfield ſhould diſappear, by making over his debt to Meſſrs. Taylor, Majendie, and Call, and ſhould in return be ſecured by their bond.

Such, for a conſiderable ſpace of time, was the outward form of the loan of 1777, in which Mr. Benfield had no ſort of concern. At length intelligence arrived at Madras, that this debt which had always been renounced by the Court of Directors, was rather like to become the ſubject of ſomething more like a criminal inquiry, than of any patronage or ſanction from Parliament. Every ſhip brought accounts, one ſtronger than the other, of the prevalence of the determined enemies of the Indian ſyſtem The public revenues became an object deſperate to the hopes of Mr Benfield, he therefore reſolved to fall upon his aſſociates, and, in violation of that faith which ſubſiſts among thoſe who have abandoned all other, commences a ſuit in the Mayor's Court againſt Taylor, Majendie, and Call, for the bond given to him when he agreed to diſappear for his own benefit as well as that of the common concern. The aſſignees of his debt, who little expected the ſpringing of this mine, even from ſuch an engineer as Mr. Benfield, after recovering their firſt alarm, thought it beſt to take ground on the real ſtate of the tranſaction—They divulged the whole myſtery, and were prepared to plead, that they had never received from Mr. Benfield any other conſideration for the bond than a tranſfer, in truſt for himſelf of his demand on the Nabob of Arcot An univerſal indignation aroſe againſt the perfidy of Mr Benfield's proceeding the event of the ſuit was looked upon as ſo certain, that Benfield was compelled to retreat as precipitately as he had advanced boldly; he gave up his bond, and was reinſtated in his original demand to wait the fortune of other claimants At that time, and at Madras, this hope was dull indeed, but at home another ſcene was preparing

It was long before any public account of this diſcovery at Madras had arrived in England, that the preſent Miniſter, and his Board of Control, thought fit to determine on the debt of 1777. The recorded proceedings at this time knew nothing of any debt to Benfield — There was his own teſtimony, there was the teſtimony of the liſt, there was the teſtimony of the Nabob of Arcot againſt it yet ſuch was the Miniſters' feeling of the true ſecret of this tranſaction, that they thought proper, in the teeth of all theſe teſtimonies, to give him licenſe to return to Madras Here the Miniſters were under ſome embarraſſment, confounded between their reſolution of rewarding the good ſervices of Benfield's friends and aſſociates in England, and the ſhame of ſending that notorious incendiary to the court of the Nabob of Arcot, to renew his intrigues againſt the Britiſh government, at the time they authoriſe his return, they forbid him, under the ſevereſt penalties, from any converſation with the Nabob or his miniſters, that is, they forbid his communication with the very perſon on account of his dealings with whom they permit his return to that city. To

overtop this contradiction, there is not a word reſtraining him from the freeſt intercourſe with the Nabob's ſecond ſon, the real author of all that is done in the Nabob's name, who, in conjunction with this very Benfield, has acquired an abſolute dominion over that unhappy man, is able to perſuade him to put his ſignature to whatever paper they pleaſe, and often without any communication of the contents This management was detailed to them at full length by Lord Macartney, and they cannot pretend ignorance of it *.

If the ſcene on the other ſide of the globe which tempts, invites, almoſt compels to tyranny and rapine, be not inſpected with the eye of a ſevere and unremitting vigilance, ſhame and deſtruction muſt enſue. For one, the worſt event of this day, though it may be ſo, ſhall not break or ſubdue me — The call upon us is authoritative — Let who will ſhrink back I ſhall be found at my poſt — Baffled, diſcountenanced, ſubdued, diſcredited, as the cauſe of juſtice and humanity is, it will be only the dearer to me — Whoever therefore, ſhall at any time bring before you any thing towards the relief of our diſtreſſed fellow-citizens in India, and towads a ſubverſion of the preſent moſt corrupt and oppreſſive ſyſtem for its government, in me ſhall find, a weak I am afraid, but a ſteady, earneſt, and faithful aſſiſtant.

* Appendix, F.

As the debates on the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons on the queſtion of the Weſtminſter ſcrutiny greatly depended on the evidence of Francis Hargrave, Eſq we think it eſſential to the full underſtanding of that important buſineſs, that our readers ſhould be in poſſeſſion of the evidence at large — The following is a correct copy of the ſame, extracted from the Journals of Parliament.

Vide Parliamentary Regiſter, Vol. xvii p 89.

FRANCIS HARGRAVE, Eſq. called in.

Whether you was aſſeſſor to the High Bailiff?
I have acted as aſſeſſor
For how long?
From the commencement of the ſcrutiny the 28th of May, to the 12th January laſt.

Did

Did you attend conſtantly?

Yes, with the exception of ſome few inſtances.

Before you diſcontinued the office, did you or did you not declare publicly in the court your intention of ſo doing?

I declared my intention firſt to the High Bailiff; and he by my deſire announced it to thoſe who attended the ſcrutiny.

On the intention's being made known, were there, notwithſtanding, wiſhes expreſſed that you ſhould continue in an office you had executed in ſo very honourable a manner?

At firſt I thought it was the wiſh of all parties that I ſhould continue, and in conſequence of that underſtanding I thought it due to the proceeding that I ſhould re-conſider the practicability of my continuing to act as aſſeſſor, but I afterwards had reaſon to believe, that my continuance was not wiſhed for by more than one of the parties, and I thought it would be unbecoming in me to wave my firſt reſolution unleſs at the deſire of both parties

Was not the want of any expreſſions of ſatisfaction in your conduct on the part of one of the candidates and his agents, the principal reaſon that induced you to refuſe the earneſt requeſt of the other candidate and his agents to continue in the office at leaſt till the buſineſs of St Martin's pariſh ſhould be completed?

Mr Rouſe and Mr Morgan, counſel for Sir Cecil Wray, uniformly expreſſed their ſatisfaction in handſome terms of my conduct, but a paper was delivered by the Election Committee for Sir Cecil Wray, to the High Bailiff, expreſſed in ſuch terms as ſeemed to point at me, and thence I inferred, that it was the wiſh of thoſe on whoſe part the paper was delivered, that there ſhould be a new aſſeſſor

Did not Mr Rouſe, when he expreſſed his own perſonal confidence and ſatisfaction in you, refuſe, when being preſſed to it by Mr Fox's counſel and agents, to make the ſame declaration on the behalf of his client and his agents?

I underſtood Mr Rouſe, that he had no inſtructions from thoſe for whom he was concerned as counſel, to join in the requeſt made for my continuance on the part of Mr Fox

Was it expreſſed by Mr Rouſe, or any one on the behalf of Sir Cecil Wray, that their ſilence on that occaſion was owing to their diſapprobation of a plan ſuppoſed to have been propoſed of your attending only one hour or one hour and a half each day?

I recollect that the propoſal for accommodating me, by ſhortening my attendance, was not approved of by the party for whom Mr Rouſe acted or even by Mr Rouſe himſelf but I do not recollect at this moment, whether that diſapprobation was aſſigned as the reaſon for not joining in the requeſt for my continuing as aſſeſſor the propoſal I conjectured, originated from my accidentally uſing ſome words by which I ſtated, that at the utmoſt for five or ſix weeks I ſhould not be able to attend above one hour and a half or two hours each day; but I remember adding, that I could not think of offering my ſervices in a manner ſo inadequate and imperfect.

If the two parties joined in the requeſt for your continuance, and you had complied with it, was it underſtood that the buſineſs of the ſcrutiny during your continuance was to go on for no more than one hour and a half or two hours each day—I mean whether this was ſo underſtood on the ſpecific day that you was preſſed to continue by one party, and the other party refuſed joining in the requeſt?

I always underſtood, that the propoſal meant, that the proceedings ſhould go on during the uſual hours; I ſo underſtood it whenever the ſubject was mentioned. As I conſtrued the propoſal, it was, that the High Bailiff ſhould proceed in my abſence, ſo as to complete the uſual time of attendance?

Was the propoſal in writing?

I believe not originally—but I will not be poſitive.

Was the High Bailiff preſent at the converſation to which theſe queſtions have alluded?

Certainly—I remember that when I uſed the words from which, as I ſuppoſe, the propoſal originated, it was at the cloſe of the buſineſs of the day, the High Bailiff was preſent, and ſo were Mr Fox's Counſel, or one of them, but as nearly as I can recollect the Counſel on the other ſide had left the room However, ſome of the parties were preſent, particularly Mr Collick; I remember addreſſing myſelf to Mr. Collick particularly I repeated in his preſence more than once, that I could not think of offering my ſervices in ſo imperfect and inadequate a manner, as by the attendance of an hour and a half or two hours—Indeed it was my own private opinion, that ſuch an attendance would not anſwer the purpoſes of the ſcrutiny in an effectual way.

If you had been prevailed on by the joint requeſt of the candidates, to continue, whether it was underſtood to be your intention to give only that particular attendance?

When Mr. Rouſe had given it both as his opinion and as the inſtruction of his clients, that ſuch a propoſal could not properly be aſſented to on their parts, I conſidered the propoſal as wholly at an end, and if I had conſented to continue my attendance, it would have been in the uſual manner and for the uſual time.

Did not you expreſs that to be your intention in the veſtry room on the day which has been alluded to?

I do not recollect the form of the expreſſion I might uſe, but I have not an idea, that any perſon who heard me on the day alluded to, could ſuppoſe, that I meant to give a leſs attendance than I had done before, if I had conſented to continue aſſeſſor.

Who made the propoſal of your ſtaying but an hour and a half or two hours a day inſtead of five hours?

It was made on the part of Mr. Fox, and as I recollect by one or both of his Counſel.

Do you recollect whether Mr. Fox's Counſel ſtated as the reaſon for this propoſal that the ſcrutiny had gone on ſo extraordinary faſt when you had attended for five hours, that it would be ſufficient that you ſhould afterwards attend for one hour and a half or two hours?

I really cannot charge my memory with the particular expreſſions uſed by the Counſel of Mr. Fox when they addreſſed the propoſal to the High Bailiff, but I cannot ſuppoſe, that in making the propoſal, they could expreſs themſelves in the manner ſuppoſed by the queſtion.

What were the ſentiments contained in the paper you have mentioned, and which induced you to think they wiſhed you to continue no longer aſſeſſor to the High Bailiff?

I have a copy of the paper, it will beſt ſpeak for itſelf.

The

The ſaid papers were brought up.

Whether Mr. Fox's Counſel objected intirely to the receiving of thoſe propoſals, or whether they did not endeavour to obviate ſome objections ſtarted to it, in order to make it more likely to anſwer the purpoſes of accelerating the buſineſs?

The ſaid papers were then read as follow

"At a meeting of the Committee for conducting the ſcrutiny on behalf of "Lord Hood and Sir Cecil Wray, aſſembled at the Cannon Coffee-houſe, Charing-Croſs, on Friday the 31ſt of Dec. 1784,

"Reſolved,

"That this Committee would deem themſelves inexcuſable, were they any "longer to endure the ſyſtem of procraſtination which has taken place in the "preſent ſcrutiny for this city.

"That Mr Atkinſon be ordered to inſtruct the Counſel for Lord Hood and "Sir Cecil Wray, to renew on Monday next for the third time, the fair and can"did propoſal originally ſuggeſted to the High Bailiff, on the 4th of November "laſt Namely,

"That two perſons be appointed to endeavour to find out the voters that are "objected to on either ſide as not to be found, and to make their report "thereof, which propoſal has not been acceded to by the agents of Mr. Fox; "and alſo, to oppoſe adjournments of the ſcrutiny, and alſo to expreſs to the "High Bailiff, the ſtrong diſapprobation this Committee have to the aſtoniſhing "propoſal made on the 24th inſt. viz.

"That the High Bailiff's Counſel ſhould attend only one, or one hour "and a half on each day, and inſtead of conſenting to ſhortening the attendance of each day, to recommend the increaſe of the number of hours of "daily attendance, in order to haſten the preſent ſcrutiny (and unleſs the High "Bailiff ſhall be willing, to proceed henceforth without Counſel) to inſiſt on "Monday next, That the Counſel for the High Bailiff may not be permitted to "abſent himſelf from the Court during the evidence being examined on any vote, "during the trial of any queſtion, and alſo to inſiſt, that whenever any vote is "reſerved for judgement that the deciſion of ſuch vote be not delayed longer than "the ſucceeding day on which the Court ſhall meet, and this Committee will "conſider all attempts which may be made or have been made to procraſtinate "the preſent inquiry, as an inſult both to the honourable Houſe of Commons, "who ordered the ſcrutiny to be proceeded on with all practicable diſpatch, "and to the independent Electors of Weſtminſter, whoſe juſt rights have been "invaded at the late election

"Reſolved,

"That a copy of the above reſolution be ſent to the High Bailiff to"morrow.

"J. P. ATKINSON."

"*January* 28, 1785.

"The Committee for conducting the election of Lord Hood and Sir Cecil "Wray, think it their duty in the moſt earneſt manner to renew their endea"vours to prevent the procraſtination of the ſcrutiny, and to effect that purpoſe "they have agreed on the following reſolutions, that the Counſel for Lord Hood

"and

"and Sir Cecil Wray be instructed to submit the following propositions to-
"morrow morning to the High Bailiff;

"First,

"That the High Bailiff do insist that the Counsel be punctual to the hour
"of attendance, and if they do not attend, that the business of the scrutiny
"should proceed without them.

"Secondly,

"That the Counsel do represent to the High Bailiff, that considering the long
"continuance of the scrutiny, little progress has been made, owing in a great
"measure, as this Committee conceive, to the mode of proceeding hitherto
"adopted in this inquiry by the Counsel for Mr Fox, therefore this Com-
"mittee submit to the consideration of the High Bailiff that the following would
"be the most expeditious mode of proceeding, and would greatly tend to render
"complete justice to both parties viz

"That every point of law and question of evidence which may occur, should
"be submitted in writing to the High Bailiff, or be taken down in writing by
"the High Bailiff's Counsel, and that such points being thus clearly stated they
"should be decided without being argued by Counsel on either side, unless the
"assessor to the High Bailiff should particularly desire the same should be
"agreed to,

"Thirdly,

"To submit to the High Bailiff, that much time might be saved in the exa-
"mination of witnesses, by the Counsel being restrained from going into matters
"irrelevant.

"J P ATKINSON."

"A Copy"

What parts of that paper made you think that it was not the wish of one party that you should continue the assessor to the High Bailiff?

One part which seems calculated to distress me was, the reference to the proposal for my accommodation in terms expressing so harshly a disapprobation of it. Another part, which seemed pointed at me is, that which supposes, that the proceedings should scarcely stop as often as the Counsel of the High Bailiff was absent. I had occasionally been indulged with a short absence, more especially and principally, when I was under the necessity of attending at Guildhall as a Commissioner of Bankrupts. A third part of the paper, which seems materially to affect me was, the claim to have the hours of attendance enlarged, at the very moment almost that I had intimated that they were already too many to be consistent with my other avocations. One further part of the paper which struck me very much was, the claim upon the assessor of the High Bailiff at all events to give his opinion on every case, however difficult or, however doubtful, the morning following that on which the case and evidence were heard. These are the several parts of the paper, which, notwithstanding its being so long ago since I have thought about it, affected my mind, so as to convince me, that whatever might be the handsome expressions of the Counsel for Sir Cecil Wray and Lord Hood, the parties for whom they were concerned did wish to have a new assessor.

Whether, notwithstanding that paper, you did not declare, that you would continue in the office to the end of St Martin's parish, if both parties should join in expressing their confidence, desiring that you would do so

I rather

I rather think I did intimate an intention to try the experiment of continuing some time longer, if both parties should express an equal wish for my continuing, but had they continued in such wish, it would have distressed me infinitely.

What would have been your motives for continuing so much against your wish and inclination?

'As I had undertaken the business, I thought it became me to do my utmost towards the completion of it, though I felt at the same time, that I had neither constitution of body nor of mind to continue till the end of a proceeding which promised such an extreme length When I undertook the business, from want of experience, I had entertained an improper idea concerning the probable length of the scrutiny.

Did not you say in the vestry that you could not continue to attend more than one hour and a half or two hours a day for some time?

I have already explained the occasion on which I accidentally in the first instance made use of words to that effect.

Did you afterwards express the contrary?

I cannot recollect what particular expressions I might afterwards make use of, but I am confident, that upon the whole, I so expressed myself, as to make it intelligible to all present who heard me, that if I did consent to stay on the request made for that purpose, if any such should be made, it should be in the usual manner, and for the usual hours, as I said before

Whether the reasons had ceased which made you think it would be impracticable for you to attend more than one hour and a half or two hours a day for some time?

The reasons continued — but being so urged to continue, I probably should at last have been influenced to try the experiment of continuing for some time longer.

Can you recollect giving any ground to the parties to believe that you should have been so induced?

I recollect, that when the Christmas adjournment took place, I consented to take into consideration the request for my continuing as assessor, which I then considered as in substance coming from both parties, though I afterwards altered my opinion in that respect Between the day on which we adjourned and the day on which we met again I did take the request into my serious consideration, and was upon the point of determining to try the experiment of my continuing for a short time longer, when I received the paper already alluded to in my examination, from the High Bailiff I believe also, that when we did meet again in the vestry, I used some expressions, from which it might be inferred, that from then, if I should be convinced that both parties equally wished to have me continue as assessor, I should be inclined to make great sacrifices for that purpose

Whether in the business of this scrutiny, you have observed any unnecessary and artificial delays for the purpose of protracting, in the conduct of Mr. Fox's Counsel or his agents?

The question is a delicate one, but speaking to the best of my recollection, I observed no other conduct on the part of the Counsel for Mr. Fox, in regard to delay, than what might be expected from a proceeding carried on with so adverse and hostile a spirit on each side: nor do I recollect any thing at present

[illegible] difference between the conduct of Counsel at this and at the Civil Wrey.

[illegible] you present at several very long cross examinations?

I attended [illegible].

Did you find some of those cross examinations contribute to bring truth to light in the cause, whereas, without them, false testimony might have been imposed upon the Court?

I think they often tended to enable me, as assessor to the High Bailiff, to distinguish truth from falsehood.

Did not you often declare your concurrence with Mr Fox's Counsel in thinking, that the plan of the High Bailiff, delivered by him in writing, was of a nature to tend to delay rather than to accelerate the proceeding?

I thought the High Bailiff very commendable for his efforts to speed the proceedings; but upon considering frequently the proposal made by him, I doubted at last, whether if adopted, it would produce any considerable effect, and possibly in the course of the conversation upon it in the vestry room at the different times the subject was mentioned, something might fall from me, sufficient to convey my private doubts about the proposal — at the same time I encouraged every attention to any thing that might be offered for preventing a protraction of the scrutiny; and it was my wish, that some other proposal should be thought of and brought under consideration. I was sorry that none such occurred to my mind.

What in your opinion may be the probable duration of the scrutiny if gone through to the end?

I have not attempted to make any calculation on the subject, nor do I well know how to make one; but speaking in a general way, and supposing that the proceeding should continue as slow in its progress as it has done, I cannot conceive, that it would be finished in less than a year. When I mention a year I think I speak moderately.

Are you aware that the parishes of St. Annes and St. Martins make very little more than one quarter of the whole?

I cannot answer the question without resorting to the number of votes in all the several parishes; and I do not sufficiently remember the numbers given, to answer the question with any precision: but I have a paper in my hand which, if the Court requires it, will enable any gentleman to make the calculation, it was made out for me by the Deputy High Bailiff about a month ago.

Do you not think that the discussion of the next 300 votes to be discussed, may probably take up nearly the same time as those 300 which have been already examined, and so on to the end of the scrutiny?

I see no reason myself for making a difference between the votes already scrutinized, and those which remain to be scrutinized.

Whether you will take upon yourself to give it as your decided opinion, that [illegible] of proceeding whatever, can possibly be adopted, which may shorten the scrutiny?

It would be very rash and presumptuous in me to assume so much — I can only [illegible] at this moment, it has not occurred to my mind, what effectual mode of [illegible] the scrutiny can be adopted, so long as the parties litigating are determined to act towards each other with such continual and unremitting hostility. [illegible] proportion as they shall be fatigued and tired of the proceedings, I apprehend [illegible] grow shorter.

Did

Did you or did you not ever ſuffer queſtions of evidence to be argued by Counſel, upon which, previous to ſuch queſtions being argued, you had perfectly and completely made up your mind?

I conſidered myſelf as repreſenting the High Bailiff, and therefore, as in ſome degree filling a judicial ſituation, and in ſuch a ſituation, I ſhould think it very unbecoming for me to make up my mind till the Counſel on each ſide were heard.

Did you often for many days delay giving your judgement on any vote?

I frequently ſuſpended giving my opinion for many days; but I don't recollect, that during the whole of my attendance on the ſcrutiny, there ever was an arrear of judgements exceeding eighteen or twenty, and in general, the arrear was much ſmaller. Nor am I aware, that any material injury to the proceedings aroſe from the arrear of my opinions, the proceeding was not ſtopped by it.—Had the buſineſs been before an Election Committee, I underſtand that according to the uſual practice of ſuch Committees, votes objected to are not decided upon till both parties have gone through the whole of their caſes But I foreſaw that my underſtanding was too feeble to enable me to decide upon many hundred caſes together, and therefore I always in the proceedings made it a rule with myſelf to decide upon the objections as we went on as nearly as the doubts and difficulties which from the intricacies and length of the evidence, and the difficulty of the points neceſſarily ariſing on the evidence I had to contend with would allow.

How many caſes nearly did you delay deciding till the laſt day of your attendance?

If I had my note book I could ſay accurately, but upon memory I rather think, that on the laſt day of my attendance, I gave my opinion upon five or ſix votes—I cannot ſpeak poſitively.

Whether either party wiſhing to delay the ſcrutiny would not in your opinion certainly have recourſe to the expedient of impeaching votes on trivial and unfounded objections?

I ſhould think ſuch a conduct very natural in thoſe who wiſhed to encourage delay.

Whether inſtances of votes ſo attacked were more numerous on the part of Sir Cecil Wray or Mr. Fox?

I really never thought of making any calculation of the kind, and I have always ſaid I believe, I do not think myſelf juſtified in making any conſiderable difference between the conduct of the Counſel on either ſide with reſpect to delay—I would add, if I did recollect enough to make any difference, I truſt that this Houſe would not fix upon me ſo perſonal and invidious an office as hazarding ſuch a diſcrimination

Do you recollect the number of votes objected to in St. Ann's by Sir Cecil Wray?

Sir Cecil Wray objected to ſeventy-one in St Ann's.

How many were bad?

Twenty-five or twenty-ſix.

How many objected to on the part of Mr. Fox?

Thirty-two.

How many of thoſe diſqualified?

Twenty-five or twenty-ſix.

Whether on Mr. Fox's having diſqualified one more vote than Sir Cecil Wray,

in St. Ann's, the objections to four more votes were not withdrawn without a hearing by Mr Fox's Counſel?

When we left St. Ann's, it was underſtood, that Mr. Fox had diſqualified one more vote than Sir Cecil Wray, but two or three votes depending on the queſtion, "Whether aliens made denizens by letters patent were diſqualified to "vote," being undetermined, it was uncertain what would be the final reſult; and I don't recollect what effect the determination had upon thoſe votes.

Whether Mr Fox's Counſel did not wave preſſing for attaining any deciſion upon thoſe caſes?

As nearly as I can recollect, it was by mutual agreement of the parties, that I poſtponed coming to a deciſion on the queſtion which affected thoſe votes — But whether at laſt they were decided upon at the inſtance of Mr. Fox's Counſel, or Sir Cecil Wray's, I don t remember. In truth, the queſtion appeared to me so be a great conſtitutional one, and I wiſhed to have had the point fully argued. At laſt the votes depending on that queſtion were diſpoſed of by mutual conſent, without any opinion from me.

Whether you recollect, that the laſt forty votes in St Martin's objected to and tried on the part of Sir Cecil Wray, nine only were diſqualified?

I cannot remember enough to anſwer the queſtion further than by ſaying, that latterly very few of the objections made on the part of Sir Cecil Wray ſucceeded but I have a paper in my hand which contains a liſt of all the votes objected to and heard whilſt I was aſſeſſor, with the determinations. From that paper an anſwer to the queſtion will appear by counting the numbers

Whether from the obſervation on the equality of the votes ſtruck off hitherto by the parties it is not reaſonable to preſume, that if Sir Cecil Wray diſqualified three hundred of Mr Fox's votes in the enſuing pariſhes, Mr. Fox may diſqualify an equal number of Sir Cecil Wray s votes?

I do not ſee how I can anſwer the queſtion, becauſe I have no information on the ſubject of the ſcrutiny at all relative to the number of votes liable to objections beyond what reached me in the character of aſſeſſor

Whether while you ſuſpended your judgement, you conſulted with the High Bailiff on the ſubject of the deciſions you intended to make?

From the beginning, it was my rule to exonerate the High Bailiff from all reſponſibility for deciſions on the votes, and therefore I gave my opinion without any participation with him beyond that which neceſſarily aroſe from our joint attendance on the ſcrutiny. I had beſides other reaſons for ſo acting, one of which was perſonal to the High Bailiff himſelf, as his impartiality had been called in queſtion, and I know that on that account he had no wiſh to be conſulted.

Whether you thought the High Bailiff's judgement on the poll could be ſatiſfied by repeating deciſions in the forming which he had not exerciſed his own underſtanding, or you had communicated to him the reaſoning on the ſubject?

I ſhould have thought, that I had ill diſcharged my duty as aſſeſſor, if I had not explained the reaſons of my opinion, as well to the parties concerned in intereſt, as to the High Bailiff himſelf and I do not ſee how my deciſions would have been any guide either to the High Bailiff or to the Counſel, if the reaſons of my opinions had been withheld

Did the High Bailiff ever expreſs to you any difference of opinion on theſe

I do

I do not recollect any inſtance of his ſo expreſſing himſelf.

Did you ever give judgement or deliver it to the Counſel in the abſence of the High Bailiff?

The High Bailiff was very ſeldom abſent, and ſpeaking to the beſt of my recollection I cannot refer to, nor do I believe there was any inſtance of a formal opinion or rather any opinion given upon any vote in his abſence

Whether you conceive the Court of ſcrutiny as at preſent conſtituted, competent to produce truth from the witneſſes, and to do juſtice to the parties?

There certainly are ſome deficiencies of power in the High Bailiff, which render an inquiry before him very diſadvantageous. I mean to refer particularly to his want of power to adminiſter an oath, and his want of power to compel the attendance of witneſſes

Whether ſuppoſing it to be true that the ſcrutiny has laſted eight months, that the two pariſhes where it has been going on, one of which is not yet finiſhed, do not contain more than one quarter of the whole number of votes given, and if it be true what the High Bailiff has given in evidence, that Sir C Wray intends to attack a much greater number of votes in proportion to the whole number in the pariſhes of St Margaret and St John's Whether in this caſe, you can give the Houſe reaſon to hope, that the ſcrutiny will not laſt at leaſt two years and probably longer?

I really am unable to form any probable conjecture, to determine the duration of this buſineſs—when I mentioned a year, I intended to ſpeak, ſo as to convey that I was incapable to fix any particular time for its duration

Whether, while you was aſſeſſor, they were unable to compel the attendance of perſons whoſe evidence they thought to be neceſſary?

I think, that various caſes occurred, in which witneſſes were ſtated to have refuſed attending to give evidence before the High Bailiff, and certainly he had no means of compelling their attendance, at leaſt none to my knowledge.

Whether any deeds or writings were wanting, which they could not compel the production of?

Some inſtances of a refuſal to produce deeds, I think, occurred

Had you any certain method to force the production of thoſe deeds?

I was not appriſed of any beſides perſuaſion

Whether queſtions had been put to the witneſſes which they refuſed to anſwer?

Some times witneſſes did decline anſwering queſtions But in general, upon being told by me, that I thought the queſtion relevant, and ſuch as ought to be anſwered, they acquieſced

Whether if they had not attended to your perſuaſion, you had any means of compelling them to anſwer?

No other, but that of conſidering their evidence as not belonging to the caſe, and as if it had not been given.

Do you mean then, when the witneſs refuſed an anſwer you expunged what he had before ſaid?

I frequently told the witneſſes, that if they would not anſwer proper queſtions, the parties for whom they attended would loſe the benefit of the teſtimony they had already given

Whether while you was aſſeſſor, there occurred any ſtrong ſuſpicion of prevarication or falſe teſtimony given by any witneſſes?

Many hundred witneſſes were examined whilſt I was aſſeſſor; and in ſeveral inſtances there evidently was much prevarication amongſt them.

Are you acquainted with any method by which the witneſſes may be puniſhed, for giving falſe teſtimony before the Court of ſcrutiny?

What this Houſe may think fit to do on ſuch an occaſion, it is not for me ſo much as to conjecture But it has not occurred to my mind, that the law of the country furniſhes any other mode of proſecution.

Whether you obſerved that the ſcrutiny of the pariſh of St Martin went on with any greater diſpatch than the ſcrutiny in St Anne's?

I did not obſerve any particular difference

Do you not believe that owing to the inadequacy of the Court, inſtances have occured, in which the purpoſes of juſtice have been defeated?

I can eaſily believe, and do believe, that many of the witneſſes, being aware of the imbecility of the High Bailiff's juriſdiction, took liberties in giving their teſtimony, which they would not have dared to have done in a Court, having a power to adminiſter an oath

Whether the ſame defect of power in the Returning Officer, and the ſame difficulty of coming at the truth would not occur at a poll as at a ſcrutiny?

The deficiency in this matter ſeems to me to apply equally in both caſes, to the poll as well as the ſcrutiny

Whether the High Bailiff does not poſſeſs the ſame power in 1785, that he poſſeſſed in 1780?

I know no law which has made any difference.

Whether a ſcrutiny in 1785 is not as legal, as neceſſary, and as juſt as in 1780?

I am perfectly unaware of the circumſtance, under which the ſcrutiny in 1780 was granted. Nor do I preſume to form any opinion of the legality of that which has been lately granted, becauſe it is not a matter, which I conſider myſelf to be under the neceſſity by duty or otherwiſe, to form my opinion upon

Is there not a poſſibility in your opinion, that the High Bailiff may complete his ſcrutiny and make his return, without ſending the member who aſks the queſtion, or any of his relations to Newgate?

Queſtion withdrawn

Whether you think, that the High Bailiff's Court is inveſted with power ſufficient to anſwer the purpoſes of its inſtitution, viz to verify the poll?

I really wiſh to ſubmit to the Houſe, whether it is neceſſary, I ſhould give my opinion on that queſtion.

On the motion of Lord Beauchamp, for the production of the papers tranſmitted by the Treaſury to the Commiſſioners of Public Accounts, on the ſubject of the extraordinaries of the Army in America, (vide page 544) the noble Lord referred to Mr Robinſon, late Secretary to the Treaſury. And Mr. Robinſon ſtated:

THAT he well recollected the circumſtances alluded to by the noble Lord, while he was at the Treaſury Board, that the ſeveral papers referred to by the noble Lord, and tranſmitted by Sir Henry Clinton to the Treaſury, he was

pretty

pretty certain were not before the Commiſſioners of Accounts when they formed their Seventh Report, for if they had, they muſt have ſeen that Sir Henry Clinton had acted ſimilar in ſome reſpects to what they recommended in that Report. That after the Legiſlature thought proper to direct the Commiſſioners of public Accounts, to inquire into the expenditure of public money for extraordinaries in North America, he had converſations with Mr. Anouſh on that ſubject, and upon the objects in thoſe expenditures which ſeemed moſt to call for their attention, that in ſuch converſations the whole of thoſe accounts ſeemed to be ſo large a held, it was much doubted, whether the perſons were here or not, who might be neceſſary to be examined, or that the Commiſſioners could with effect proceed on them, and that he endeavoured to draw the attention of the Commiſſioners to thoſe of the Commiſſariat, as a matter in which the public were greatly intereſted, and in which there had appeared deficiencies highly neceſſary to be cleared up —That the Commiſſioners of Accounts ſent by their Secretary Mr Malleſon, to him, at the Treaſury, a draft for his inſpection of their precept, for papers to ground their proceedings upon, but that ſuch precept not in his opinion being extenſive enough, to compriſe all the papers he thought neceſſary to be before the Commiſſioners, he took the liberty to alter it, and made the draft of it for papers more general and comprehenſive, which would have carried before the Commiſſioners the papers ſtated by the noble Lord However ſome days after the precept was brought back to him (confined), as he recollected moſtly to papers relative to the iſſues and expenditure of money, and conſequently the papers relative to the Commiſſariat of provisions, and the board inſtituted by Sir Henry Clinton, as ſtated by the noble Lord did not ſo, and he underſtood afterwards that the Commiſſioners of Accounts on conſideration, thought they could not proceed on examination into the expenditure in the Commiſſariat, the Commiſſaries being abroad, and, therefore, he ſuppoſed what they had ſtated in their Report, roſe not from any thorough examination but what had ſtruck them obliquely in conſidering the other buſineſs.

The following is an authentic Copy of Mr Pitt's Iriſh Commercial Bill, grounded on the Propoſitions which have been ſo long in diſcuſſion, and as it was read a firſt Time in the Houſe of Commons, on Tueſday, Auguſt 2, 1785

A Bill for finally regulating the Intercourſe and Commerce between Great Britain and Ireland, on permanent and equitable Principles, for the mutual benefit of both Kingdoms.

WHEREAS it is highly important to the general intereſts of the Britiſh empire, that the intercourſe and commerce between Great Britain and Ireland, ſhould be finally regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries

And whereas, for that purpoſe it is expedient, that the trade between the ſaid countries, as well in articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either of them, as in thoſe of foreign countries, ſhould be encouraged and extended as much

much as poſſible; and that a full participation of the commercial advantages which this kingdom may derive from any of its foreign ſettlements, colonies, or plantations, and from the excluſive privileges enjoyed by the ſhips and ſeamen thereof, ſhould be ſecured to Ireland on the ſame terms as the ſaid advantages are, or ſhall be, from time to time, enjoyed by the inhabitants of this kingdom

Be it further declared by the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, That it ſhall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and eſſential condition of the preſent ſettlement, that no prohibition ſhall exiſt, in either of the kingdoms of Great Britain or Ireland, againſt the importation, uſe, or ſale of any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other of the ſaid kingdoms, except ſuch as are herein-after excepted.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That no prohibition ſhall exiſt in this kingdom, after the on the importation, uſe, or ſale of any article, the growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland, except ſuch as now exiſt, againſt the importation of corn, meal, malt, flour, and biſcuit, and alſo except ſuch qualified prohibitions which are now, or may hereafter be in force, as do not abſolutely prevent the importation of goods or manufactures, or the materials of manufactures, but only regulate or preſcribe the tonnage, or dimenſions, or built, or country of the ſhips or veſſels in which the ſame may be imported, or regulate or preſcribe the weight, ſize, or quantity of the article to be therein imported, or the packages in which the ſame may be contained, or regulate, or preſcribe other circumſtances relative thereto, and alſo except prohibitions reſtraining the importation or ſale of ammunition, arms, gunpowder, and other utenſils of war, unleſs by virtue of his Majeſty's licence, and alſo except ſuch prohibitions as may be neceſſary for protecting the copy rights of authors and booksellers, the engraved property of engravers, and of the venders of prints and maps, and all other excluſive rights and privileges, which are or may be formed in this kingdom, for the encouragement of new inventions, to bodies, corporate or individuals, by acts of Parliament, grants from the crown, or otherwiſe.

And be it further declared by the authority aforeſaid, that it ſhall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and eſſential condition of the preſent ſettlement, that in all caſes in which there is a difference between the duties on articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain, when imported into Great Britain, the duties on ſuch articles ſhould be reduced, in the kingdom, where they are higheſt, to an amount not exceeding the duties which were payable in the other on the 17th of May 1782, ſo that in every caſe in which any article was charged with a duty on importation into Ireland of 10 l. 10 s. per cent. or upwards, on the 17th day of May, 1782, the amount of the ſaid duties ſo reduced ſhall not be leſs than the ſaid duty of 10 l. 10 s. per cent. and that all articles which are now importable duty free into either kingdom from the other, ſhall hereafter be imported, duty free, into each kingdom from the other reſpectively: be it therefore enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that it ſhall be lawful to import into this kingdom, all goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland (except as herein excepted) ſubject to ſuch rates and duties as aforeſaid, to be fixed and aſcertained in the manner to be herein-after directed

And be it declared by the authority aforeſaid, that it ſhall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and eſſential condition of the preſent ſettlement, that in all

caſes

caſes in which the articles of the conſumption of either kingdom ſhall be charged with an internal duty on the manufacture, ſuch manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a farther duty on the importation, adequate to countervail the duty on the manufacture, and that in all caſes in which there ſhall be a duty in either kingdom on the raw material of any manufacture, ſuch manufacture may, on its importation from the other kingdom, be charged with a countervailing duty as may be ſufficient to ſubject the ſame to burdens adequate to thoſe to which ſuch manufacture is ſubject, in conſequence of ſuch duties on ſuch raw materials, in the kingdom into which ſuch manufacture may be ſo imported, and that in all caſes in which a bounty ſhall be given, in either kingdom, on any articles manufactured therein, which ſhall remain on ſuch articles when exported to the other, ſuch articles may be charged with a farther duty, in the kingdom into which they ſhall be imported, ſufficient to countervail ſuch bounty remaining thereon provided always, that the duty to be impoſed upon manufactured ſalt, imported into any part of Great Britain in order to countervail the internal duty thereon, ſhall be computed according to the rate of the internal duty payable thereon in England

And be it declared by the authority aforeſaid, that it ſhall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and eſſential condition of the preſent ſettlement, that no new or additional duty or duties ſhall be hereafter impoſed, in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other, except ſuch countervailing duties as may from time to time be impoſed, as herein-before provided, in conſequence of any internal duty on the manufacture, or of any duty on the raw material of which ſuch manufacture is compoſed, or of any bounty given on any goods manufactured in the other kingdom, and remaining on ſuch goods when exported therefrom, and that ſuch countervailing duties to be impoſed as aforeſaid, ſhall continue ſo long only as the internal conſumption ſhall be charged with the duty or duties on the manufacture or raw material which ſuch duty ſo impoſed ſhall have been intended to countervail, or as ſuch article ſhall retain, on exportation from the other kingdom, the bounty which ſuch duty ſo impoſed ſhall have been intended to countervail

And be it declared by the authority aforeſaid, that it ſhall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and eſſential condition of the preſent ſettlement, that no new prohibition, or new additional duties, ſhall hereafter be impoſed, in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article of native growth, produce, or manufacture, from one kingdom to the other, except ſuch as either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biſcuit

Provided always, and it is hereby declared by the authority aforeſaid, to be a fundamental and eſſential condition of the preſent ſettlement, that when any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom ſhall be prohibited by the laws of the ſaid kingdom to be exported to foreign countries, the ſame articles, when exported to the other kingdom, ſhall be prohibited to be re-exported from thence to any foreign country.

And be it declared by the authority aforeſaid, that it ſhall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and eſſential condition of the preſent ſettlement, that no bounties whatever ſhould be paid or payable, in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except ſuch as relate to corn, malt, meal, flour, and biſcuit, and except alſo the bounties at preſent given on beer, and ſpirits diſtilled from corn, and ſuch as are in the nature of drawbacks or compenſa-

tions

tions for duties paid be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all bounties now payable in Great Britain, by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament, on the exportation of any articles to Ireland, shall cease and determine, and be no longer paid or payable, from and after except the bounties now payable on beer, and spirits distilled from corn, and except any bounties which relate to coals, naval, malt, flour, and biscuit, and except such as are in the nature of drawbacks, or compensations for duties paid.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that all articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland should be exportible, from the kingdom into which they shall be imported from the other, as free from duties as similar commodities of the same kingdom, and that all manufactures of either kingdom, imported into the other, shall be entitled to such drawbacks or bounties, on exportation from the kingdom into which they shall have been so imported, as may leave the same subject to no heavier burdens than the home made manufactures of such kingdom, and that when any such articles shall be liable, in either kingdom, to any duty on being exported from thence to any foreign country, the same articles, if they shall have been imported from such kingdom into the other, shall, on exportation from such other kingdom to any foreign countries, pay the same duties as they would have been liable to on exportation from the kingdom of their growth, produce, or manufacture, to such foreign country or countries

And be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland, imported into Great Britain, shall be entitled to such freedom or exemption from duty, and to such drawbacks, or bounties in the nature of drawbacks, on exportation from Great Britain to any place or country whatever, as may render them subject, on such exportation, to no heavier burden than the like articles, of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain, are or may be subject to on exportation thereinto to the same countries or places respectively, and that all articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland shall, on being exported from this kingdom to any foreign country, be subject to the same duty or duties to which they would have been subject on being exported directly from Ireland to such foreign country

And whereas, in order to ascertain the duties, bounties, and drawbacks, which may take place as aforesaid, on the importation of the articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom into the other, or on the exportation of the articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom from thence to the other, or on the exportation of the articles of the growth, produce or manufacture of either kingdom from the other to any foreign countries, it is expedient that proper persons be appointed, in each kingdom, to prepare a schedule or schedules thereof, to be laid before the Parliaments of both kingdoms, for their consideration and approbation, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that shall, and they are hereby authorised and impowered to meet, confer, and consult, touching the formation of such schedule or schedules as aforesaid, or any particulars relative thereto, with any person or persons who may be appointed for the like purpose by virtue of any act of the Parliament of Ireland

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said shall, and they are hereby required to lay, with all convenient speed, such schedule or schedules, and a report of their proceedings relative to the formation thereof, before the House of Commons of Great Britain.

And

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said shall, and they are hereby authorised and impowered to examine upon oath any persons whatever, who shall be willing to be so examined, touching any matter relative to the formation of the said schedules

And be it further enacted, that the said shall, on or before the take and subscribe the following oath before the Chancellor of His Majesty's Exchequer, or before any one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer:

"I *A B.* do swear, that, as a Commissioner appointed by virtue of an "act, intitled I will, to the best of my judgement and "ability, faithfully and impartially discharge the trust thereby re- "posed in me, without favour or affection to any person or persons "whatever,

"So help me GOD"

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that all articles, not the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, (except those of the growth, produce or manufacture of any countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straight of Magellan, during such time as the trade to the said countries shall continue to be carried on by an exclusive Company, having liberty to import into the port of London only) shall be imported into each kingdom from the other, reciprocally, under the same regulations, and at the same duties (if subject to duties) to which they would be liable when imported directly from the country or place from whence the same may have been imported into Great Britain or Ireland respectively, as the case may be: be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful to import from Ireland into Great Britain in ships navigated according to law, all goods not the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, (except those of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straights of Magellan, during such time as the trade shall continue to be carried on by an exclusive Company having liberty to import into the port of London only) under the same regulations, and at the same duties, to which such goods would be liable when imported directly from the country or place from whence the same may have been imported into Ireland.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, that it shall be held and adjudged, to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that all duties originally paid on the importation of such goods into either kingdom respectively, shall be fully drawn back, without restriction to be limited, on the exportation to Ireland from Great Britain of such foreign linens, and foreign rum, and all sorts of strong waters not imported from the British colonies in the West Indies, and except the duties to be returned, hereinafter directed, on articles exported to Ireland, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straights of Magellan: be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all drawbacks originally paid or secured on the importation into either kingdom of any goods or commodities not being the growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland, except linens, foreign brandy, foreign rum, and all sorts of strong waters not imported from the British colonies in the West Indies, and except the duties to be returned, hereinafter directed, on articles exported to Ireland, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straights of Magellan, shall be fully

drawn back, or the ſecurity for the ſame diſcharged, on exportation thereof to Ireland, within years after the importation thereof into this kingdom.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that no ſuch drawback ſhall be paid, or ſecurity diſcharged, until a certificate from the proper officer of the revenue in Ireland, ſtating the due entry and landing of ſuch articles, ſhall be returned and delivered to the proper officer of the port from whence the ſame ſhall have been exported, and until the ſeveral other particulars by law required in the caſe of drawbacks ſhall have been duly obſerved.

And whereas it is highly and equally important to the intereſts both of Great Britain and Ireland, and eſſential to the objects of the preſent ſettlement, that the laws for regulating trade and navigation, ſo far as relates to the ſecuring excluſive privileges to the ſhips and mariners of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Britiſh colonies and plantations, and ſo far as relates to the regulating and reſtraining the trade of the Britiſh colonies and plantations, ſhould be the ſame in Great Britain and Ireland, and that all ſuch laws in both kingdoms ſhould impoſe the ſame reſtraints, and confer the ſame benefits, on the ſubjects of both, which can only be effected by laws to be paſſed in the Parliament of both kingdoms (the Parliament of Great Britain being alone competent to bind the people of Great Britain in any caſe whatever, and the Parliament of Ireland being alone competent to bind the people of Ireland in any caſe whatever), therefore be it declared by the authority aforeſaid, that it ſhall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and eſſential condition of the preſent ſettlement, that the laws for regulating trade and navigation, ſo far as the ſaid laws relate to the ſecuring exclusive privileges to the ſhips and mariners of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh colonies and plantations, and to the regulating and reſtraining the trade of the Britiſh colonies and plantations, ſhall be the ſame in Great Britain and Ireland, and ſhall impoſe the ſame reſtraints, and confer the ſame benefits, on the ſubjects of both kingdoms.

And be it therefore declared and enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, that all privileges, advantages, and immunities, which are now granted, or ſhall, by any law to be paſſed by the Parliament of Great Britain, be hereafter granted, to ſhips built in Great Britain, or to ſhips belonging to any of His Majeſty's ſubjects reſiding in Great Britain, or to ſhips manned by Britiſh ſeamen, or to ſhips manned by certain proportions of Britiſh ſeamen, ſhall, to all intents and purpoſes whatever, be enjoyed in the ſame manner, and under the ſame regulations and reſtrictions reſpectively, by ſhips built in Ireland, or by ſhips belonging to any of His Majeſty's ſubjects reſiding in Ireland, or by ſhips manned by Iriſh ſeamen, or by ſhips manned by certain proportions of Iriſh ſeamen.

Provided always, and be it declared by the authority aforeſaid, that it ſhall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and eſſential condition of the preſent ſettlement, that ſuch regulations as are now, or hereafter ſhall be, in force, by laws paſſed, or to be paſſed in the Parliament of Great Britain, for ſecuring exclusive privileges, advantages, and immunities as aforeſaid, to the ſhips and mariners of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh colonies and plantations, ſhall be eſtabliſhed in Ireland, for the ſame time, and in the ſame manner as in Great Britain, by laws to be paſſed in the Parliament of Ireland, within months, if the Parliament of Ireland ſhall be then ſitting, or ſhall continue to ſit for months next enſuing, without being prorogued or diſſolved, or, in caſe the Parliament of Ireland ſhall not be then ſitting, and ſhall not continue

tinue to ſit for months without being prorogued or diſſolved, then within months after the commencement of the next enſuing ſeſſion of Parliament: provided nevertheleſs, that the laws ſo to be paſſed in the Parliament of Great Britain, for the purpoſe aforeſaid, ſhall impoſe the ſame reſtraints, and confer the ſame benefits, on the ſubjects of Great Britain and Ireland.

And be it declared by the authority aforeſaid, that it ſhall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and eſſential condition of the preſent ſettlement, that Iriſh ſail cloth ſhall be deemed Britiſh ſail cloth, within the meaning of an act of the nineteenth year of His late Majeſty King George the Second, or any other act or acts of Parliament of this kingdom reſpecting the furniſhing of ſhips with Britiſh ſail cloth, ſhall be entitled to equal preference and advantage as Britiſh for the uſe of the Britiſh navy.

And be it farther declared by the authority aforeſaid, That it ſhall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and eſſential condition of the preſent ſettlement, that the people of Ireland now, and at all times to come, ſhall have the benefit of trading to and from the Britiſh colonies and plantations in the Weſt-Indies and America, and to and from the Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, and in the articles of their growth, produce, or manufacture, in as full and ample manner as the people of this kingdom, and ſhall likewiſe have the benefit of trading in the like ample manner to and from all ſuch colonies, ſettlements, and plantations, which this kingdom may hereafter acquire or eſtabliſh, and to and from ſuch Britiſh ſettlements as may exiſt in the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, whenever the trade with thoſe countries ſhall ceaſe to be carried on by an excluſive company having liberty to import into the port of London only.

And be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That all goods and commodities whatever, which may at any time be legally imported from Great Britain into any Britiſh Colonies or plantations in the Weſt Indies or America, or into any Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, or into any ſuch colonies, ſettlements, or plantations, which this kingdom may hereafter acquire or eſtabliſh, or into any Britiſh ſettlements which may exiſt in the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, whenever the commerce to the ſaid countries ſhall ceaſe to be carried on by an excluſive company, having liberty to import into the port of London only, may, in like manner, be imported into the ſaid colonies, ſettlements, or plantations, from Ireland, ſubject only to the ſame duties and regulations as the like goods ſhall be ſubject to on importation into any of the ſaid colonies, ſettlements, or plantations reſpectively from Great Britain.

Provided always, and be it declared by the authority aforeſaid, that it ſhall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and eſſential condition of the preſent ſettlement, that all ſuch regulations or reſtrictions as relate to the trade with the Britiſh colonies or plantations, which are now, or ſhall hereafter, be in force by laws paſſed by the Parliament of this kingdom, ſhall be from time to time eſtabliſhed in Ireland, by laws to be paſſed in the Parliament of Ireland within months, if the Parliament of Ireland ſhall be then ſitting, and ſhall continue to ſit for months next enſuing, without being prorogued or diſſolved, or, in caſe the Parliament of Ireland ſhall not be then ſitting, or ſhall not continue to ſit for months, without being prorogued or diſſolved, then within months after the commence-

ment of the next enſuing ſeſſion of Parliament: provided, nevertheleſs, that the laws ſo to be paſſed in the Parliament of this kingdom, for the purpoſes aforeſaid, ſhall impoſe the ſame reſtraints, and confer the ſame benefits, on the ſubjects of Great Britain and Ireland.

Provided alſo, and be it declared by the authority aforeſaid, that it ſhall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and eſſential condition of the preſent ſettlement, that all goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any Britiſh, or any foreign colony, in America or in the Weſt Indies, or of any of the Britiſh or foreign ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, and all peltry, rum, train oil, and whale fins, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of the countries belonging to the United States of America, or being the produce of the fiſheries carried on by the ſubjects of the ſaid United States, ſhall, on importation into Ireland, be made ſubject to the ſame duties and regulations as the like goods are, or from time to time ſhall be ſubject to, on importation into Great Britain, or if prohibited from being imported into Great Britain, ſhall in like manner be prohibited from being imported into Ireland.

Provided always, and be it declared, that rum, being of the produce or manufacture of the Britiſh plantations in the Weſt Indies, may be imported into Ireland at no higher duties than are now payable thereon, and alſo, that all goods exported from Ireland to the Britiſh colonies or plantations in the Weſt Indies, or in America, or to the Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, or to any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, ſo long as the commerce to the ſaid countries ſhall continue to be carried on by an excluſive company, having liberty to import into the port of London only, or to any of the Britiſh ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies, whenever ſuch commerce ſhall ceaſe to be carried on by ſuch excluſive company, ſhall, from time to time, be made liable to ſuch duties, and be entitled to ſuch drawbacks only, and be put under ſuch regulations as may be neceſſary, in order that the ſame may not be exported with leſs duties or impoſitions, than the like goods ſhall be burdened with when exported from Great Britain: provided always, that linen and proviſions may continue to be exported from Ireland to any Britiſh colony, plantation or ſettlement, duty free.

Provided alſo, and be it farther declared by the authority aforeſaid, that it ſhall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and eſſential condition of the preſent ſettlement, that no bounties ſhall be payable in Ireland, on the exportation of any article to any Britiſh colonies or plantations in America, or in the Weſt Indies, or to the Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, or in the Eaſt Indies, or on the exportation of any article imported from the Britiſh colonies or plantations in America, or in the Weſt Indies, or from the Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, or in the Eaſt Indies, or of any manufacture made of ſuch article, unleſs in caſes where a ſimilar bounty is payable in Great Britain on exportation from thence, or where ſuch bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback or compenſation of and for duties paid, over and above any duties paid in Great Britain.

And be it declared by the authority aforeſaid, that it ſhall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and eſſential condition of the preſent ſettlement, that when any goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the Britiſh Weſt-India iſlands, or any other of the Britiſh colonies or plantations, ſhall be ſhipped from Ireland for Great Britain, they ſhall be accompanied with ſuch original certificates

ficates of the revenue officers of the ſaid colonies, as ſhall be required by law on importation into Great Britain, and that, when the whole quantity included in one certificate ſhall not be ſhipped at any one time, the original certificate, properly indorſed as to quantity, ſhall be ſent with the firſt parcel, and to identify the remainder, if ſhipped within new certificates ſhall be granted by the proper officers of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a regiſter of the orignal documents, ſpecifying the quantities before ſhipped from thence, by what veſſels, and to what ports be it therefore enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that when any ſhip or veſſel ſhall arrive from any port or place in Ireland, at any port in this kingdom, laden with any goods the growth, produce, or manufacture of the Britiſh Weſt-India iſlands, or any other of the Britiſh colonies or plantations, no ſuch goods ſhall be admitted to be imported into this kingdom, unleſs accompanied with ſuch orignal certificates of the revenue officers in the ſaid colonies, as ſhall be required by law on importation into Great Britain from the ſaid colonies or plantations reſpectively, under ſuch regulations, reſtrictions, penalties, and forfeitures, as the like goods are ſubject to on importation into Great Britain from the ſaid colonies and plantations reſpectively, or unleſs, when the whole quantity included in one certificate ſhall not be ſhipped at any one time, the original certificate, properly indorſed as to quantity, ſhall have been ſent with the firſt parcel, and the remainder ſhall have been ſhipped within and ſhall be accompanied with new certificates granted by the proper officers of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a regiſter of the original documents, ſpecifying the quantities before ſhipped from thence, by what veſſel, and to what port.

And be it declared by the authority aforeſaid, to be a fundamental and eſſential condition of the preſent ſettlement, that ſo long as the commerce to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, ſhall continue to be carried on by an excluſive company having liberty to import into the port of London only, all ſhips freighted by the ſaid company, and which ſhall have cleared out from the port of London for any of the ſaid countries, ſhall be at liberty to touch at any of the ports of Ireland, and to take on board there any goods which they might take on board in Great Britain, any act or acts to the contrary notwithſtanding, and that any goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland, exported by the Eaſt-India Company to any of the ſaid countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, ſhall be conſidered as Britiſh goods, within the meaning of any obligation which may at any time exiſt upon the ſaid Company, to ſend out to thoſe countries certain quantities of the goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain, and that no ſhips ſhall be allowed to clear out from any port in Ireland, for any of the ſaid countries, except ſuch as ſhall be freighted by the ſaid Company, and ſhall have ſailed from the port of London, and except ſuch foreign ſhips as might, by any law now, or hereafter to be in force, clear out for foreign ſettlements in the ſaid countries, from Great Britain, which ſhips ſhall be allowed to clear out from Ireland in the ſame manner as from Great Britain, and that whenever the commerce to the ſaid countries ſhall ceaſe to be carried on by an excluſive Company having liberty to import into the port of London only, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the ſaid countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the Streights of Magellan, ſhall be importable into Ireland from the Britiſh or foreign ſettlements

dements in the East Indies, ſubject to the ſame duties and regulations as the like goods ſhall from time to time be ſubject to on importation into Great Britain, and if prohibited to be imported into Great Britain, ſhall in like manner be prohibited from being imported into Ireland.

And be it declared by the authority aforeſaid, that it ſhall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and eſſential condition of the preſent ſettlement, that ſo long as the the commerce to countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, ſhall be carried on ſolely by an excluſive company having liberty to import into the port of London only, no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the ſaid countries, ſhall be allowed to be imported into Ireland, but through Great Britain, except dye ſtuffs, drugs, cotton, or other wool, and ſpiceries, and ſuch other articles as are, or hereafter may be importable into Great Britain from foreign European countries, which articles may be imported into Ireland from European countries, ſo long as the ſame are importable from foreign European countries into Great Britain, and that it ſhall be lawful to export any goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the ſaid countries from Great Britain to Ireland, and that ſuch duties as may now by law be retained thereon on ſuch exportation ſhall continue to be ſo retained, but that an account ſhall be kept thereof, and that the amount thereof ſhall be remitted by the Receiver General of His Majeſty's Cuſtoms in Great Britain, to the proper officer of His Majeſty's revenue in Ireland, to be placed to the account of His Majeſty's revenue there, ſubject to the diſpoſal of the Parliament of that kingdom.

And be it declared by the authority aforeſaid, that it ſhall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and eſſential condition of the preſent ſettlement, that all goods and commodities whatever, which ſhall hereafter be imported into this kingdom from Ireland, or into Ireland from Great Britain, ſhould be put, by laws to be paſſed in the Parliaments of the two kingdoms, under the ſame regulations, with reſpect to bonds, cockets, and other inſtruments, to which the like goods are ſubject in paſſing from one port of this kingdom to another be it therefore enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that all goods which ſhall be ſhipped or put on board in any port, creek, or member of any port, in this kingdom, to be carried to any port or place in the kingdom of Ireland, ſhall be accompanied with the like ſufferance and cocket, and ſubject to the like bond and ſecurity, as are required by any law in Great Britain for the like goods paſſing from one port in Great Britain to another, and that no goods brought from any port or place in the kingdom of Ireland ſhall be permitted to be imported into any port, creek, or member of any port in this kingdom without a ſufferance and cocket ſigned by the proper officer or officers of the revenue in Ireland, nor ſhall be landed in this kingdom until the ſufferance and cocket ſhall have been produced to the proper officer of the Cuſtoms here, and a ſufferance granted for landing the ſame, until the like reſtrictions, regulations, penalties, and forfeitures, to which goods carried from one port of Great Britain to another are liable.

And be it declared by the authority aforeſaid, that it ſhall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and eſſential condition of the preſent ſettlement, that the inhabitants of both kingdoms ſhall have an equal right to carry on fiſheries on every part of the coaſts of the Britiſh dominions be it therefore enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that the ſubjects of His Majeſty, reſiding in Ireland, ſhall have

have equal privileges and advantages with His Majeſty's ſubjects reſiding in Great Britain, in fiſhing on the coaſts of Great Britain, and the territories belonging thereto

And be it declared by the authority aforeſaid, that it ſhall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and eſſential condition of the preſent ſettlement, that the importation of articles from foreign countries ſhall be regulated from time to time, in each kingdom, on ſuch terms as may effectually favour the importation of ſimilar articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other, except in the caſe of materials of manufacture which are, or hereafter may be, allowed to be imported from foreign countries duty free

And be it declared and enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that this act, and every part thereof, ſhall commence and be in force on the provided that before the ſaid an act ſhall have been paſſed in the Parliament of Ireland, which ſhall appropriate whatever ſum the ſaid produce of the hereditary revenue ſhall amount to, after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, and bounties in the nature of drawbacks, over and above the ſum of 656,000l in each year, towards the ſupport of the naval force of the empire, to be applied in ſuch manner as the Parliament of that kingdom ſhall direct in the ſaid act, and which ſhall alſo provide, that it ſhall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and eſſential condition of the preſent ſettlement, that the due collection of the duties compoſing the ſaid hereditary revenue, ſhall be at all times effectually ſecured, and provided that before the ſaid an act or acts ſhall have been paſſed in the Parliament of Ireland, for carrying into effect, on the part of that kingdom, the preſent ſettlement, and all matters, proviſions, and regulations herein declared to be fundamental and eſſential conditions thereof; and provided alſo, that before the ſaid an act ſhall have been paſſed in the Parliament of Great Britain, declaring ſuch act or acts of the Parliament of Ireland to contain ſatisfactory proviſions for carrying into effect the preſent ſettlement.

And be it alſo declared, that the continuance of the preſent ſettlement, and the duration of this act, and of every thing herein contained, ſhall depend on the due obſervance, in the kingdom of Ireland, of the ſeveral matters herein declared to be fundamental and eſſential conditions of the ſaid ſettlement, according to the true preſent meaning, and ſpirit thereof.

Provided nevertheleſs, that all the ſaid fundamental and eſſential conditions ſhall, in all times, be held and deemed to be, and to have been duly obſerved in the kingdom of Ireland, unleſs it ſhall have been expreſsly declared, by an act of the Parliament of this kingdom, that the ſame have not been duly obſerved.

on them. And firſt, he was ſurpriſed to hear the noble Lord ſay, that the original propoſitions that had been ſent over from the Parliament of Ireland, had been rejected. The fact was directly the reverſe. The original propoſitions had not been rejected, but had been voted in the ſhape of reſolutions, that had been modified and amended, as the wiſdom of the two Houſes of the Parliament of Great Britain, had thought the ſafety of their revenue, and the preſervation of their manufactures required; and the Houſe was as that moment in the act of preparing to ſend thoſe reſolutions to Ireland, in order to ſubmit them, ſo amended, to the Parliament of that kingdom. The noble Lord alſo had denied, that any proof had been given of there being any neceſſity of coming to a ſyſtem of commercial arrangement with Ireland, and had contented, that no ſuch neceſſity exiſted. In anſwer to this, he ſhould think it ſufficient to refer the noble Lord to the ſtate of the two countries, as an ample proof of the neceſſity, had he no better authority to advert to, but he was furniſhed with the beſt authority, the authority of that Houſe, and here, he ſaid, he muſt again refer to the reſoluation of May 17, 1782, wherein it was declared, "That it was indiſpenſable to the intereſt and happineſs of "both kingdoms, that the connection between them ſhould "be eſtabliſhed by mutual conſent, upon a ſolid and per-"manent footing" He was aware that the right honourable gentleman oppoſite to him had aſſerted, that the reſolution had no reference to a commercial arrangement, and that it related merely to a political one. He never, he declared, attended to hear what was ſaid in another place, but he had read in a news-paper, that a great authority, who had ſat in the Cabinet when that reſolution had been moved, had declared it did mean a commercial arrangement. For his part, he could not think it poſſible for thoſe who framed the reſolution, to have had any arrangement in their contemplation, but a commercial one, and if it did not mean that, he wiſhed the authors of it would have been ſo good as to have declared what it did mean. Excluſive of that reſolution, however, the Parliament of Ireland had called for ſuch an arrangement more than once, and had impoſed protecting duties as ſtated in the different inſtances of wire, beer, and refined ſugars, mentioned in the Report of the Committee of Privy Council, in regard to every one of which the noble Lord's argument had been totally ill founded, and his deductions had conſequently been erroneous and falſe. Mr Jenkinſon here ſtated what the real caſe was in regard to beer, to wire,

and

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES

OF THE

HOUSE of LORDS,

In the SECOND SESSION of the

Sixteenth Parliament of GREAT BRITAIN,

Appointed to be holden at WESTMINSTER

On TUESDAY the 18th of MAY, 1784.

Friday, January 25, 1785.

THIS being the day appointed for opening the ſecond ſeſſion of the Parliament, their Lordſhips met, and His Majeſty came down in ſtate to the Houſe, and opened the ſeſſion with a moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne, which our readers will find in vol. 17. p. 1.

When His Majeſty and the Commons had withdrawn, the new Marquiſſes of Buckingham and Landſdown took their ſeats

About half paſt four the Lord Chancellor read the King's ſpeech; upon which

Duke of Hamilton and Brandon.

The Duke of *Hamilton* and *Brandon* roſe to move an addreſs of thanks. His Grace ſaid, that he roſe in the ſenſe of the duty which he owed to His Majeſty, to expreſs his feeling and gratitude on a ſpeech ſo graciouſly conceived, and ſo indicative of His Majeſty's zeal and love for his people. He was ſorry that a duty ſo honourable was not to be diſcharged by an abler perſon, but he truſted in the goodneſs of their Lordſhips, that they would indulge him for a minute, while he declared how much he approved of the ſpeech which they

they had heard. The ſettlement of the commercial conection between this country and Ireland, was an object of ſuch ſerious concern, that he knew their Lordſhips would agree with him in thinking, that it could not be more zealouſly recommended from the Crown, than it would be chearfully taken up by the Houſe. It muſt be highly pleaſing to their Lordſhips, as well as creditable to His Majeſty's Miniſters, that at a time when alarms were given of conteſts on the Continent, we had ſo borne ourſelves as to receive pacific aſſurances from all the neighbouring powers The ſuppreſſion of ſmuggling was an object the moſt deſirable, and the reforms ſuggeſted by the Commiſſioners of Public Accounts, whoſe labours did them ſo much honour, were productive of ſuch obvious benefit, that he was ſenſible their Lordſhips would be happy to give His Majeſty aſſurances of their readineſs to ſecond his gracious ideas in that reſpect. On the whole of the ſpeech he was convinced there needed no argument to induce their Lordſhips to agree with him in the propriety of an addreſs of thanks. He, therefore, ſhould content himſelf with moving that an addreſs be preſented to His Majeſty, in the uſual terms of acknowledgment and aſſurance of their readineſs to fulfil His Majeſty's wiſhes as declared in the ſpeech

Lord Walſingham.

Lord *Walſingham* ſaid, that in ſeconding the motion of the noble Duke, he ſhould preſume only to trouble their Lordſhips with a few ſentences, in addition to what his Grace had ſo forcibly and fully recommended to their notice. The topics held out to the attention of Parliament, in His Majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech, were ſo worthy of their moſt ſerious regard, and were in themſelves ſo important, that he was conſcious there needed not the weighty influence of His Majeſty's recommendation, to induce their Lordſhips to take them into their view. The full and final accompliſhment of a liberal ſyſtem of commercial connection between the two kingdoms of England and Ireland, was a thing which every good man of both countries muſt be anxious to behold. Their Lordſhips would, no doubt, be moſt ready to give His Majeſty aſſurances that they would co-operate with His Majeſty in his patriotic views on this ſubject, and that, from their earneſt efforts on this head, they might hope to ſee a ſyſtem formed ſo broad and liberal, ſo becoming the enlarged ſentiments of an intelligent people, and framed on ſuch principles of juſtice and wiſdom, as might at once be beneficial to the two countries reſpectively, and conducive to the general intereſts of the united empire.

The conduct of His Majeſty's Miniſters, in ſo wiſely and advantageouſly preſerving us from all ſhare in the differences which appeared on the Continent, was highly deſerving the

* thanks

thanks of that Houſe. Relieved ſo lately from a war which had coſt us ſo much, and panting for repoſe, their determined neutrality had been dictated by the beſt policy, for, by theſe means we ſhould have leiſure and opportunity to review our circumſtances, which, he thanked heaven, were yet proſperous, and to improve them by thoſe means of internal regulation, that he averred we had in our power, and by which we ſhould be enabled to aſſert our ſtation among the kingdoms of Europe. The reforms of office, and the various regulations ſuggeſted by the Commiſſioners of Public Accounts, were certainly moſt deſerving of their Lordſhips' regard, and they would therefore, he was perſuaded, moſt chearfully concur with His Majeſty in that object.

In regard to the ſuppreſſion of ſmuggling, he believed there was but one ſentiment. It was an evil of ſo ruinous a nature, that their Lordſhips muſt be happy to hear that the meaſures of laſt ſeſſion had been productive of good It would be their object to perſevere in their endeavours to fulfil the work they had begun, and totally to ſuppreſs the evil. It would be unneceſſary for him to enlarge on the injuries which the unreſtrained practice of ſmuggling brought on a commercial country; in the deſtruction of the morals, in the alienation of the minds of the citizens, in the debaucheries which it occaſioned, as well as in the loſs of revenue, and the conſequent increaſe of burdens which it brought on the fair trader and induſtrious artizan The number of people engaged in contraband trade, before the late acts, would aſtoniſh ſuch Lords as might not have turned their eyes to the ſubject. It would ſurpriſe them to hear that it coſt the nation no leſs than 200,000l a year for the efforts which they made to watch and prevent the commiſſion of their frauds; and they would be happy to hear that the meaſures taken lately by Parliament, had been ſo ſucceſsful, that in the laſt year there had been an increaſe in the Cuſtoms of 400,000l and in the Exciſe of a million. This was not all; theſe advantages had not been accompanied by the evils which were foreſeen. Apprehenſions had been entertained, that when the adventurous body of men, engaged in the ſmuggling trade, were prevented from the farther practice of their frauds, they would emigrate, that they would carry with them their capital, and enterpriſe to foreign countries. This, however, had not enſued, for he was happy to find, that by the liberal and prudent act of oblivion which had been paſſed, theſe men had not been induced to abandon their country, but were daily ſtriking out new and legal paths, and that numbers of them were at this time ſolicitous of being engaged in a trade highly beneficial to the country—the Newfoundland fiſhery. The noble Lord ſaid there was much to be done yet for the

entire ſuppreſſion of contraband dealing; and he was perſuaded that the farther wiſdom and ability of Parliament employed on this point, would give an acceſſion of vigour to the ſtate, beyond the warmeſt imaginations of men. He concluded with ſaying, that the Speech, having thus, in all its points, his entire concurrence, he with pleaſure had riſen to ſecond the noble Duke in his motion for an addreſs.

The Lord Chancellor then put the queſtion, and the Addreſs was agreed to *nemine diſſentiente*.

It was afterwards prepared, and approved of by the Houſe.

Wedneſday, January 26.

The Houſe went up to St James's, and preſented the following humble Addreſs of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled.

Die Martis, 25° Januarii, 1785.

"Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

"We, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the "Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled, "beg leave to return your Majeſty our humble thanks for "your Majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne

"Permit us to expreſs to your Majeſty our moſt grateful "ſenſe of your Majeſty's regard for our private convenience, "in not commanding from us an earlier attendance in Par- "liament

"Your Majeſty may rely on our faithful and diligent exer- "tions in every part of our duty, and truly ſenſible of the "importance of the object, we beg leave to aſſure your Ma- "jeſty, that it is our determination to give our immediate "attention to the adjuſtment of ſuch points in the commer- "cial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland, as are "not yet finally arranged; truſting that ſuch a ſyſtem may "be formed as may beſt enſure the proſperity of both king- "doms, by cloſely uniting them upon principles of reciprocal "advantage

"We deſire to return to your Majeſty our warmeſt thanks "for your gracious communication of the aſſurances which "your Majeſty continues to receive of the good diſpoſition "of foreign powers towards this country, notwithſtanding "the differences which appear to prevail upon the Conti- "nent

"The information your Majeſty is pleaſed to give us of "the ſucceſs which has attended the meaſures taken in the "laſt ſeſſion for the ſuppreſſion of ſmuggling, and for the "improvement of the revenue, affords us the greateſt ſatis- "faction; and your Majeſty may be aſſured, that we will

apply

" apply ourſelves, with unremitted attention, to points of " ſuch great concern to the proſperity of the country, and " that we will take into our early conſideration the matters " ſuggeſted in the ſeveral Reports of the Commiſſioners of " Public Accounts, as well as ſuch farther regulations as " may appear to be neceſſary in the public offices of the " kingdom.

" From the experience we have had of your Majeſty's " paternal regard for the intereſts of all your ſubjects, we beg " leave humbly to expreſs to your Majeſty, our fulleſt confi- " dence in the gracious aſſurance of your Majeſty's hearty " concurrence in every meaſure which may tend to alleviate " the national burdens, to ſecure the true principles of the " conſtitution, and to promote the general happineſs and " welfare of your people."

His Majeſty's Moſt Gracious Anſwer.

' My Lords,

" I return you thanks for this dutiful and affectionate Ad- " dreſs

" Nothing can give me more ſatisfaction, than your aſſur- " ance that you will immediately enter into the conſidera- " tion of the matters which I have laid before you

" You may depend upon the utmoſt care and attention on " my part, to ſettle every thing which concerns the intereſt " of my kingdoms, upon a ſolid and durable foundation."

Friday, February 18.

The Earl of *Carliſle* deſired that the 37th and 38th ſections of the Act of the laſt ſeſſion, for the better regulation and management of the affairs of the Eaſt-India Company, &c. might be read. The clerk accordingly read as follows E. of Carliſle

" And where a very large ſums of money appear to be " due to Britiſh ſubjects by the Nabob of Arcot, in the re- " covery whereof it is expedient that ſuch aſſiſtance ſhould " be given them as ſhall be conſiſtent with the rights of the " ſaid United Company, the ſecurity of the creditors, and " the honour and dignity of the ſaid Nabob Be it enacted, " that the Court of Directors of the ſaid Company ſhall, as " ſoon as may be, take into conſideration the origin and juſ- " tice of the ſaid demands, as far as the materials they are " in poſſeſſion of ſhall enable them to do, and that they " ſhall give ſuch orders to their preſidencies and ſervants " abroad for completing the inveſtigation thereof, as the " nature of the caſe ſhall require, and for eſtabliſhing, in " concert with the ſaid Nabob, ſuch fund for the diſcharge

" of

" of thoſe debts which ſhall appear to be juſtly due, accord-
" ing to their reſpective rights of priority, as ſhall be con-
" ſiſtent with the rights of the ſaid United Company, the
" ſecurity of the creditors, and the honour and dignity of the
" ſaid Nabob.

" And, for ſettling upon a permanent foundation the
" preſent intermediate rights and pretenſions of the Nabob
" of Arcot and the Rajah of Tanjore, with reſpect to each
" other, be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid,
" that the Court of Directors of the ſaid United Company
" ſhall take into their immediate conſideration the ſaid inde-
" terminate rights and pretenſions, and take and purſue ſuch
" meaſures as in their judgment and diſcretion ſhall be beſt
" calculated to aſcertain and ſettle the ſame, according to
" the principles and the terms and ſtipulations contained in
" the treaty of one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-two,
" between the ſaid Nabob and the ſaid Rajah."

His Lordſhip then obſerved, he had a matter of great importance to bring before their Lordſhips It was, he ſaid, a motion for papers, which would give material information to their Lordſhips The debts of the Nabob of Arcot, his Lordſhip ſaid, were divided into claſſes; there was what was called the Old Loan, which was of pretty ancient ſtanding, the Cavalry Loan, of more recent date, and the Debt to the Company, which he ſhould term the Public Debt; and when he did ſo, he meant to call their Lordſhips' attention to a Bill that had paſſed the laſt ſeſſion, which was termed the Relief Bill Their Lordſhips would recollect, that at the time that Bill paſſed, the Eaſt-India Company were ſtated to be in indigent circumſtances, and Parliament had been called on to remit the payment of large ſums then due to the Public for duties, and which ſums ſtill remained unpaid. The Public, therefore, having been additionally burdened for the ſupport of the Eaſt-India Company, and being at preſent its creditor to a conſiderable amount, it was fair to contend that the debts due to the Company were in fact due to the Public. Beſides the debts of the Nabob which he had mentioned, and of which there was no ſuſpicion, the Nabob ſtood indebted a very conſiderable ſum to the native princes and landholders in the Carnatic, to whom that Houſe would doubtleſs conſider themſelves, as much the guardians and protectors, as they were the guardians and protectors of the ſubjects at home There was alſo one other debt, and that was, a debt to Britiſh ſubjects for ſums lent and advanced in India. By the 37th and 38th ſections of the act, which had been juſt read, it appeared that the Court of Directors had been ordered to inſtitute a complete inveſtigation of theſe demands, and to give directions to their ſervants in India to

eſtabliſh

eſtabliſh a fund for the diſcharge of the Nabob's debts; the language of the act was ſo plain, that it could not be miſunderſtood; rumour, however, had been exceedingly buſy, and had given riſe to ſome ſuſpicions which he conceived it to be the indiſpenſable duty of their Lordſhips to inquire into, that the Public might be ſatisfied. It was with this view that he ſhould move for ſome papers that would give their Lordſhips a full opportunity of aſcertaining whether thoſe rumours in circulation without doors were well founded or not. Orders had been recently ſent out to India by the Court of Directors, directly contrary to the expreſs directions of the act of Parliament, in theſe three great important particulars the treaty of 1762, between the Nabob of Arcot and the Rajah of Tanjore, which the act had directed to be adhered to in the ſettlement of their rights, was ordered to be violated, and its principles, terms, and ſpeculations to be departed from, the territories of Arnee and Atticatti-cootee were ordered to be wreſted from the Rajah, and the debt due to individual Britiſh ſubjects, which was the moſt liable to impeachment and ſuſpicion of all the Nabob's debts, was ordered to be diſcharged, previous to any inveſtigation being inſtituted into the origin and juſtice of the demand, and previous to the diſcharge of the debt to the public. His Lordſhip enlarged on the magnitude of theſe violations of the ſtatute, if rumour ſpoke the truth. It was not with any view to crimination, but to know whether ſuch rumour was well founded, that he meant to move for certain papers, and therefore he begged leave to move,

"That the proper officer be directed to lay before the "Houſe, copies or extracts of all letters and orders of the "Court of Directors of the United Eaſt-India Company, "in purſuance of the injunction contained in the 37th and "38th clauſes of an Act, entitled, 'An Act for the better "regulation and management of the affairs of the Eaſt-India "Company, and of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India, and for "eſtabliſhing a Court of Judicature for the more ſpeedy and "effectual trial of perſons accuſed of offences committed in "the Eaſt-Indies."

Lord *Sidney* ſaid, he was extremely ſorry to feel himſelf incapable of giving his conſent to a motion, the complying with which did not appear to him likely to anſwer any uſeful purpoſe. Parliament had for ſeveral ſeſſions been employed in debating upon the affairs of India, and it had appeared that thoſe affairs had not been more proſperous on that account. He could not therefore conceive, that going into their conſideration again, juſt after they had adjuſted a plan of proceeding for the better management of the Company's affairs, would be either wiſe or neceſſary, and therefore the Lord Sidney

noble Earl muſt excuſe him if he did not give his conſent to the motion.

Lord Stormont. Lord *Stormont* ſaid, the noble Earl who made the motion had ſtated that rumours were abroad of a very extraordinary nature; thoſe rumours had created a deal of alarm, and ought to be inquired into that was the aim propoſed by the preſent motion.

Lord Rawdon Lord *Rawdon* ſaid, that refuſing to inquire into reports that created much ſuſpicion, was more likely to increaſe than remove the ſuſpicions. On the preſent occaſion Miniſters had a delicate taſk to perform. It was their duty to prevent ſtate ſecrets from being divulged The papers called for might convey information to the enemies of Great Britain, and by ſhewing thoſe whoſe intereſt it was to counteract the policy of this country in India, what we were about, and what meaſures we were taking in the Carnatic, teach them how they might be the beſt defeated.

Lord Loughborough ſpoke for the motion, and Lord Thurlow againſt it. After which it was negatived without a diviſion.

Tueſday, February 22

The Bill for permitting the importation of cattle, flour, &c from the United States of America into Newfoundland, under certain reſtrictions, being read a ſecond time, and the queſtion being put for its commitment,

Lord Loughborough. Lord *Loughborough* ſaid, he thought the introduction of the Bill at this time very improper, the only plea that he underſtood was urged in its favour, was, there might be a ſcarcity of proviſions at Newfoundland this ſeaſon, by which the fiſhermen would certainly be diſtreſſed; but that no ſuch ſcarcity would happen, or was probable, he would take upon himſelf to aſſert, yet even admitting that to be the caſe, the neceſſity for a Bill of this tendency did not exiſt, becauſe an act had already paſſed empowering His Majeſty in Council to iſſue a proclamation, making any regulations that ſhould appear requiſite for a limited time Some people, he underſtood, had been at infinite pains to condemn the framers of the Navigation Act, and to ridicule thoſe who were weak enough to look up to it as beneficial to the country; notwithſtanding which, he would confeſs himſelf one of thoſe weak beings who admired its conſtruction, and would gladly wiſh to ſee it preſerved inviolate Why Miniſters had adopted this meaſure of a bill, which he conceived to be an infringement of the act of navigation, in preference to the iſſuing a proclamation, he hoped the noble Lord, in whoſe department theſe kind of regulations particularly belonged, would inform the Houſe.

Lord

Lord *Sidney* knew not what kind of information the noble Lord required, unleſs it was the hiſtory of the bill, which, if that was thought neceſſary, he would moſt readily give him —There were very few people, he believed, who were not convinced of the utility of ſupporting our Newfoundland fiſhery, and of courſe, when thoſe who were thus employed were in diſtreſs, it was highly neceſſary to render them aſſiſtance if poſſible That trade, ſerviceable as it was to this country, would inevitably ſoon fall to decay, unleſs ſome method was taken to keep the price of proviſions within the reach of the fiſherman. This was unfortunately not the caſe laſt ſeaſon, for by an unlucky ſcarcity, they roſe to ſuch a height, that had not two American veſſels gone into port, very few would have been able to have made their voyages. When theſe veſſels came in, Governor Campbell was for ſome time at a loſs how to act, but ſoon, however, and wiſely he thought, under the then circumſtances, decided in favour of the landing and ſale of their cargoes, this being ſtated to His Majeſty's Miniſters, they thought it neceſſary to make proviſion againſt ſuch a ſcarcity in future, conſultations had been held with the different merchants, who, his Lordſhip admitted, had rather oppoſed the preſent meaſure of admitting ſupplies from the American ſtates, but then, on the other hand, when the late Governor, and the different officers were conſulted, they declared very much in its favour, and upon their determination, it was thought expedient to make the experiment for one ſeaſon, which was the whole time the act was to be in force—this was the direct hiſtory of the bill, and which had been formed in the manner thought the moſt likely to anſwer the intended purpoſe. It would be in vain for him to enter into a legal conteſt with the learned Lord, as very few even of the profeſſion were able to make a ſtand againſt his abilities, but he would go ſo far as to ſay, that he firmly believed, had the learned Lord known any act of Parliament which expreſſly forbid the importation of the produce of a foreign ſtate into our colonies, provided they were conveyed in Britiſh-built ſhips, navigated by Britiſh ſubjects, he would have ſtated it, for his part he knew of none, nor did he think this bill would act in the leaſt contrary to the ſtrict ſenſe of the navigation act; for theſe reaſons he hoped their Lordſhips would join with him in giving it their ſupport. After a ſhort debate the bill was ordered to be committed. Lord Sidney.

Tueſday, March 1.

The Earl of *Carliſle* ſaid, he had on a former occaſion ſubmitted to their Lordſhips a motion for papers reſpecting the debts of the Nabob of Arcot. The motion had been rejected. The Earl of Carliſle.

But as a copy of thoſe papers had been printed by Mr Debrett, it was probable they were in the poſſeſſion of many of their Lordſhips, and therefore, the purpoſe of making Parliament acquainted with the ſituation of affairs, in conſequence of the conduct of the new Commiſſioners, was anſwered But as the principal point reſpecting the debts due to the real creditors of the Nabob of Arcot was yet to be attained, he meant to ſubmit to their Lordſhips a motion which he conceived might bring that matter to an iſſue. The noble Earl then entered into an inveſtigation of the cavalry debt, the loan of 1777, and the ſum due to the Company, which he went through with great accuracy, following the ſentiments of Mr. Fox, as delivered on Monday in the Houſe of Commons, and making ſimilar concluſions from ſimilar premiſes There was one ſubject which he thought ſomewhat new it was what the ſervants in India, and the Board of Control, called a floating debt On this he ſhould ſay a few words He compared the ſituation to that of executors, who had an eſtate in truſt for a minor, on which eſtate there were ſeveral claims, which he divided into two claſſes, juſt and unjuſt. Thoſe which were really due, the executors no doubt would put into the moſt ſpeedy and effectual mode of payment thoſe which were fictitious, or ſuppoſed to be ſo they would naturally inquire into before they diſcharged them. But, ſays the fictitious claimant, if you do not inſtantly ſecure to me my demand, I will harraſs and perplex you by continual lawſuits, and therefore it is your intereſt, and the intereſt of the perſon whoſe eſtate you have in truſt, to comply with my requeſt. Would any honeſt man, in ſuch caſe, agree to the demand of the unjuſt creditor? Surely not. And yet ſtrange to tell, a debt of this kind, the loan of 1777, is deſired to be kept afloat, although the Commiſſioners have a doubt of its juſtice; and the ſervants of the Company determine to pay it in preference to thoſe juſt and fair claims to which the real and acknowledged creditors are entitled. Such is the equity which Parliament is to expect from the new regulations As to the idea of the mode propoſed, being very likely to circulate caſh in India, that was idle; unleſs we were to conceive that Aſia was like the human body; which, by taking away a certain quantity of blood, gives to the remainder, a more free circulation. For certain it was that the money flowed from that country into this, whenever it got into the hands of private individuals. The noble Earl ſaid he ſhould not trouble their Lordſhips any farther, but ſubmit to their conſideration a reſolution, which he read It was to this effect, to reſolve that the debts due by the Nabob of Arcot to individuals, ſhould not be paid before thoſe due to the Company were diſcharged.

The

The *Lord Chancellor* moved, that the former motion made by the noble Earl, and which motion was negatived, ſhould be read It was accordingly read. The Lord Chancellor.

Lord *Walſingham* roſe, he ſaid to give the motion of the noble Lord a direct negative The ſubject had aſſumed a new ſhape ſince their Lordſhips had formerly diſcuſſed it, but the noble Lord's motion, in his opinion, was not calculated to ſucceed in any form. About the act of Parliament, to which reference had been made, and on which much ſtreſs had been laid, he, for one, was under no ſort of difficulty. His Lordſhip explained what was called the cavalry debt, by ſtating the fact which occaſioned it, and the circumſtances to which the Nabob had been reduced. He ſaw no doubt whatever connected with this tranſaction it had all the characteriſtics of fairneſs and upright conduct, and whatever might have been inſinuated, he was ready to pronounce it, in every reſpect, free from blame; but it was the debt of the year 1777 on which ſo many bold imputations had been laid. He, for one, was ready to admit, that ſo early as the year 1769, the Company had prohibited their ſervants abroad from negotiating any loans with any of the native Princes whatever This he owned was in oppoſition to the legality, perhaps protection, of theſe debts, and there was no doubt but theſe debts had received no credit from that circumſtance. But apart from this, he was at ſome loſs to know what degree of turpitude they really poſſeſſed He would not pretend to anſwer or account for what the Court of Directors had done. They conceived that they enjoyed the privilege of judging for themſelves But he was perfectly aware what the Board of Control had thought it their duty to do. They owned ſomething like ſuſpicion hung on the validity of the debts in queſtion They complained that matters were not more perſpicuous They blamed whoever had any ſhare in clouding that, about which intelligence was now become of ſo much importance But what more could they do? By giving a flat negation to the claims of theſe creditors, who can ſay what might not have been the conſequence? A ſource of altercation and hoſtility would ſtill have been kept open. The Carnatic might again have been embroiled. The circulation of ſpecie would have been almoſt annihilated, and what in his mind was the worſt calamity of all, the feelings of the Nabob would have been wounded He knew theſe debts to be due to many a worthy individual, and for ſervices of material importance He was ſenſible, therefore, how much the reputation of his juſtice, his veracity, his honour might ſuffer by giving countenance to the leaſt demur And he thought it not in any degree unbecoming their Lordſhips' attention. But, however much againſt our feelings, becauſe not in uniLord Walſingham.

ſon with our habits, ſuch a conduct in the ſervants of the Company, their conduct was perfectly conſonant to the manners of the country. It was perhaps impoſſible, all circumſtances conſidered, for people who went out of this kingdom to a territory ſo remote, and aſſociating with a deſcription of men in every reſpect of manners and habits diſſimilar to ours, to adopt the ſame maxims, and preſerve the ſame uniformity of action in every caſe that we did —He truſted their Lordſhips would make all poſſible allowances for individuals under this predicament The noble Lord who ſtated the reſolution, which he had propoſed to the Houſe, had not, for very obvious reaſons, adverted to this part of the argument in any thing he had ſaid But he had condemned the debts in the groſs, without even admitting that ſome might be unexceptionable, ſuppoſing others to be falſe or fraudulent. Theſe, and ſuch as theſe, were the principles on which the preſent Board of Control had acted, in the order they had made, and the protection they had given They deemed it highly inexpedient to keep thoſe debts longer afloat, as that was a circumſtance which equally affected the Company, the Nabob, and the Britiſh Government They were anxious for preſerving a peace, ſo lately and honourably, and widely eſtabliſhed They wiſhed the country to have, at leaſt, ſome reſpite from the cruel ravages of war, by which it had been ſo long and fatally ravaged, laid waſte, and ſtript at once of its inhabitants and wealth. The minds of men were alienated, and eſtranged by thoſe moſt horrid and ſhocking ſcenes which attended inteſtine commotions. And the new Commiſſioners conſulted, their own feelings, by ſacrificing in this manner to humanity, what others might probably imagine, due in the firſt inſtance to juſtice On theſe motives, they had acted in extending their protection to the debts in queſtion They were, in his apprehenſion, bound to ſuch a conduct, as the matter had been ſo long delayed, and the parties not a little irritated He was of opinion, they could not have been otherwiſe prepared to anſwer for the part they had acted, or poſſeſſed of a reaſon, by which to have juſtified themſelves in the event of conſequences ariſing from this circumſtance— the kind which they chiefly apprehended. It was, on ſimilar principles, that he ſhould now diſſent from the reſolution propoſed by the noble Lord It was ſo far from correſponding with his ideas, that he would not only give it his negative, but propoſe the motion of an adjournment.

Lord Stormont.

Lord *Stormont* ſaid, it was agreed on all hands, that jealouſies of a very ſtrange kind had, by all parties, been entertained, at leaſt to a certain degree, on the debts of the Nabob of Arcot to ſeveral Britiſh individuals He deſired the attention of their Lordſhips to what had been done by the Court of Directors.

Directors. Theſe gentlemen, as much ſtrangers to all profeſſional acquaintance with law as his Lordſhip, were however apprehenſive that ſomething was wrong in relation to thoſe debts They therefore ſet an inquiry on foot They interrogated their ſervants concerning them In this kind of correſpondence they had perſiſted for years. Yet after all the pains they had taken, they were to this moment as myſterious and unaccountable as ever ——Notwithſtanding this, they iſſue their orders, that all due inquiſition into their origin might be made, but their utmoſt ſolicitude was baffled, and as plain, honeſt, well-meaning men, adhering nevertheleſs to their duty, mark their opinion of this matter is full of ſuſpicion and doubt His Lordſhip declined taking up any part of their Lordſhips' time with the firſt deſcription of the debt of the Nabob of Arcot, as he conceived the moſt perfect agreement among all, that it was wholly unobjectionable. The cavalry, or ſecond ſpecies of debt, had alſo been diſcuſſed at length, how far the arguments which went to juſtify and elucidate it were ſucceſsful, he would not ſay, but it was the debt in which individuals were principally concerned to which he wiſhed to draw the attention of their Lordſhips, and they would, he truſted forgive him, if he called many debts which belong to this claſs, fraudulent and fictitious he would give this name to all ſuch bills or bonds on the Nabob of Arcot, as exceeded the ſums which he had originally received What value had been given for procuring to ſuch pecuniary obligations? The noble Lord, he knew, without any improper intention, had notwithſtanding dropt an expreſſion which ſtruck his Lordſhip in a moſt forcible light 'Theſe debts,' he ſaid, were agreeable to the cuſtom of India He thought this expreſſion might let their Lordſhips into the ſecret hiſtory of theſe manœuvres much better than any thing he could ſay. It ought to be conſidered about what time theſe debts were contracted, and under what circumſtances. When the Court of the Nabob ſwarmed with European ſycophants, and his ideas of ambition and aggrandiſement were excited and inflamed, theſe debts took place The plain meaning of the matter, therefore, is, that the Board of Control hath actually guarantied all the money, by which this Prince, by means of bribery and corruption, obtained the concurrence and cooperation of the Company, and their army to invade, deſolate and conquer certain diſtricts in the Carnatic for the benefit of the Nabob What was this but a reward which appeared to him highly detrimental in the firſt inſtance to the Eaſt-India Company, but ultimately and particularly injurious to the ſtate in general, as not only diſturbing her tranquillity, but alienating her reſources, and by that means expoſing her to all thoſe dangers which are inſeparable from an impotent

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and defenceleſs ſituation. Here, therefore, was the beginning of the new Government of Control, which was to make India ſo diff rent from what it had been in the earlier periods of our connection with it He congratulated his country on the return of the golden age, and the infinite advantage we were likely to derive from this pure inſtitution One benefit, however, he ſaid, did undoubtedly ariſe from this new inſtitution There was now an end put to preſents-- Theſe were no longer admiſſible by the ſervants of the Company However, they were ſtill at liberty to ſay to their Indian friends, the Britiſh Parliament has undoubtedly put all the buſineſs of preſents out of the queſtion. It is no longer honourable or ſafe, for us to receive any gratuities of that ſort, but your Excellency may gratify us with a bond This was one ſpecies of corruption ſucceſsfully put for another His Lordſhip then went into the nature of the conſequence, and the motives of the order which had been given by the new Board The firſt, on which this extraordinary meaſure was founded, was the inexpediency of keeping the Nabob's debts any longer afloat this he did not underſtand, as it was neceſſary in ſome degree, that they ſhould be kept open till they were ſettled The noble Viſcount then entered pretty largely into the detail

Ld Loughborough

Lord *Loughborough* deſired it to be underſtood, that he did not mean to travel the whole debate over again, which had been, he apprehended, too long already before their Lordſhips "He ſhould not vex the dull ear of a drowſy man," to which ſituation he apprehended the preſent ſubject had reduced their Lordſhips The learned Lord therefore took up the debts in ſuch a point of view as would appear to a jury of unprejudiced men in a court of equity He demanded to know, if a claim was made, whether the firſt inquiry would not be into the juſtice of that claim and whether the Court would not think it proper to have that juſtice ſubſtantiated, before there was an order made for the diſcharge of the debt? He ſtated the caſe of a bond debt, to which there were exceptions taken, and therefrom argued, that the claims of private individuals, to whom the Nabob of Arcot ſtood indebted, and of the legality of which claims there were the ſtrongeſt reaſons to entertain doubts, ſhould not be diſcharged in preference to thoſe debts which were really and *bona fide* due to the public The ſubject was now in every man's mouth; and intricate as Indian affairs were, yet the book publiſhed by Debrett had ſo far informed men's minds, by a printed copy of the papers which the Houſe in their wiſdom thought it proper to refuſe, that few now were unacquainted with that very intelligence the Commiſſioners wiſhed to hide from the eyes of the public. As to the debts due by the Nabob of

Arcot

Arcot to individuals, he believed them to be all fictitious. Nabob making had been a trade of some long standing, and those unfortunate Asiatic sacrifices were created and uncreated just as the interest of individuals prompted them to set up or tumble down their golden calves. The Nabob of Arcot, who had got some insight into this traffic of his brethren, thought his best security would be to make his life, and his continuation in power, of such value, that the deprivation of either would be a loss instead of a gain. Hence he got in debt, hence he secured himself from the usual mode of being deposed, and hence he has become a person of such consequence, as not only to demand the attention, but actually the care of Parliament. The learned Lord then went into a long investigation of the subject of India affairs, recapitulating what he had said on a former occasion, and deducing arguments from the substance of Debrett's publication of the India papers, which went to prove the ill-judged conduct of the Commissioners or Board of Control, and the fraudulous practices of the servants in India. Until these papers, so collected and so published by Mr. Debrett, were contradicted he thought in a great measure, he was entitled to look upon them as no fiction. They bore the signature of authenticity, and as yet remained in proof with the authority of the names of the Board of Control affixed to them. If they were false, it was the business of Government to prove them so, and if they misstated, the errors should be pointed out, for at present, they were in every man's possession, and it therefore became the duty of Ministers to give to the Public their sentiments on the charges. For these, and other reasons, which the learned Lord entered into, he said, he should give his affirmative to the motion made by the noble Earl.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, the House had heard very little that related to the question, though a great deal of conversation had taken place upon what had not any immediate relation to it. The question merely was, whether their Lordships would come into resolutions about the debts of the Nabob of Arcot, of which debts they had no knowledge whatever, and had but the other day decided, that the papers which had been stated to contain an account of the debts of the said Nabob, were unfit to be brought under their discussion. That was the sole question before them, and that lay in a very narrow compass, for the resolutions of Friday se'nnight, that had been read to their Lordships, precluded them from the possibility of going into the consideration of such a question, he could not therefore, he said, help expressing his astonishment, that noble Lords, who had but within a day or two moved for papers, which the House had resolved were improper to be laid upon the table, should come down again, and offer to the House resolutions grounded upon certain facts relative to the

The Lord Chancellor.

the ſame ſubject, of the exiſtence and foundation of which facts the Houſe had not the ſlighteſt veſtige of proof before them. The noble and learned Lord took ſome notice of what he termed irregular and diſorderly manœuvres, which had been practiſed that day by noble Lords, who had ſo lately ſupported their motions for papers, with arguments calculated to perſuade the Houſe, that unleſs the papers were produced, it was impoſſible to proceed a ſtep farther upon the ſubject of them, and therefore who might have conſidered the determination of the Houſe upon thoſe motions as their declaration, that they thought the ſubject unfit to be agitated, ſtanding up in their places with looſe and unauthenticated pamphlets in their hands, and ſaying repeatedly, that they aſſumed the facts ſtated in ſuch publications as authentic truths, and therefore called upon their Lordſhips in their collective capacity as a Houſe of Lords to agree to reſolutions turning altogether upon the facts ſo aſſumed. He aſked with what reſervation of reſpect for that Houſe did any noble Lord preſume to adopt a mode of proceeding ſo contrary to order? Having put this queſtion, he reprobated the pityfulneſs of the triumph of getting the papers into print, which that Houſe had refuſed to have put upon their table, and in ſevere terms reprehended their publication; declaring, that whoever of the Eaſt-India Directors had handed them to Mr Debrett, had been guilty of a ſhameful and ſcandalous treachery to that body of men with whom he acted, to his conſtituents whoſe affairs he had been called upon to direct, and to the Public at large. He dwelt on this with ſome degree of energy and emphaſis, and at length proceeded to animadvert on what had paſſed in the converſation, as his Lordſhip termed it, of the day, which he ſaid, had been ſo irrelative to the real queſtion before the Houſe, that excepting a word or two that had fallen by accident from the noble Lord in the green ribband, of the neceſſity of ſending out a countermand of the orders that were gone to India, not a ſyllable had been ſaid of the purpoſe that the preſent motion was to anſwer. He aſked what was the aim of bringing forward ſuch queſtions as thoſe that had been moved that day? why would not the noble Lords proceed to crimination immediately, it would be much more manly to come forward with a charge, if any they meant to ſuggeſt, than thus by inſinuation and ſide-wind motions throw out oblique and diſtant hints, that tended to affect men's characters, and from which it was impoſſible for any men, however unimpeachable their conduct, to defend themſelves. But even were ſuch a motion as that of the day acceded to, what could be done upon it? Was it with a view to ground a motion for an addreſs to His Majeſty to remove the preſent Board of Control? Did not the noble Lords know, that they as a Houſe of Lords, could do nothing

in ſuch a buſineſs, and if they were to vote an addreſs to the Crown, the Crown had not the power to comply with it. The only poſſible Parliamentary proceeding, if any noble Lords thought the preſent Board of Control, unworthy of their truſts, was to move, to bring in a bill for their removal, and if ſo, that Houſe would ſcarcely be thought the fit place for ſuch a motion, but nothing ſhort of an act of Parliament could remove Commiſſioners from a Board, inſtituted by the ſpecial authority of an act of Parliament In any other view, they were as impoſſible to be come at as the Commiſſioners of a turnpike, or any other Commiſſioners appointed by a ſpecial act of the legiſlature. His Lordſhip argued the conſtruction of the clauſe in the act of Parliament, and went pretty much at large into the conſideration of the nature of the ſeveral debts, ſtating the difference between each, and declaring that they had been as minutely and carefully inveſtigated by the Board of Control previous to their having ſent out the orders, as the records of the Eaſt-India Company, which were replete with every degree of information that the ſubject ſtood in need of, would admit He ſpoke of the bonds that had been aſſigned, and ſaid they were a ſpecies of funds as negociable as the French actions, or our ſtocks He diſcuſſed the matter of Mr. Haſtings having propoſed to pay off the whole of the debt of 1777, in ſolido, upon the creditors conſenting to abandon 25 per cent of all their demands, and accounted for that propoſition not having been accepted, by declaring that the reaſon was merely becauſe Mr Haſtings had made it; for the fact was, Mr. Haſtings had not propoſed it compulſorily, but as a matter that was feaſible, provided the creditors conſented, which care was taken they ſhould not do. Lord Macartney having written back from Madras to Bengal his reaſons why the plan could not be carried into execution, and the very firſt of thoſe reaſons was a declaration that the creditors would not conſent He obſerved upon one or two things that had fallen from Lord Loughborough, and ſaid, the noble and learned lord had complained of the mode preſcribed by the Board of Control for objections to be made to the debts of 1777, and had appealed to men of his profeſſion, whether the ordinary courſe of proceeding in Courts of Juſtice, was not directly the reverſe? To which queſtion, he for one muſt anſwer, he never knew that the ordinary courſe of proceeding was the reverſe. The uſual mode of detecting a fraud, or a colluſion, being for the party accuſing to make a charge and eſtabliſh it by proof; not for a man to prove himſelf innocent, before he was accuſed. The noble and learned Lord forgot, that the bond was a preſumptive proof of the validity of a debt. His Lordſhip ſaid farther, that was the firſt time he had ever heard, that the debt of 1777, was contracted by the Nabob upon motives of policy,

and with a view to ſecure himſelf in poſſeſſion of his throne and dominions, by making it the intereſts of his creditors that he ſhould hold both the one and the other He had ever underſtood the fact to be, that the Nabob was extremely diſtreſſed at the time the loan was made, and that he paid the produce of it into the treaſury of the Eaſt-India Company at Madras, by way of re-imburſing the Company in part of the heavy expences they had been at to conquer back from the French his dominions and re inſtate him on his throne. His Lordſhip ſaid farther, that with regard to the 700,000l. which the noble and learned Lord had ſaid the Nabob of Arcot offered to ſend over here in the year 1767, when a noble Duke was at the head of the Treaſury, that was ſcarcely credible, as the Nabob, from the circumſtance he had juſt mentioned, was 400,000l in debt to the Company at the time His Lordſhip alſo combated Lord Loughborough's arithmetical ſtatements, relative to the quantum of the ſums likely to the paid in a given time towards the diminution of the intereſt and principal of the different heads of debt, reſpecting which orders were gone out to India, and oppoſed other computations to them He entered into the argument relative to Lord Macartney's letter, and defended the Board of Controul for their allotment of twelve lacks of pagodas towards the diſcharge of the Nabob debts, on the ground of Lord Macartney's having written home word that the revenue of the Carnatic amounted to thirty lacks of pagodas.

The queſtion for adjournment having been withdrawn, the main queſtion was put, when their Lordſhips divided,

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Tueſday, March 22.

On the commitment of the Bill for appointing Commiſſioners to examine the Fees of Offices, &c.

Ld Loughborough

Lord *Loughborough* had ſo many objections to this bill, that he was free to declare himſelf averſe to it *in toto*, and therefore hoped it would not go any farther, but be rejected in its preſent ſtage, at any rate there were ſeveral clauſes that it would be highly improper to paſs without ſome material alterations, and as he ſuſpected that any amendments propoſed in the Committee would be rejected, as made at an improper time, he would now preſs upon their Lordſhips his opinion of its ſeparate parts, and enter into a general diſcuſſion of its clauſes, as well as its principle He then, in a ſummary manner, went through the contents of the bill, which he ſaid it was almoſt impoſſible to conjecture upon what ground the framers had introduced. Three gentlemen were to be appointed

pointed to a ſpecial commiſſion for examining into the frauds and abuſes of the different public offices, from the treaſury-office to that of the cuſtoms or the exciſe --Did the framers mean to ſay that there did exiſt thoſe enormous abuſes in any of the public offices? Such an aſſertion in print as that contained in the bill, unleſs printed under the ſanction of Parliament, would be deemed a libel, and the Attorney General be ordered to proſecute the publiſher *ex officio* for the ſame, if they did, what reaſon had they to ſuppoſe Sir John Dick, Mr. Morriſon, and Mr Baring, would prove more immaculate or act with great juſtice, than thoſe who at preſent preſided at the different public boards? It was very far from his intention to hint any thing in the leaſt diſadvantageous to the characters of thoſe gentlemen, but he did not think that any three gentlemen indiſcriminately taken from the Board of Cuſtoms or Excite, would be found inferior in integrity, and he was certain would be found very ſuperior in capacity, to judge from their acquaintance with the buſineſs of the offices, whether there were any abuſes, or in what manner they might be prevented in future--But according to this bill, theſe three gentlemen, by what magic they were made ſo, he knew not, were ſuppoſed to be competent to judge of every abuſe that could poſſibly exiſt,--every Board was to be ſubject to their ſummons, and undergo their examination --In what manner would the noble Lord (Sidney) feel, if called before this triumvirate, this Ephori, who migh aſſume all the inſolence of office, and with the arrogance ſometimes attendant on authority, aſk him, "What are theſe abuſes which you have "ſuffered to go unchecked in your office, by the clerks di-"rectly under your controul?" it certainly would immediately recur to that noble Lord that he ought to have remedied that abuſe, if it did exiſt; and which indeed he was of opinion did not exiſt, ſatisfied that the noble Lord was not leſs competent to the duties of his ſituation, than he was ambitious of diſcharging them with fidelity to the public, or how would another noble Lord, who now preſided at the Admiralty, like to undergo, as it were, an Old Baily examination, about a parcel of old ſtores. This, in his opinion, was a kind of reverſing the order of things, by ſubjecting thoſe to examination, whoſe appointments and ſituations in the ſtate made them examiners, beſides it was very impolitic to give the leaſt reaſon for the people to leſſen their confidence in thoſe who are appointed to places of public truſt, and how was it poſſible to preſerve that confidence if thoſe in power themſelves, by inſinuation, charged every public office with ſuffering abuſes through indolence and inattention, it being well known that the ſuperior at every Board was fully empowered to prevent them if he choſe to exert himſelf --Another objec-

tion was to the clauſe for obliging every perſon in office to come and give evidence upon oath, becauſe there were laws already, which not only enacted that if they took fees above a certain ſtated ſum, they were not only to loſe the places they then held, but be incapacitated from ever holding any place whatever under government; this clauſe, therefore, went to compel them to a ſelf-crimination, a thing which common law could not enforce--His Lordſhip then condemned the two clauſes which were apparently taken from the act for granting a ſpecial commiſſion to the Commiſſioners for Accounts, entering very largely, and expatiating very fully on the difference of the two commiſſions, and concluded a very maſterly ſpeech by declaring himſelf averſe to the bill.

Lord Sidney.

Lord *Sidney* ſaid the learned Lord was much miſtaken in ſuppoſing any objection would be made to any amendments which might be offered in the Committee, if it then ſhould be found that any of the clauſes required it, every noble Lord would certainly be at liberty to propoſe whatever alterations he ſhould think proper, and indeed there was one clauſe that the noble Lord had objected to, which, if it was as he ſtated, undoubtedly ought to be amended, he meant that which it was ſaid would oblige a man to criminate himſelf, as ſuch a thing never could be intended, nor in his mind ever ought to paſs into a law He was much indebted to the noble Lord for that anxiety which he had expreſſed for his undergoing what he conſidered as derogatory to him, but he did not feel it himſelf as any thing diſagreeable, nor ſhould he, to undergo any examination whatever. As to the inſinuations which the bill was ſaid to contain againſt the public offices, there might perhaps be diſcovered one, on an inveſtigation, perhaps two or three, where thoſe ſuſpected abuſes did actually exiſt It would have been invidious to have pointed thoſe out, and therefore it was thought beſt to ſubject the whole to an inquiry. He was fully convinced the public would receive great benefit from this bill, for although it might be very true, there was ſufficient power already to correct any abuſes, yet this would be found to act as a ſpur, and invigorate thoſe who have been, and might have ſtill continued indolent without it. Such being the caſe, he hoped it would be permitted to go into the Committee, when their Lordſhips would be able to judge of the propriety, or impropriety of any amendment which might be offered.

Some farther debate took place on which ſeveral noble Lords ſpoke, after which the Bill was committed.

Thurſday, April 7.

The order of the day was read for the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe, on the Bill for appointing

pointing Commiſſioners to inquire into the fees, perquiſites, gratuities, &c. of clerks in office.

Lord *Sidney* ſtated the purport of the bill, which was, that of making ſuch regulations in the departments of the different offices under the Crown, as ſhould prevent thoſe illegal fees, or rather extorted gratuities which were exacted by clerks in office, on the tranſaction of public buſineſs Some noble Lords, when this matter firſt came into debate, objected againſt the extent of power which the bill gave to the Commiſſioners and thought it militated againſt the principles of that freedom on which the conſtitution was founded The clauſes, it was true, by the ingenuity of logical inferences, might be conſtrued into that conſequence, but in the plain common underſtanding of their ſenſe, they certainly had not any ſuch intent or meaning. However, that thoſe clauſes might be cleared of every circumſtance which could give offence or cauſe ſuſpicion, he had ſeveral amendments to propoſe, which he truſted would remove all objections of the nature of thoſe already made Much had been ſaid, either for mere objection, or perhaps, through fear of the diſagreeable circumſtances attending the power which was given to the Commiſſioners to call people from Brighthelmſtone, or any other place of amuſement, or ſalutary ruſtication, which, he hoped would be done away by the amendment he had to propoſe The amendment was to confine the powers of the new Commiſſioners to the cities of London and Weſtminſter. In reſpect to other objections, he truſted they would, by what he had to propoſe, be alſo done away; and that the bill would be ſo modelled as to anſwer its intent according to the wiſhes of every noble Lord, who thought a reform requiſite. Lord Sidney.

Lord *Loughborough* thought it would be requiſite to make an alteration in the preamble, or that the noble Lord ſhould firſt move to have the preamble poſtponed, before he offered his amendments. Ld Loughborough.

Lord *Sidney* ſaid, that ſuch was the regular mode, and he moved accordingly. Lord Sidney

The clerk then began to read the bill clauſe by clauſe, and amendments were moved to thoſe intended to be altered, by Lord Sidney. In the courſe of this buſineſs, the Chancellor, Lord Loughborough, the Duke of Richmond, and Lord Stormont, were up ſeveral times, and the converſation became ſo often the *pro* and *con* reply, rejoinder, and aſſertion, that it is impoſſible, with any degree of accuracy, to follow their Lordſhips, or to attempt giving from memory the various amendments, and the many remarks that were made upon them. The ſpeakers, as the Chancellor mentioned, were often irregular, and argued on the whole bill, when only a particular clauſe was parliamentarily before them. It was a kind of argument

ment which it is impoſſible to give in the regular form of debate, and therefore we ſhall only attempt the outlines.

Ld Loughborough. Lord *Loughborough* thought that the amendment of "thoſe "who had any dealings with government," was too extenſive, it comprehended every body, and every thing, and went to all deſcriptions of men.

Lord Chancellor. The *Chancellor* amended the amendment, by adding, "or "tranſactions."

Ld Stormont. Lord *Stormont* was not ſatisfied with this. He ſaid it included all ambaſſadors, the two noble Dukes who ſat together (Richmond and Mancheſter) as well as the preſent and the late, and the former, and every Secretary of State, and that it went to the moſt dangerous purpoſes, by giving power to three men to call upon perſons who were ambaſſadors, to know what theſe or their clerks had done. Tranſactions meant any thing that was done.

Duke of Richmon. The Duke of *Richmond* ſtated the purport of the bill, and the neceſſity that there was for a reform in office. This was a matter which every noble Lord knew, and he was ſurprized to ſee objections, inſtead of amendments, on ſuch a ſubject. It was hitherto the practice of oppoſition to take up the cauſe of the people, to arraign the conduct of adminiſtration, for the heavy expences of government, and for the venality and corruption of office. But the ſcene was now changed, and oppoſition found themſelves hurt that there was to be a reform of office, and an endeavour to deſtroy that which ſo much injured the pockets of the people. If the amendment propoſed was wrong, the true way was to offer thoſe which would anſwer the purpoſe of the bill in a more ample manner. To object to a clauſe without offering a better one, had all the appearance of oppoſition, merely for the ſake of differing in opinion.

Ld Loughborough. Lord *Loughborough* ſaid, that he had in vain looked for a clauſe, which ſhould make it in its amended ſtate, effectual. He confeſſed that the amendments had now ſo totally altered the bill, that it appeared quite harmleſs; but ſtill it wanted ſome clauſe to give power to the Commiſſioners to enforce obedience to their orders. At preſent when they iſſued their ſummons, the perſon to whom it was directed, had only to reply that he did not chuſe to obey the call, and that as the act had not enforced any penalty, he poſſeſſed a legal freedom to refuſe his attendance.

Duke of Richmond. The Duke of *Richmond* thought, that refuſing to obey an act of Parliament, was a miſdemeanour againſt the legiſlature, although there was no compulſory clauſe.

Lord *Loughborough* ſmiled, and ſhook his head.

Lord Stormont. Lord *Stormont*, in the courſe of what he had ſaid, always called the Commiſſioners by the appellation of Inquiſitors.

Lord

Lord *Sidney* ſaw no more reaſon for calling the Commiſſioners Inquiſitors, than he conceived there was cauſe for apprehenſion or fear in any of the late Secretaries to dread the power of thoſe Inquiſitors. Lord Sidney

Tueſday, May 31.

A conference with the Commons, to receive a printed copy of the evidence given at the bar of the Houſe of Commons, on the Iriſh propoſitions.

Friday, June 3.

It being now moved, that the bill for impoſing a duty upon ſhops ſhould now be committed,

Lord Viſcount *Stormont* roſe, and truſted to the indulgence of their Lordſhips, while he offered ſuch obſervations to their attention as had occurred to him on the tax propoſed. It appeared to him, in every reſpect, derogatory to that great and leading principle of juſtice, and equality, which ought to diſcriminate the entire management of our finances. He acknowledged the exigencies to which we were reduced. It was neceſſary to accumulate as much to the treaſury as poſſible.--The proſperity of the ſtate was intimately connected with its credit, its credit depended, to a certain degree, on the probability of leſſening the national debt, and in proportion as that proſpect was real or falſe, this country was likely to ſupport, or loſe its rank and conſequence among the nations of Europe. He did not wiſh, however, to carry this principle to ſuch an unwarrantable length as that the burden muſt be laid on one claſs of individuals excluſively of others. He conceived the preſent tax to be altogether a houſe tax. Their Lordſhips could not but recollect that the tax on houſes extorted from this body of men much more than their ſhare. The ſhop tax was an addition to that very heavy burden. And he would appeal to their Lordſhips, whether it became them to turn aſide from the broad and beaten path of juſtice, to aggravate the paſſions of men, who, in their humble ſituation, could hardly earn a decent livelihood, or at leaſt, whoſe profits were, of all others, leaſt able to afford any additional duties. It had lately been faſhionable to talk of perſonal taxation, in oppoſition to that which, in the language of old theoriſts, was denominated circuitous taxation. This was a mode of raiſing money on the ſubject, by which it was obvious who ſhould pay, and what was expected from the perſons thus burdened. He would not enter into any critical inveſtigation on the technical language of ſpeculative Financiers, but it ſtruck him, that where equality was to be obtained as nearly as poſſible, the more eaſily any tax could be collected. Lord Viſcount Stormont

This

This circumſtance ought to operate in its favour But the danger was, of being miſled by this object from general to particular ſources of taxation. This, at firſt ſight, was ſo far from being general, that no very extenſive body of individuals would be affected by it. This was a very fertile ſource of objection and complaint againſt the tax in queſtion. He knew not from what motive, but it had lately become a fruitful topic of oſtentatious remark, that the reſources of this country ſeemed ſo exceedingly inexhauſtible, that they only who knew them from an acquaintance with all our intereſts in detail, could have any idea or conception of what they were capable of producing He was happy, that ſuch was the ſituation of our finances. He truſted the project was not a fallacious one, but he could not reconcile a conviction of it with the impoſition at preſent in the contemplation of their Lordſhips It betrayed, in his opinion, a ſuſpicion, which he hoped was not founded, but which was not by any means favourable to the preſent ſituation of our finances —He adverted to the impolicy of this mode of taxation, which was held forth to thoſe who thought themſelves aggrieved, the hopes of a repeal againſt next ſeſſion What was this but an acknowledgement of extreme neceſſity on the one hand, and the weakneſs of Government on the other He was none of thoſe who rejoiced in the debility of ſuch as held the reins of Government —He was at liberty to aſſume a ſincere deſire of the proſperity of the Empire, which could not take place, but under an adminiſtration of energy and weight. This alone would enable them to impoſe the burdens of the public with equality and impartiality — The tax under conſideration was, in his opinion, flagrantly and obviouſly unjuſt That it would fall on the conſumer, in his apprehenſion, only aggravated the abſurdity with which the general meaſure was chargeable. The nature of retail buſineſs run ſo much into detail, the various articles ſold, were ſold in ſuch various quantities, that this way of alleviating the matter was purely ideal Moſt people, at leaſt many, would over-rate their goods out of all proportion, and then the public would pay a hundred fold more than the revenue would receive —There were, however, he would preſume, not a few who might not demand more than barely would be laid on the tax; ſo that, in this view of the caſe, it would operate as an impoſition on honeſty, an excitement to extortion. He thought the tax a very improper one, and one altogether inconſiſtent with that liberality and attention to the general ſituation of the community, which ought to be the great and only rule of raiſing money on the ſubject.—He had thus delivered his ſentiments with candour, and not without reluctance, as he was aware of the exigences of the country; and not willing, without indiſpenſable neceſſity

ceſſity, of giving any oppoſition to meaſures which are the conſequence of that exigence He was, at the ſame time, ready to do his duty, and feeling himſelf called upon to ſignify his diſlike of this tax, he hoped he had done it with decency. He was not diſpoſed to make any motion, but would leave what he had ſaid to the conſideration of their Lordſhips, who, he was ſenſible, would give it all the conſideration to which it was entitled

Lord *Sidney* believed all their Lordſhips, as well as himſelf, were ſenſible of the very liberal manner in which the noble Lord had ſtated his objections to this tax His Lordſhip was not inclined to raiſe any clamour or popular diſturbance, by exciting the general diſguſt againſt the tax on ſhops. This, he was for one, very willing to give his Lordſhip full credit for, but it ought not to be forgotten that the noble Lord was one in thoſe councils in which theſe exceſſive burdens originated. He would not give the war any name; but every man might be ſenſible by whom all this expence hath been created It was farther an aukward circumſtance for his Lordſhip, that any oppoſition to a meaſure which was occaſioned only by his Lordſhip and thoſe who acted with him, who was to blame for exciting an old and faſt friend to this country, to become one of its moſt inveterate enemies. All objections, therefore, againſt this tax, from ſuch a quarter, he hoped would fall light. He inſiſted, notwithſtanding what had been urged by the noble Lord, that the tax would ultimately fall on the conſumer. He wiſhed the noble Lord, and thoſe on the ſame ſide, would take an example from the Miniſter, or propoſer of this tax. His manly conduct when the receipt tax was brought forward, was an example which ought to be followed. He would not enter farther into the objections of the noble Lord, they appeared to him altogether inconcluſive, and he would hope they could have but little weight with their Lordſhips. Lord Sidney

Lord *Stormont* replied, he was utterly unable to ſay what connection the mode of argumentation uſed by the noble Lord had with the point in debate. He had ſubmitted to their Lordſhips his opinion of a tax, which he conſidered as unjuſt, partial, and oppreſſive, and theſe are anſwered with, What was the origin of the American war? This anſwer, in his opinion, would equally defeat every ſuggeſtion that could be urged on this, or any other ſubject which might come under the conſideration of their Lordſhips. He replied to what had been hinted about the manlineſs of the Miniſter's conduct. He had only juſt hinted diſlike, and then voted for the tax, but had the meanneſs to leave the reſponſibility of it on the ſhoulders of thoſe not in office. Lord Stormont.

Lord Loughborough.

Lord *Loughborough* referred to a rumour which he had heard, that the tax in queſtion was ſupported with the certain proſpect held forth in public, that it ſhould, next ſeſſion, be repealed. He was in hopes ſuch a rumour was void of all foundation, but it ſeemed not improbable, from what had happened in the taxes of laſt year.—He inſtanced in that part of the fuſtian manufacture, and that relating to the diſtilleries in Scotland The gentlemen concerned in this valuable and flouriſhing manufacture were, fortunately, men of great reſpectability, both from the extent of their fortune, their well known ability, their univerſal credit, and their private worth and integrity. Theſe gentlemen exerted themſelves in ſuch a manner as to procure a repeal of this obnoxious tax, but had they been in a lower ſituation, and in leſs affluent circumſtances, what had been the conſequence? Would not this manufacture have been totally and for ever loſt to the country, the owners, in all probability, ruined, and the multitude of individuals thus employed, driven to emigrate? This dreadful effect would, he doubted not, be at leaſt partially felt from the preſent impoſition. In the act relating to the diſtillery of Scotland, a clauſe had laſt year been inſerted, by which the landholders of that country were to be made reſponſible for their tenants, and loaded with the penalty annexed to an illicit uſe of ſtills, by any one who rented an acre of their land. This abſurd law excited the magiſtrates every where to oppoſe it, and it accordingly was never executed Nor could any thing have quieted the minds of the people, in conſequence of ſuch an arbitrary impoſition, leſs than a poſitive promiſe of its repeal He truſted, their Lordſhips would not forget theſe particulars, when the wiſdom which diſtinguiſhed the preſent management of our finances was ſtated or eſtimated

The Lord Chancellor

The *Lord Chancellor* (Lord Thurlow), ſaid that all he had heard for the moſt part might be ſaid or not, without perceiving whether the tax before their Lordſhips was right or wrong Rumours of a very extraordinary nature had been ſaid to be in circulation. It was the firſt time he had heard of them, and he was not diſpoſed to give them any credit now they were broached The Miniſter had been charged without any foundation, in his opinion, with a moſt improvident mode of taxation; but he would venture to ſay that ſuch an idea never entered his head. He was willing to allow that it detracted a little from that honourable Gentleman's univerſal knowledge, that he was not perſonally acquainted with every private ſtill in Scotland, or that his acquaintance with the compoſition of fuſtian was not equal to that of the manufacturers. To all ſuch abatements of reputation he was willing to ſubſcribe, and he did not ſee

that

that the arguments which had been ſuggeſted by either of the noble Lords, amounted to more. The duty under their Lordſhips conſideration, in his mind, had no poſſible connection with theſe ſort of deductions. How it might operate on the emulation of traders in an inferior and ſuperior ſituation, he thought was not very eaſily eſtimated. He would not avow any ſuch acquaintance with the detail of that ſort of buſineſs, as would authoriſe him to ſpeak decidedly on the ſubject, but he would ſtill be of opinion, that ſhopkeepers were only the medium of this tax; that it would inſenſibly fall on the buyers, and that the public would feel it, comparatively ſpeaking, no ineligible burden —This was his opinion of the tax. As to the extending the tax to warehouſes, he could not help ſuſpecting that part of a noble Lord's argument in which it was thrown out, was not weighed with his Lordſhip's uſual attention and political accuracy. Were theſe repoſitories of commerce to be taxed, what would become of our exports? Theſe afforded great reſources to the revenue of this country, and whatever tended to leſſen or diminiſh that, it became the wiſdom and policy of government to avoid

The Bill was committed

Petition of the Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain, and of the Glaſs Manufacturers were read, praying to be heard by themſelves, or counſel, againſt the Reſolutions for adjuſting the intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland.

The Earl of *Carliſle* moved, That the petitioners be heard agreeable to the prayer of their petitions, by themſelves or counſel. Earl of Carliſle

The *Lord Chancellor* (Lord Thurlow) objected to the hearing of counſel as it was intended for delay, and therefore, moved as an amendment, That the Petitioners be heard by themſelves only. The Lord Chancellor.

The Earl of *Carliſle* wondered at the noble and learned Lord's objecting to the hearing of the petitioners in the way they deſired, and was likewiſe ſurpriſed that he ſhould imagine the hearing by counſel would cauſe delay, when it certainly was meant for the ſake of diſpatch, as intelligent and learned counſel could put the body of evidence in ſuch a train as to facilitate the buſineſs; however, he wiſhed to know of His Majeſty's Miniſters, what ſteps they meant to take in the buſineſs, and whether it was ſettled to hurry it through the Houſe without any other evidence than what they had from the Commons, or whether they would enter into the ſubject with that cool deliberation, and wiſhed-for information, that a buſineſs of ſuch magnitude required? Earl of Carliſle

Lord Camden. Lord *Camden* confeſſed, that he did not think the requeſt altogether decent in the noble Earl, to call on His Majeſty's Miniſters in ſo pointed a manner to know what they intended to do; ſurely he did not imagine that any deliberation of theirs were to dictate to the Houſe, nor did he believe they had fixed upon any plan, otherwiſe than to expedite the buſineſs with all practicable diſpatch As to the hearing of couſel, to him it appeared totally unneceſſary, and as the learned Lord on the Woolſack had ſaid, merely for the uſe of puzzling the cauſe, and occaſioning delay, the buſineſs had already been four months under conſideration, and the Manufacturers had teazed and tormented the Houſe of Commons with a large body of evidence, which was then before their Lordſhips, and ordered to be printed to that evidence, their Lordſhips could refer and ſatisfy their minds, but if not, they could hear the Manufacturers themſelves without counſel, and ſee whether the evidence upon oath agreed with that taken on their word But in ſpeaking what he had done, he deſired to have it conſidered, that he did not ſpeak as Preſident of the Council, nor as delivering the ſentiments of His Majeſty's Miniſters on the ſubject, for he had not converſed with them, but ſpoke merely his own private thoughts.

Ld Townſhend Lord *Townſhend* ſaid, he was of a ſimilar opinion with the learned Lord, that Counſel was unneceſſary

Earl of Carliſle The Earl of *Carliſle* ſaid, he by no means thought he had been guilty of any indecency, or had aſked any improper queſtion of His Majeſty's Miniſters, of what was their plan, and he ſtill thought it was their duty to anſwer, and ſtate to the Houſe any precedent, wherein petitioners had been denied to be heard in the manner they deſired, and in the manner they thought would be moſt beneficial to their intereſts.

Earl of Sandwich. The Earl of *Sandwich* urged the Houſe to conſider what they were doing, and not raſhly and inconſiderately to incur a charge of the groſſeſt and moſt unprecedented injuſtice His Lordſhip ſaid, he had ſat the longeſt there of any noble Lord he ſaw in the Houſe, and was the oldeſt Peer of Parliament, three only excepted, then in exiſtence, and he declared he knew not a ſingle precedent for refuſing to hear petitioners by their couſel when they prayed to be ſo heard, and ſtated in the allegations of their petition, that their deareſt intereſts were, in their judgements, in danger of being materially affected and injured by any meaſures agitating in Parliament. The noble Lord at the head of His Majeſty's Councils had ſaid, he knew not that it was neceſſary in point of parliamentary uſage, for the petitioners to be heard by their counſel, that was not enough, any noble Lord who controverted an eſtabliſhed uſage, was bound to produce a precedent

precedent for a departure from it, whenever he took upon him to recommend ſuch a variation, and he challenged the noble and learned Lord to ſtate any ſuch precedent. Upon that he was willing to reſt the queſtion. His Lordſhip ſaid, the noble and learned Lord's deſire to be conſidered as not ſpeaking the language of a Miniſter, but that of an individual, while he held the high office of Lord Preſident of His Majeſty's Councils, was abſurd and ridiculous He could not, holding ſuch a reſponſible ſituation, ſpeak as an individual. He muſt ſpeak as a Miniſter, unleſs he at the time ſtated, that his advice had been rejected, and that he had been either over-powered or excluded from the Councils, to which the Houſe were alluding His Lordſhip aſſured the Houſe, that he came down with not the leaſt intention to take any part in the debate, but with his head filled with other matters with which he had been at that time amuſing himſelf, [a laugh] but what he had heard had ſet him on fire, he could not bear to ſit ſilent, and hear ſo groſs a violation of all juſtice propoſed and ſupported Would that Houſe venture to ſay in the face of the world, that they would not hear the manufacturers by their counſel, when they prayed to be ſo heard? With regard to the opinion, that when counſel were employed they procraſtinated and delayed buſineſs, he would maintain the direct contrary. Let counſel come forward with a digeſted caſe, and diſpatch would be the conſequence. The manufacturers could not ſpeak for themſelves, it was impoſſible, and would the Houſe ſay they would not hear them at all? for to that extent would the amendment operate. The manufacturers' mouths were ſhut, they muſt come to the bar under the direction of counſel, or not at all. His Lordſhip alluded to the famous Convention Treaty, and ſaid, the Miniſters of that day, though equally averſe to the oppoſition, were wiſer than to go the length of refuſing to hear thoſe that petitioned againſt the treaty. They heard the merchants, and the merchants then happened to have among them an able and an eloquent man, (Mr. Glover,) who managed the buſineſs entirely, and got great renown from it, but the manufacturers had no ſuch man. Mr. Wedgwood was an able and deſerving artiſt, but he was no orator he pretended not to the character. His Lordſhip concluded with ſaying, he hoped that the Houſe, for its own honour, would hear the manufacturers by their counſel.

The *Lord Chancellor* replied, and directed his arguments to a proof that it lay entirely in the diſcretion of the Houſe to determine how they would hear petitioners, whether by themſelves and counſel, or either way. His Lordſhip drew a diſtinction between petitioners in defence of their private rights and intereſts, and petitioners on public queſtions of policy. The Lord Chancellor.

policy. In the former caſes, ſuch as that alluded to in debate, where a canal and a coal-pit had been mentioned, undoubtedly it would be the extreme of injuſtice to refuſe to hear petitioners in any way they thought would be moſt advantageous for themſelves and their caſe, but, in his opinion, the matter was different where, as in the preſent inſtance, the petitioners grounded their petition on a ſubject of public concern, ſuch as the ſyſtem of arrangement adjuſting with Ireland. There, it was an affair of great political magnitude, and ſuch is the diſcretion of the Houſe ought to be exerciſed upon in the moſt unreſtrained manner. His Lordſhip controverted and laughed at Lord Sandwich's opinion, that counſel rather tended to accelerate the buſineſs they were concerned in, than procraſtinate it. That, he ſaid, was not the vulgar opinion, moſt people thought buſineſs more frequently delayed by paſſing through ſuch learned hands, than quickened. He ſaid, he certainly was not ſufficiently a maſter of the forms of the Houſe, to be able to cite authorities either one way or the other, but in what he had done, he had been warranted by the firſt authority, in reſpect to parliamentary form, in the kingdom. He had inquired as to the uſage, and the authority he alluded to had aſſured him, it was parliamentary, and he would add, he was perſuaded it was reaſonable, that the Houſe ſhould, in ſuch a caſe as the preſent, exerciſe its diſcretion. With regard to the peculiar vivacity with which a noble Earl, in the commencement of the debate, had put the queſtion to Adminiſtration, and aſked what the line of conduct was, they meant to purſue in reſpect to the preſent buſineſs? he begged to have it underſtood that he ſpoke not as a Miniſter, nor did he ſee occaſion for any one Lord in that character to anſwer a queſtion put in ſo unrightly and ſo pleaſant a manner, becauſe not any noble Lord had a right to conſider the preſent reſolutions as a meaſure of Adminiſtration. They came up to that Houſe as a proceeding of the Houſe of Commons, and the Houſe of Commons, at the conference they had deſired laſt Tueſday, had delivered a copy of the reſolutions, with the Report of the Privy Council, minutes of the proceedings on which the reſolutions were grounded, and all the other neceſſary documents to inform their Lordſhips fully, upon what the reſolution was grounded.

Earl of Sandwich.

The Earl of *Sandwich* roſe to defend his aſſertion, that in his opinion the employment of counſel rather tended to promote diſpatch than delay, upon which he ſaid the noble and learned Lord had endeavoured to caſt a ſlur. He would, nevertheleſs, repeat the aſſertion, and he begged leave to remind them of the caſe of the Greenwich Hoſpital inquiry, inſtituted by a noble Duke, and conducted without aid of counſel.

counſel. The merits of that inquiry their Lordſhips all knew, lay in a nutſhell, and [illegible] to digeſt the plan and conduct [illegible] and twenty days. His Lordſhip [illegible] arguments, and after ſtrenuouſly urging the Houſe, from conſideration of what was due to their own dignity and to the juſtice of their judicial and legiſlative proceedings not to ſully their fame, and diſgrace their character as a Houſe of Parliament, by doing what he challenged any one Lord in the Houſe to ſhew a precedent for, his Lordſhip declared, if the amendment was perſiſted in, he would take the ſenſe of the Houſe upon it

Lord *Loughborough* began his ſpeech, with declaring, that it had given him extreme pain to have heard a motion of ſo extraordinary a nature, made upon another motion, a motion perfectly regular and formal, a motion at the ſame time, reſpectful in its language, and built on the ſtrong foundation of uſage, ſupported in the manner that it had been by the noble and learned Lord at the head of His Majeſty's Councils. Was it poſſible for that noble and learned Lord ſeriouſly to be of opinion, that it was conſiſtent either with common decency, or with that fair and equitable conſideration, which that Houſe as a Chamber of Parliament at all times profeſſed, and which it was the duty of that Houſe as a Chamber of Parliament at all times to hold for the eſſential intereſts of the ſubject, to deny Petitioners, alledging, that certain meaſures of government of the utmoſt acknowledged importance then pending before the Legiſlature, would in their operation and effect, if made into law, prove extremely detrimental to their intereſts, and praying to be heard by themſelves and their Counſel, in ſupport of their allegations, the opportunity of being heard by their Counſel, and to oblige them to reſt their caſe entirely, on what they were able to ſtate themſelves? The noble and learned Lord on the woolſack had laid down a diſtinction, which he had for the firſt time heard, but which, in his opinion at leaſt, was no argument againſt the motion, as it ſtood originally. The noble and learned Lord had ſaid, that in caſes of private right, undoubtedly, the ſubject petitioning to be heard by himſelf and his counſel muſt be ſo heard, and that it would be highly unjuſt for either Houſe of Parliament to deny the prayer of ſuch a petition, but that where the ſubject was of a public nature, that in ſuch caſe it lay in the diſcretion of the Houſe to determine in what mode the Houſe would hear the petitioner, whether by himſelf, or by his counſel. Even upon the ground of this diſtinction, and admitting that the Houſe might, in ſome caſes, exerciſe its power in contradiſtinction to its right, reaſonably and equitably conſidered, his Lordſhip ſaid, the preſent petitioners ought

Ld Loughborough.

ought to be heard, becauſe it was their private intereſts that prompted them to petition; it was in order to convince the Houſe, that the intereſts of their manufactures, of themſelves, and of their families, and the intereſts of the numerous manufacturers, who were employed by them, and of their families, would be materially and detrimentally affected, if the reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons, grounded on the Iriſh propoſitions paſſed into a law. They came not there as petitioners to be heard upon any public topic, they profeſſed not either a wiſh or an ability to give the Houſe information on the political part of the queſtion before Parliament, they had not manifeſted the ſmalleſt deſire to be heard by themſelves or their counſel on the Navigation act, on the trade laws reſpecting the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, nor on the quantum, whatever it might be, of the hereditary revenue of Ireland, which this country had been taught to look for as a compenſation for the ſurrender to Ireland of a ſhare of her commercial advantages, which ſhe was about to make; they had not the moſt diſtant inclination to enter into any diſcuſſion of the general polity of the caſe, all they wanted, and all they aſked for, was, to be permitted to ſtate to the Houſe, in the beſt manner that the nature of the thing would admit, the preſent ſituation of their own manufactures, and the circumſtances that induced them to feel alarm and diſmay, leſt the reſolutions, when paſſed into a law, ſhould injure, and even endanger the ruin of the manufactures they at this time carried on, and, for God's ſake! would that Houſe, under ſuch circumſtances, oblige them to be ſilent? for, to deprive them of the benefit of being heard by counſel, was to all intents and purpoſes ordering them to be ſilent. His Lordſhip deſcanted in glowing terms on the injuſtice and oppreſſion of ſuch conduct. He ſaid it was acting in a more arbitrary manner than even the Government of France, the moſt tyrannical country in Europe had ventured to act in a notorious inſtance, where her wiſh obviouſly had been to carry her point. He explained, that the inſtance he alluded to was that of the inſtitution of a Court of Judicature, in which it had been the aim to aboliſh counſel; the conſequence was, no buſineſs proceeded, the attornies, when called on to ſtate orally their clients caſes, refuſed to utter a ſyllable in compliance with the order, admitting that they had been furniſhed with papers conveying to them every neceſſary information, but that they dared not open their mouths reſpecting their contents, that it would be acting contrary to their oaths, and that ſpeaking was not their function and vocation. What was the conſequence? armed with all the powers and all the deſpotiſm of that Government, the Court would

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not venture to go on, and the deſign was obliged to be abandoned; the groſſneſs of enforcing a meaſure ſo violent, and ſo manifeſtly repugnant to every principle of reaſon, common ſenſe, and common juſtice, ſtruck France ſo forcibly, that ſhe dared not hazard the attempt, and it went no farther. And would that Houſe, as a Chamber of the Britiſh Parliament, riſque doing what the government of France dared not hazard? His Lordſhip took notice, that a matter had, as it were, ſlipt from the noble and learned Lord, which, he was perſuaded, the noble and learned Lord, from his familiarity with the practice of Parliament, and from his perfect knowledge of the nature of evidence, could not have wiſhed to have had it underſtood, that he was ready to ſtand up and ſupport. What he alluded to was, ſomething like a ſuggeſtion that the volume called "Minutes of evidence taken before a Committee "of the Houſe of Commons," delivered into his Lordſhip's hands at the conference with the Commons, was in any ſenſe of the word, evidence, or fit ground for that Houſe to rely upon and reſort to, as matter of guidance for its proceeding. The noble and learned Lord well knew, that it was in a parliamentary ſenſe, nothing more than a volume of memorandums of the names of ſuch manufacturers as had been called before a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, and though the Commons at the conference had delivered to his Lordſhip ſomething more than ſtrict form required, yet the noble and learned Lord well knew, that no part of the volume could be looked into by the Houſe, or reſorted to as evidence; on the contrary, that it was to be conſidered as a mere index, and if occaſion roſe, to aſcertain any fact ſtated in the pages of matter joined to the names of the manufacturers, of which the volume was to be conſidered as a memorandum, that the particular manufacturer, under whoſe name the fact was ſtated, muſt be called to the bar and examined upon oath, according to the judicial form peculiar to the Houſe, as to the particular fact in queſtion. Knowing, as he did, and having the ſincereſt regard for the noble and learned Lord, a regard which no circumſtance of a political nature had ever diſturbed, but which he had uniformly preſerved, from a conſciouſneſs of the reſpect and veneration due to the noble and learned Lord's character, it had been with extreme anxiety, and with extreme regret, that he had heard from his mouth an expreſſion that he was perſuaded was wholly unwarrantable. If he had not miſconceived the noble and learned Lord, he had ſaid, that the manufacturers had, for three months together, teized and tormented the other Houſe of Parliament, and that he ſaw no neceſſity for ſuffering them to teize and torment that Houſe. He was perfectly aſtoniſhed that the noble and learned Lord

ſhould have ſuffered pernicious prejudice ſo far to entwine itſelf, and warp his fair and candid mind, as to allow himſelf to argue *a priori*, and to ſuggeſt that the manufacturers wiſhed to teize and torment the Houſe. His Lordſhip dwelt on the cruelty of putting ſuch a conſtruction on the actions of men reſpectable in their characters, praiſe-worthy in their purſuits, and juſt and honourable in the line of conduct they had held reſpecting the Iriſh Propoſitions. Was it recollected who the petitioners were? That they conſiſted of a body of men, of all others the beſt entitled to the reſpect and protection of that Houſe; a body of a men, who by their induſtry, by their ingenuity and labour, had inſtituted manufactures of an extenſive nature and that contributed in the moſt eſſential manner to the commerce, the proſperity, the revenue and the wealth of their country? Was it known that there was one man, Mr. Wedgwood, who was entitled in an eminent degree to the kindeſt attention on the part of Parliament, and the moſt affectionate regard on the part of his countrymen, a man whoſe ſingle merits would infinitely outweigh thoſe of this Adminiſtration, of the laſt, of the adminiſtration preceding it, and of many that went before that? Poiſed againſt ſuch merit, Miniſters, and Anti-miniſters would together kick the beam; he was, he ſaid, an individual, who to the moſt extraordinary talents united the moſt extraordinary aſſiduity and induſtry, and by dint of uncommon ſkill, and perſeverance, had ſtruck out a new and original manufacture, a manufacture unknown to this or any other country before Mr. Wedgwood invented it, but which had now extended itſelf to the moſt diſtant corners of the globe. And was ſuch a man as Mr. Wedgwood, when he came to Parliament and prayed to be allowed by himſelf and by his counſel to ſtate in what manner his manufacture would be affected, if the reſolutions relative to the commercial arrangement with Ireland, ſhould paſs into a law—was ſuch a man to be told, "no, we won't hear you by your counſel; come to the bar yourſelf, and ſtate your caſe?" Mr. Wedgwood could not ſtate his caſe; he knew all the information that was attached to it, and in a converſation in a private room, he could moſt intelligibly communicate it, but his modeſt had ſhut his mouth; in conſequence of his education, of his habits of life, of his application to particular objects, he was diſqualified from executing the office of a Barriſter. There was ſomething ſo arbitrary, ſo tyrannical, ſo enormouſly unjuſt, in ſuch conduct, that he would not believe the Houſe could be guilty of it. He had before admitted, that there were caſes in which the Houſe had the power to deny Petitioners the privilege of being heard by their counſel, and that they would be juſtified in refuſing to hear Petitioners by counſel; he begged leave to retract

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that admiſſion. The Houſe neither poſſeſſed the power nor the right to refuſe complying with ſuch a prayer. The Houſe could not, the Houſe *dared* not refuſe it. It was the natural conſtitutional claim of the ſubject, and it was not in their diſcretion, acting judicially, and with their hands on their breaſts, to deny any petitioner who prayed to be heard by counſel, ſuch his prayer. In the preſent caſe, they muſt hear the petitioners; they could not do ſo harſh a thing as muzzle the counſel of the manufacturers, in order effectually to exclude the latter from the purpoſe they aimed at, that of giving the Houſe all the information in their power on a matter immediately and deeply implicating their private, their perſonal, and their deareſt intereſts. This, the noble and learned Lord at the Head of His Majeſty's Councils knew ſo well, that, he was perſuaded, he muſt have felt infinite pain, when he had brought himſelf to avow, that, there was neither any neceſſity for the manufacturers being heard by their counſel, nor any propriety in their being ſo heard on the preſent occaſion. His Lordſhip took notice of what had been ſaid by Lord Townſhend relative to delay, declaring that he agreed with the noble Viſcount, that the deciding on the reſolutions ought not to be delayed, but that it ſhould on every account be brought to an iſſue in that Houſe with all reaſonable diſpatch. That however, was not, he ſaid, any argument againſt the manufacturers being heard by their counſel, and ſo far was he from thinking that Ireland would feel herſelf gratified, if this country were eagerly, and from paltry fear of creating pique on the other ſide of St. George's Channel, by putting the impatience of Ireland a little longer to the teſt, to ſlur over the buſineſs, and to come to a vote without having firſt liſtened to the manufacturers, that he was convinced ſhe would hold us in a moſt contemptible light, if we adopted any ſuch temporizing mode of conduct on a great political queſtion. The beſt way to convince Ireland of our intentions to act fairly and generouſly by her was to act in a manly, open, and upright way; to aſſure her of our wiſhes to take care of her intereſts, by ſhewing her that we had the ſenſe and the prudence firſt to take care of our own. This and this only could recommend our conduct to men of underſtanding and diſcernment. With regard to delay, none had yet been occaſioned in that Houſe, and none, he was perſuaded, would be ſuffered, in conſequence of the manufacturers being permitted to be heard by counſel. His Lordſhip ſaid, he was in the habit of regarding the profeſſion, from which he had derived the eſſential advantages he enjoyed, in no other point of view, than that of honour and of reputation. He could not bring himſelf to regard it otherwiſe; he therefore deſired the Houſe

to underſtand, that he was not of opinion, that the employment of counſel generally tended to procraſtination. He had known one or two inſtances only, in which it had produced that effect, but it was held by the profeſſion to be ſo diſhonourable to engage to ſpeak againſt time, that in thoſe caſes to which he alluded, it had required a long exerciſe and diſplay of the firſt talents and abilities, to recover character, and get the better of the diſgrace and degradation incurred in the eyes of the Bar, by having condeſcended to act in ſo unworthy a manner. To put it however out of diſpute on the preſent occaſion, he was ready to pledge himſelf to the Houſe, that no gentleman of the bar, who ſhould be entruſted with the cauſe of the manufacturers, would deviate from the proper topic of legal argument and travel out of the caſe of his client into diſcuſſions or obſervations upon the general policy of the intended ſyſtem of arrangement; if they attempted it, the Houſe would have it in their power to check the gentlemen and confine them to what was properly their ſubject. He illuſtrated his meaning by ſaying, that the counſel who might be employed to ſpeak on behalf of the glaſs manufacture, ſhould be confined to ſpeak upon what concerned that manufacture only. Having ſtated this, he took notice of the Lord Chancellor's declaration that the reſolutions were not to be conſidered either as the meaſure of Miniſters, or of any one Lord, but as coming up to that Houſe from the Houſe of Commons, who had made them known to their Lordſhips at a conference. This, he ſaid, was no argument that they were not a meaſure of Adminiſtration. Undoubtedly they were. He then went into a ſeries of reaſoning, to ſhew the variety of ſhapes they had aſſumed, from the period of the ten propoſitions having been firſt moved by the Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the Houſe of Commons of that kingdom, to their being voted in their preſent form in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons laſt Monday. He ſaid, it was evident from the complexion of the ten propoſitions moved by Mr. Orde, that, whoever they originated with, the author of them had drawn them under a complete ignorance of the navigation act, of the nature of our trade to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, of the particular circumſtances under which a great part of our commerce was carried on, and of many important topics, to which it was highly neceſſary to advert in the formation of a ſyſtem meant to be the permanent arrangement of commercial intercourſe between the two countries for the future. In the courſe of paſſing through the Houſe of Commons, a great variety of alterations had been introduced, all of them tending very ſenſibly to improve and amend the original propoſitions. The firſt appearance of the neceſſity of great improvement and alteration

alteration that could be traced, was to be found in the Report of the Committee of Privy Council, and arose from the discernment and sagacity of an honourable friend of his, whose acquaintance and familiarity with the political and commercial concerns of the kingdom were well known. He said he had no scruple to name the gentleman to whom he alluded: He meant Mr. Jenkinson. That gentleman had first pointed out, that in their loose and general form, the propositions could not pass, without proving extremely prejudicial to the dearest interests of this kingdom, considered with a view to the navigation act to our trade laws, to our manufactures, and the revenue both of Great Britain and Ireland. A variety of alterations had from time to time been suggested in the House of Commons, but indeed the best and most sensible comment upon what had passed, was contained in a paper which he held in his hand, the author of which he knew not, but who had very judiciously made the original propositions, and the resolutions in their different states of amendment and alteration, or rather as commentaries upon each other. The paper, his Lordship said, was a broadside statement in parallel columns of the eleven original propositions, as moved by Mr. Orde on the 7th of February, and voted by the Irish House of Commons on the 24th, of the amended propositions as laid before the British House of Commons by the Minister on the 12th of May, in the shape of eighteen propositions, of the eighteen resolutions of the Committee, as reported to the House of Commons last Monday; and lastly, of the remain of the original propositions. Here at one view the whole was seen, in the first place, the original Phœnix, in the next, the large bird of the same genus, but of a different species, that arose from its ashes, in the third, of that bird with additional plumage, in the fourth, the same bird winged and discoloured from the circumstance of having had some of its feathers plucked out of its tail, and in the last, a careful collection of so much of the plumage as marked or characterised the puerile Phœnix! After sporting for a minute or two with this idea, he made some pointed observations on the obvious fact that among the amended propositions there were no less than four of them entirely new, that stated as their preamble, that it was essential, that so and so, &c. He next suggested some remarks upon the weakness of a Minister who could betray his want of knowledge upon the most important national topics in so shameful a manner, in the progress and conduct of a measure of such immense magnitude, and after pointing out the absurdity of instituting an inquiry into the subject before the Committee of Privy Council, subsequent to the moving of the eleven original

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propoſitions in Ireland, his Lordſhip hinted at his intention when the day of diſcuſſion came, to go into a full inveſtigation of the different reſolutions, to examine them individually, and collectively, to ſtate his opinion upon the whole, and to point out what in his judgement remained to be done farther to meliorate and improve the reſolutions. Having completed this part of his ſpeech, he reverted to the main object of it, and added farther arguments to convince the Houſe, that on every ground of good ſenſe and reaſon, of decency and candour, and moſt of all, of juſtice, the manufacturers had a fair and undoubted claim to be heard in the manner which they thought moſt advantageous to themſelves, and that to refuſe ſo to hear them, would degrade the dignity, tarniſh the honour, and impeach the equity of their Lordſhips' proceedings, whether conſidered as acting in a legiſlative or a judicial capacity.

Earl Gower. Earl *Gower* contended that there were precedents for refuſing to hear petitioners by their counſel, to be found at leaſt in the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, if not in thoſe of their Lordſhips; but as the manufactures carried on by the petitioners were of great importance to the country, and the intereſts of the Petitioners were material to themſelves, he ſaid, he ſhould incline to vote for having it put to their option, to be heard in what manner they thought moſt to their advantage. His Lordſhip added, that had his advice reſpecting Ireland, which he had given in council ſome years ſince, been followed, there would not have occurred the difficulty that now preſented itſelf, nor would either Houſe of Parliament have experienced the trouble and expence of time, that the ſubject had coſt them, and was likely to coſt them, in the preſent ſeſſion. It was to the neglect of thoſe, who ought to have attended to his advice at the time it was given, that the whole was to be attributed.

Lord Chancellor. The *Lord Chancellor* contended that he was ſtill at iſſue upon the queſtion, that it lay in the diſcretion of the Houſe to ſay in what manner they would hear petitioners. His Lordſhip took notice of what Lord Loughborough had ſaid reſpecting the perſon with whom the firſt eleven propoſitions had originated, and ſaid, the Houſe ought to view the matter, as it now ſtood, diſtinct from any conſideration of the mover of it originally; they ought to ſeparate the perſon of the one from the particular points of the other. He ſtated upon what motive is was that he conſented to give way, and withdraw his motion, declaring he was not the leaſt altered in his opinion by any arguments, however imperatively ſtated, by the noble and learned Lord who had ſpoken ſo lately. His Lordſhip defended his former argument, by ſaying, he had

had imagined the manufacturers would have come to the bar, with their caſe digeſted, and committed to paper, as was always cuſtomary; in which caſe the aid of counſel would have been of little uſe.

The original queſtion was at length put and carried. The petitioners were to be heard by themſelves and their counſel.

Tueſday, June 7.

Lord *Stormont* moved, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to His Majeſty, humbly to beſeech His Majeſty that "he will be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions that there "be laid before this Houſe an account of all articles of Iriſh "conſumption charged in Ireland with an internal duty on "the manufacture, or a duty on the material, ſtating and "diſtinguiſhing the ſeveral duties." Lord Stormont.

This occaſioned a debate of near an hour, between the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Preſident, Lord Loughborough, and Lord Effingham.

The *Lord Chancellor* objected to the motion in point of form, declaring he believed no ſuch paper was in exiſtence, and that the Index to the Iriſh revenue laws would fully anſwer the purpoſe. The Lord Chancellor

Lord *Loughborough* ſtated the probable utility of the paper, as without it they could not ſee what articles the Iriſh internal duty would operate upon as a prohibition, and what not. His Lordſhip put the inſtances of beer, ſugars, and ladies' ſhoes. At length the motion was negatived. Lord Loughborough.

Lord *Stormont* next moved, that Mr. Peele, Mr. Walker, Mr. Richardſon, and twenty-ſix more of the witneſſes, examined before the Houſe of Commons, attend the Houſe. Lord Stormont.

This was oppoſed by the *Lord Preſident*, as a motion calculated merely for procraſtination and delay. His Lordſhip alſo ſaid, that though he certainly ſhould not object to the hearing of any of the manufacturers who deſired to be heard, yet he did not conceive the Houſe ought to make them attend compulſorily. His Lordſhip ſaid, the manufacturers had at firſt been under a miſtake, but the Houſe of Commons had cleared it up to them, and they were now perfectly ſatisfied. Lord Preſident.

The *Lord Chancellor* ſupported his Lordſhip's objection, uſing a ſimilar argument, and ſtating, that as the manufacturers had not petitioned to be heard, it was fair to conclude they did not wiſh it. Lord Chancellor.

After ſome converſation the queſtion was put, and negatived.

Lord

Lord Stormont. Lord *Stormont* then moved, that the Iriſh ſtatutes for the laſt thirty-five years, to make the Houſe ſet complete, be ordered.

This was alſo negatived.

The Duke of Portland. The Duke of *Portland* preſented a petition againſt the reſolutions, from the glaſs manufacturers. It was received, read, and referred to the Committee on the reſolutions.

At length the order of the day was read for going into a committee on the reſolutions on the ſubject of an arrangement of a commercial intercourſe with Ireland, when Lord Scarſdale took the chair, and the clerk proceeded to read the reſolutions, after which the Houſe waited, while Mr. Cowper was in ſearch of the copy of the eleven propoſitions voted by the Parliament of Ireland, and laid before the Houſe originally, together with the addreſſes of the Iriſh Houſe of Lords and the Iriſh Houſe of Commons.

Lord Stormont. After an interval of ſome minutes, Lord *Stormont* roſe, and ſaid, he conſidered it as no ill omen that the paper containing a copy of the eleven Iriſh propoſitions was no where to be found. Thinking as he did of their tendency, it ſhould not be his office to drag them again into light; and indeed ſo unwelcome a taſk he had no occaſion to undertake the execution of, as he ſaw a noble Lord near him, who, no doubt, was ready with his uſual ability to ſtand up and ſupply the deficiency. His Lordſhip ſaid, the noble Lord would probably explain to the Committee the reaſons which had induced Adminiſtration to abandon the eleven Iriſh propoſitions originally ſpoken to the Houſe of Commons, and to propoſe reſolutions ſo different in their form, and ſo diſtinct in their principle, as thoſe then under conſideration.

Lord Sydney Lord *Sydney* ſaid, he was a little aſtoniſhed that the noble Viſcount ſhould have called upon him to ſupply a deficiency which he did not conceive the Committee expected, or any individual Lord had a right to call for at his hands. He certainly ſhould decline the taſk the noble Viſcount had been ſo good as to aſſign him, not being by any means prepared to go into detail upon the ſubject, not thinking it properly the buſineſs before the Committee, and not being at all deſirous of ſaying any thing, from a wiſh that nothing he might accidentally let fall ſhould, through miſconſtruction or miſrepreſentation, be made uſe of to the prejudice of the two countries. His Lordſhip ſaid, that poſſibly the noble Viſcount, and thoſe with whom he acted, might think themſelves entitled to call upon him to explain any thing they profeſſed to entertain doubts of, and upon his declining to comply with their requiſitions, might deem him unworthy of the ſituation which he had at that time the honour to

hold

hold. He could only ſay, if ſuch ſhould be their ſentiments, that his ſituation was not of his ſeeking, and conſcious as he was of the extreme detriment that might ariſe from a miſrepreſentation of any thing that might drop from him, he certainly would not furniſh an opportunity for the inconvenience and danger to which he alluded. [Juſt as Lord Sydney approached the concluſion of his ſpeech, the paper that had been miſlaid, was found at the bottom of the box. It was accordingly read, together with the Addreſſes of the Lords and Commons of Ireland, and the petitions and other papers that had been referred to the Committee appointed by their Lordſhips.

Lord *Stormont* ſaid, he had only to lament to their Lordſhips the diſadvantage to which they would be reduced by the ſilence of thoſe in office. He held it to be a conduct at once unprecedented and unjuſtifiable, that a meaſure of this extenſive and laſting conſequence ſhould be preſented to their Lordſhips with no explanation whatever. He ſhould avoid detail in what he was now to ſtate, but in every particular their Lordſhips would ſee how this ſtrange manner of bringing forward the buſineſs embarraſſed and clogged their conceptions of the ſubject. One great defect under which this vaſt arrangement would conſequently engage their Lordſhips' attention, was, that no cauſe was aſſigned for the adoption of this ſyſtem at preſent. He denied that it was the effect of a former Adminiſtration. That nothing had been thrown out, with many others, only for this purpoſe of deſtroying the weight of ſuch objections as were likely to be brought againſt it. But the Iriſh had themſelves long ago effectually refuted the ſurmiſe, by declaring, in a very ſolemn manner, their entire ſatisfaction with what had then been done for them. The meaſure was then complete, and the preſent ſyſtem had no dependence whatever upon it. To reaſon, therefore, on this principle, was abſurd in the extreme, as it ſuppoſed what was not true, that a ſyſtem had commenced and remained unfiniſhed till the preſent Miniſtry took it up. He was rather inclined to give them the merit of the whole. The offspring, in his opinion, was their own. But the birth was not a natural one. It had ſtruggled into life under a complication of imperfections. It came into the world curtailed of every fair proportion, and ſtamped with every mark of original depravity. He had endeavoured, with as much candour and coolneſs as he could, to feel his way. No reaſon which appeared ſufficient to him, had yet been alledged to juſtify this prodigious innovation in the intercourſe of the two countries.——And ſince Ireland ſeemed ſatisfied, it was ſomewhat aſtoniſhing that we were not ſo. ——We had, certainly, made great and liberal exertions to render

Lord Stormont.

render her lap of national felicity full. But why ſhould this country be exhauſted to make it overflow? He was aware that the people of Ireland, like ſome of the popular leaders in this kingdom, were ſolicitous for an equal repreſentation. This had been well named the phrenzy of political reformation. But he would venture to ſay, that if this ſyſtem was intended to operate as a compenſation for that meaſure; if one theory was to be thus bartered for another, the purchaſe of moderation, in this inſtance, had been rated much too high. He then called upon any of their Lordſhips to account for the relinquiſhing the former for the ſake of the latter propoſitions as they contained nothing, in his opinion, to juſtify the conceſſion. He aſked what the conſequences to this country muſt have been had not theſe reſolutions been changed. He repeated moſt of the arguments which had before been ſtated on this part of the ſubject; and recapitulated, in a few words, ſome of the moſt ſtriking objections which lay againſt the reſolutions in their original form. He knew none of the conſequences which he ſtated were intended. But he aſked their Lordſhips what comfort a dying man received from being told that the wound of which he was expiring was not meant to be mortal? He inſtanced in this part of the argument the caſe of the Eaſt-India Company, and Weſt-India monopoly. But what appeared to him the moſt pernicious part of the plan was, the manner in which it violated the property of individuals. The whole copy-right of this country, which had been eſtimated at above two hundred thouſand pounds, was by this ſyſtem, in its firſt ſhape, altogether annihilated. This was done by the repreſentative of one of the moſt enlightened bodies of the univerſe, at an æra in which ſcience was in its full luſtre, and by a Miniſter whoſe mind was formed to embrace all that was noble and graceful in polite literature.——But what was the general principle which run through theſe reſolutions?—They were undoubtedly intended to equalize the commercial advantages of the two kingdoms. But he was altogether at a loſs to ſee where this prevailing feature was to be found. Suppoſing this to be the object of the meaſure, he could not conceive how it could be accompliſhed, unleſs in the three following ways, viz. That all manufactures ſhould be equally free in both; That in both countries equal duties ſhould take place on the ſame articles; and, That whatever exceptions were adopted in any of theſe reſpects, ſhould be adopted by conſent of both. He adverted to every topic of argument which had been uſed in another Houſe. He quoted a letter from Sir William Temple, in which that great Iriſh patriot aſſerted, that the intereſts of Great Britain, whenever any thing like claſhing or jarring occured, ought

ought to have the preference. They were not, in his opinion, the friends of either, who did not heartily ſubſcribe to this ſentiment. When the union of Scotland and England was in agitation, the propoſition of a free commercial intercourſe was propoſed to the Engliſh commiſſioners. Among theſe were the names of Cooper, Halifax, Godolphin, and Somers. Theſe great men rejected the propoſal ſo effectually, that they would not give it a hearing. He was not, however, without hopes, that ſince their Lordſhips, much to their honour, had reſolved to go into the evidence, they would not curtail the matter, but go into it at full length. For his own part, though he had failed in three motions relative to that evidence, out of the only four he had made before their Lordſhips, and though he was but little diſpoſed to appear officiouſly buſy in any matters, this ſtruck him as of too much importance to be in any degree ſlighted. He therefore deemed it his duty to do every thing which he could either conceive became him to do, or whatever the better judgement of others might direct him in. And he ſhould hope the notion which had gone forth, of teazing and tormenting another Houſe, ſhould have no effect on him, in troubling their Lordſhips with whatever he ſhould think eſſential to a right underſtanding of the matter before them. This he was alſo not a little happy to truſt would be the caſe of the manufacturers. Notwithſtanding the ſlur which many had endeavoured to fix on their aſſiduity, he hoped they would double their diligence on the preſent occaſion. They might incur the indignant and diſreſpectful language of intereſted individuals, but their induſtry and vigilance in defending the manufacturing intereſt of their country, did them an honour which the violence of party ſpirit could not ultimately injure. He forebore going into the compenſatory part of the ſyſtem, as that might lead him into a detail which he had profeſſedly all along avoided. He would not conclude without ſtill expreſſing ſome hopes, that one or other of thoſe connected with His Majeſty's Miniſters would, in compliance with the earneſt deſires of many noble Lords, give their Lordſhips ſome farther information on the reſolutions which lay before them.

The Earl of *Abingdon* roſe next, and ſaid, My Lords, having upon former occaſions, preſumed to lay my poor ideas before your Lordſhips on the ſubject of Ireland; having ſtated what, in my humble opinion, was the relative ſituation of that country to this, and what too was the line of right that ought to be drawn between them: thoſe of your Lordſhips who may do me the honour to recollect what the ideas were, will readily perceive, that I do not now riſe to offer myſelf to your Lordſhips, in oppoſition to the meaſure

The Earl of Abingdon.

that is now before us; but, on the contrary, to give it my firm and hearty ſupport. The ideas, my Lords, which, I ventured to ſubmit to the Houſe, reſpected the policy of the two kingdoms, and not their commerce; they were political, and not commercial. Of the former, my Lords, that is, of the policy of the two countries, the time is gone by; *jacta eſt alea*; and what I have ſaid, is, perhaps, better buried in ſilence than revived by repetition. Of the latter, that is, of the commerce of the two countries, the propoſitions now before you form the ſubject-matter only; and as ſuch, it is to them, and them only, that I am called upon to expreſs the reaſons of my ſatisfaction, as the ground of that aſſent which I ſhall moſt chearfully and readily give to your Lordſhips.

But, my Lords, before I do this, I cannot help ſaying a word or two in reference to what has paſſed upon this ſubject, merely as it has relation to that inſolence of oppoſition (for ſo I will call it) which has been given by ſome, to the meaſure of theſe propoſitions.

My Lords, what has been done reſpecting the policy of Ireland and this country; I mean that part of it which, in my conſcience, I could not approve, was not the act of His Majeſty's preſent Miniſter. Of this, his hands, like thoſe of his great father before him, "are clean;" and I rejoice that hands ſuch as his, upon ſuch a ſubject, are clean. But to whom then ſhall we impute this act? To him, my Lords, to that very man who now boldly ſtands forth the enemy of a meaſure, which, if in any degree wrong, his conduct, and his conduct only, has made neceſſary, and compels the performance of.

Conceſſions, eſpecially when neither aſked for nor expected, never fail to prove the parent of conceſſions. Conceſſion begets conceſſion, till where to ſtop is often out of the reach of human wiſdom to know. This was the caſe with Ireland, and this country; and yet the very author of thoſe conceſſions is now one of the unnatural ringleaders of an unnatural faction in this country, in oppoſition to a meaſure which he himſelf, as I have ſaid, has rendered of neceſſity to be done.

Who this man is, your Lordſhips need not be told. Think of the man who has done all the miſchief that folly and wickedneſs united could ſuggeſt; who has, upon every occaſion, and in every inſtance, ſacrificed the intereſt of his country to his own ſelfiſh and inordinate luſt of power; and he is the man, in title the moſt fitting that belongs to him, the Miniſter of the American war, and inſomuch the grand culprit of the nation.

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This is the man, he who, at the very time he was plunging the dagger in the breasts of our fellow subjects in America, and waſting the public treaſure of his country, with a profligacy unknown to the annals of any government upon the face of the globe, for the expreſs purpoſe of maintaining, as he declared, "the juſt and undoubted legiſlative rights of "Great Britain." What did this Miniſter do, my Lords? Without demand, nay, without expectation on the part of Ireland (for the demands and expectations of Ireland at that time went no farther than to the modification of Poyning's Law,) I ſay, my Lords, What did this Miniſter do? That the diſcontents of Ireland might not operate, in conjunction with thoſe of America, to the loſs of his place, *manu ſua propria inimica*, with his own unhallowed hand, and in the hour of political daſtardy and cowardice, he not only opened, (without even a propoſition of equivalency, when almoſt any equivalent whatever might have been obtained), the whole of the Weſt India commerce to Ireland; but, in ſo doing, ſurrendered up the legiſlative rights of this country over Ireland to Ireland. [See the 20th Geo III. cap. 10 where the right of regulating the commerce of Ireland is taken out of the Britiſh Parliament, and transferred, for the firſt time in the annals of England, to the Parliament of Ireland.]—A ſurrender, my Lords, which, if I did not feel myſelf in the capacity of a judge, and but for the indecency of one under thoſe circumſtances calling out for, and provoking impeachments, I ſhould never ceaſe to be ſilent until that Miniſter was brought to the bar of this Houſe; for, my Lords, if it be true, that the right of regulation and control over the commerce of Ireland has ever been in the Parliament of Great Britain; and if it be true, as a fundamental maxim both of reaſon and common ſenſe, as well as of the conſtitution of this country (and what noble Lord is poſſeſſed of ſufficient temerity to venture to aſſert the contrary?) that "the legiſlative being but a delegated power from the people, "they who have it cannot paſs it over to others," what argument can elude impeachment, what plea prevent condemnation?

But, having ſaid that what was done, was without demand or expectation on the part of Ireland, and wiſhing to be as well founded in fact as I am in argument, I will, in order to aſcertain this, beg leave to read a paragraph or two from a pamphlet which was written and publiſhed in Ireland at the time, and at the inſtance, as I do verily believe, of the Miniſter himſelf, for he is called therein, "one of the moſt "liberal and virtuous Miniſters Great Britain has ever been "bleſſed with!" This pamphlet is entitled, "Conſiderations "ſubmitted to the People of Ireland." It was written in

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anſwer to one ſaid to be written by Mr. Grattan, on the Mutiny Bill, and the part I allude to is this:—"The ſudden "and unexpected conceſſion to us, of unlimited trade on "the part of Great Britain, after a violent and unjuſtifi-"able detenſion of it for above a century, that trade! by "means of which ſhe became the miſtreſs and the wonder "of the world; that trade! for the excluſive enjoyment of "which her legiſlature has endeavoured, at every riſque, to "vindicate a ſupremacy over the ſubordinate parts of the "empire; that trade! on account of the uſurpation of which "ſhe has lived in jealouſy and enmity with us for a century "paſt; that ſhe ſhould ſo ſuddenly, ſo generouſly, and ſo "equally admit us into a participation of that trade with "her, is a matter we ſo little expected, that we ſcarcely be-"lieve her ſincere in it; and the aſtoniſhed Iriſhman receives "the boon, as Scrub does Archer's generoſity in the play—"Ah! it is a guinea, by this light;—but I ſuppoſe, brother "Martin, you expect one-and twenty ſhillings in change!"

Such then is this Miniſter, and ſuch the man whom we now find linked with the immaculate houſe of Cavendiſh, and to whom all the Whigs of this country are called upon to look up, and to bow down to, as to the god of their idolatry. Shameful profanation! *Odi profanum vulgus, et arceo.* And why, my Lords? Is it becauſe principles unite the band? No, for reaſons ten times worſe than any principle, be that principle ever ſo bad. From motives of private intereſt, ſeparated from thoſe of the public good. From motives of coalition, for the avowed purpoſe of ſeizing upon the government of the country, and of driving from the helm a Miniſter who, by a peace, had ſaved the nation from certain and irremediable perdition, and a peace too, my Lords, which, to uſe the eloquent and claſſic language of our preſent Miniſter, was made as neceſſary by one part of this faction, as it was unconditionally declared, to be ſo by the other

And now, my Lords, for a few words on the buſineſs more immediately before us. The preſent propoſitions are, in themſelves, ſimply commercial. Their object is to open a free intercourſe of trade between the two kingdoms, and of that trade to give an equal participation to both. So far then no poſſible objection thereto can ariſe in my mind. To the admiſſion of freedom in trade to Ireland, my wiſhes have not only gone in all its latitude, but they have gone much farther. It was my wiſh that Ireland ſhould poſſeſs internally a complete and independent legiſlation over itſelf; and upon that ground I voted moſt cordially for the repeal of the declaratory law of the 6th of George I. One other wiſh I had

had, but it was of another complection. It was that the regulation of, and the control over, the external commerce of the whole British empire might ſtill remain in the Parliament of Great Britain; and in ſo thinking, I conceived I was conſulting no leſs the intereſt of Ireland, than the good of the whole; whether I was right, or whether I was wrong, time muſt evince. The grounds upon which my opinion was formed, I have already ſtated in argument to this Houſe. If they are fallacious, I ſhall rejoice that they are ſo; if not, let him look to it for the ill conſequences that may enſue who has been the cauſe of them.

So much then, my Lords, for theſe propoſitions, as they appear to me in a commercial light; but there is one other view of them which I wiſh to take, a view, my Lords, ſo tranſcendent, and of ſuch magnitude in my mind's eye, as to place in total darkneſs every other conſideration upon the ſubject; for in this view what are theſe propoſitions —Not propoſitions of commerce only, but propoſitions of eternal amity between two jarring kingdoms. Such are theſe propoſitions; and this the light in which we muſt behold them: propoſitions, my Lords, with which, ſingle handed and alone, I would meet and combat with all the manufacturers of England. What! ſhall the intereſts of any ſet of men, however numerous, be put in competition, and be made to counteract the joint intereſts of two kingdoms? And what man who calls himſelf a ſtateſman, and is not aſleep, that would liſten for a moment to an oppoſition like this? Let us remember America, my Lords, and let us not forget the iſſue of that unhappy conteſt. Let us recollect the footing, that, contrary to all belief, France obtained in that country, and then turning our eyes upon Ireland, let us ſee the hold that France has there: a hold, my Lords, that makes this a delicate ſubject to touch upon; and your Lordſhips perceiving this, I ſhall only ſay—Cloſe with Ireland in the moment when you may do ſo, and bind her to you by the prevalency of her worldly intereſt, though you may not be able to do ſo by any other.—Having ſhaken off the fetters of your laws, let her be attached to you by the ties and bonds of affection. Be one people. Let your intereſt be one; let your objects be the ſame; and let the means to the end be ſo likewiſe.

My Lords, I have only to add my congratulations to His Majeſty's Miniſters, for having made from ſo bad a beginning ſo good an ending. Out of a chaos a ſyſtem has appeared; the happy fruits of which, in the uninterrupted happineſs and proſperity of both kingdoms, long! long! may each continue to reap and enjoy!

The *Lord Chancellor* began a reply to Lord Stormont, with ſome obſervations, partly ironical, on the ſalutary delay that the

The Lord Chancellor.

the noble Viſcount had recommended, declaring, that he believed, for the moſt part, the noble Viſcount would not occaſion any delay but what was ſalutary. His Lordſhip ſaid, by the noble Lord's animated apoſtrophe to the manufacturers, and the particular action that accompanied it, it ſeemed as if, in order to create delay not quite ſo ſalutary, the noble Viſcount ſtood in need of their aid and aſſiſtance, and that there were ſome perſons of that deſcription below the bar. His Lordſhip defended Lord Sydney for not having ſpoken, declaring that there was no occaſion, and that the noble Lord had, as he conceived, aſſigned good reaſons for not going into the ſubject, the queſtion immediately before the Committee being that the petitioners be called in, and heard by themſelves and counſel. It was wiſe and expedient, his Lordſhip ſaid, for the Miniſter and for Mr. Orde to go fully into the ſubject, when they ſeverally ſtated the propoſitions to Parliament here and in Ireland, becauſe the ſubject was then new and not underſtood, but the reverſe of the ſame reaſon being the caſe now, he thought it not right for the noble Lord to go into it, and he commended him for not having done ſo. With regard to the noble Viſcount's recommendation that the noble Lord ſhould imitate the example of the Miniſter, he begged him to remember it was not quite ſo eaſy a thing to imitate him; perhaps the noble Viſcount was himſelf, from his ſuperior eloquence, moſt capable of attempting it with ſucceſs. His Lordſhip paid Lord Stormont many compliments on the able ſpeech he had made, but ſeemed to conſider it as a fine ſpeech, made merely for the purpoſe of procraſtination. His Lordſhip concluded with repeating the motion, viz. "That the petitioners be called in."

Lord Loughborough.

Lord *Loughborough* roſe to put it to their Lordſhips and to the noble and learned Lord, whether the truly eloquent ſpeech that had been delivered by his noble friend really had made no other impreſſion upon the Committee, than appearing to be a ſpeech againſt time? His Lordſhip aſked, if the maſterly explanation of the various circumſtances attending the tranſaction, if the valuable information furniſhed to the Committee by the able inveſtigation of the ſubject, and the variety of new lights thrown upon it by the noble Viſcount, deſerved to be ſo conſidered as the noble and learned Lord had choſen to conſider it. Having ſaid this, he expreſſed his ſurpriſe at the conduct of the noble Lord, who, though it appeared to be his proper and peculiar duty to open the buſineſs to the Houſe, had declined it for the extraordinary reaſon he had ſtated, viz. for fear he ſhould happen to drop anything in the courſe of his ſpeech that might, by a miſconſtruction, be made an improper or miſchievous uſe of without-

doors.

doors. He reaſoned on this for ſome time, and urged its extreme impropriety, declaring that on every preceding occaſion at all ſimilar, the noble Lord's predeceſſors had not only thought it right, but their indiſpenſable duty, to explain the buſineſs to the Houſe. He cited the caſe of the treaty with France, in the reign of Queen Anne, immediately after the peace of Utrecht, and alſo the famous convention treaty, declaring that Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Godolphin would have diſdained to have wrapped themſelves up in ſuch a cloke, where, on every plea of manlineſs, fairneſs, and reſpect to the Committee, ſome one Miniſter ought to have ſtood forward and have detailed the ſyſtem of policy upon which the intended treaty was founded. His Lordſhip alſo took notice of Lord Sidney's having ſaid, he had not ſought for the place he held. It was, he declared, an aſſumption of greater modeſty than appeared to him to be neceſſary, nor could he very readily credit it. He ſaid, the deduction naturally riſing from ſuch an argument as the noble Lord had uſed in order to avoid ſpeaking, was ſuch as the reſpect which he bore to the noble Lord would not ſuffer him to mention.

Lord *Sydney* ſaid, notwithſtanding what the noble and learned Lord had been pleaſed to ſuggeſt, he ſhould reſerve himſelf for the fit occaſion to enter into the particulars of the ſyſtem; the queſtion at preſent he took to be merely, that the petitioners be heard by themſelves and their counſel. With regard to Mr. Orde, whoſe example had been held out to him, let the Committee recollect how Mr. Orde had been treated, and then aſk themſelves if that was any encouragement for him to render himſelf liable to the ſame miſrepreſentation and abuſe. He complained of the libellous uſe of what had been ſtated to be Mr. Orde's ſpeech, that had been made, declaring that as ſoon as news arrived of his having opened the propoſitions, an inflammatory handbill, containing what was ſtated to be Mr. Orde's arguments, with violent comments ſubjoined to each, had been publiſhed and circulated throughout the whole kingdom. From that libellous handbill had the noble Lords ſpoken who had alluded to Mr. Orde's ſpeech, for they could have it on no other authority. With regard to his having ſaid the ſituation he held was not of his ſeeking, he adhered to that aſſertion. He was conſcious he was not worthy of it; but while he had the honour to fill it, he would fill it with ſpirit, and he truſted with credit to himſelf. When he could quit it creditably to himſelf, no man would be more ready to do ſo than he ſhould be. Lord Sydney

The Earl of *Carliſle* ſaid it was a very extraordinary circumſtance, that neither the noble Lord, nor any one of His The Earl of Carliſle.

Majeſty's Miniſters, would ſtand up and give the Committee the information they ought to have upon the ſubject. They had nothing before them but the naked reſolutions, for the report of the Privy Council was the greateſt farce and mockery that could be conceived, ſince nothing could be a greater farce and mockery than an inquiry ſet on foot after the propoſitions had been voted by the Iriſh Parliament, an inquiry the ſole object of which ſeemed to be not to find fault with the propoſitions. His Lordſhip ſaid, they had no leſs than ſeven of His Majeſty's Cabinet Miniſters in that Houſe, and yet, ſtrange to tell, no information could they obtain, but were left to ſit down to the ſlender food on their table. He lamented, that the Miniſter himſelf was not among them, but the Nile, he obſerved, flowed not there, and although they had the *ſeptem oſtia Nili*, their waters were dried up, and ſo far from fertiliſing the country, not one drop of information was to be obtained from them. His Lordſhip ſtill preſſed for ſome explanation.

At length the queſtion was agreed to, and Mr. Fiſkine was called to the bar.

Thurſday, Ju

Lord Stormont

Lord *Stormont* preſented a petition, ſigned by the manufacturers of the Chamber of Commerce, praying their Lordſhips would poſtpone for the preſent, coming to a deciſion on the Iriſh Propoſitions, and that they might be permitted to come to the bar of that Houſe, either by themſelves or counſel, to explain their motives for making ſuch a requeſt to their Lordſhips.

A ſhort debate aroſe upon the propriety of the requeſt, which, however, was negatived without a diviſion.

Tueſday, June 14.

A petition from the manufacturers, members of the Chamber of Commerce, praying to be heard by themſelves or counſel againſt the Iriſh propoſitions was preſented, and a motion was made for granting the prayer.

Lord Camden roſe and moved, "that the words for hearing them by themſelves or counſel be omitted," which cauſed ſome debate, but was agreed to upon a diviſion of 28 againſt 12.

Friday, June 17.

The Earl of Derby.

The Earl of *Derby* informed their Lordſhips, that he had a petition from the manufacturers at Mancheſter, which he was requeſted to preſent to the Houſe; but it was of ſuch magnitude, as to its ſize, that he could not, without aſſiſtance,

tance, carry it into the Houſe. And as the ſubject matter it contained, was of the higheſt importance to the well being of this kingdom, he truſted, that their Lordſhips would, if he was in order, move for the aſſiſtance of the clerk in carrying the petition to the table. He meant not, he ſaid, to aſk any favour from the Houſe; he conſidered himſelf in the office of his duty, as a Member of Parliament, making a motion which ſhould be inſerted in the Journals of the Houſe, to prove to poſterity, that a petition ſigned by one hundred and twenty thouſand manufacturers, had been preſented to their Lordſhips; that the greateſt part of the ſubſcribers were men of the firſt eminence, and of the higheſt repute in their country; and that in the moſt ſervent manner, the prayer of that petition beſeeched their Lordſhips not to ruin a trade on which the bread of ſo many thouſands depended.

Lord *Thurlow* left the woolſack, and addreſſing himſelf to Lord Derby, ſaid that the noble Earl's intention of handing the matter down to poſterity would be fully anſwered, by the motion itſelf, which of courſe would be entered on the Journals, ſtating that a petition ſigned by one hundred and twenty thouſand manufacturers, had been preſented againſt the Iriſh reſolutions, and that thoſe manufacturers were the inhabitants of manchester. Lord Thurlow

Lord *Derby* replied, that he thought the purpoſe of the motion, would be anſwered by handing a circumſtance of ſo uncommon a nature to poſterity, proving, by the Journals of the Houſe, in what manner, and by what number of the people principally intereſted in the event, their Lordſhips were ſupplicated to uſe their authority, and prevent the fatal conſequences that muſt attend an Act of Parliament fraught with ſuch a multiplicity of evils, as the one in agitation muſt produce. Ld. Derby

The petition was then brought up by his Lordſhip and the Clerk.

Thurſday, June 30.

The examination of witneſſes relative to the Iriſh propoſitions was concluded; and

Lord Sidney without any prefatory ſpeech, moved, that the Houſe, ſhould, on Friday the 8th of July, reſolve itſelf into a Committee, to conſider of the ſaid propoſitions.

After a ſhort debate, the motion made by Lord Sidney was agreed to.

Friday, July 8

The order of the day having been read for the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe on the

commercial reſolutions relative to Ireland, the Lord Chancellor put the queſtion, "that the Houſe do adjourn during "pleaſure, in order to form itſelf into the ſaid Committee." The ſame being agreed to by their Lordſhips, Lord Hawke took the chair.

Lord Sidney

Lord *Sidney* then roſe, and began his ſpeech with declaring, that it was not from any want of reſpect to their Lordſhips, or from any dereliction of his duty, that he ſincerely lamented that the arduous taſk of opening to the Houſe the purport and tendency of the reſolutions, had not been placed in any hands but his own. In the debates that had already taken place upon the ſubject, a queſtion had been put to him, which, he owned he had not expected to have heard aſked, and that was, What was the neceſſity that made his Majeſty's Miniſters think it incumbent upon them to bring forward any plan for the arrangement of a commercial intercourſe with Ireland? To that queſtion he conceived it would have been a ſufficient anſwer to have moved, that the reſolution come to by their Lordſhips on the 17th of May, in the Year 1782, be read, he therefore moved, that it be then read.

It was then read as follows:

"That it is the opinion of this Houſe, that it is indiſpen-
"ſable to the intereſt and happineſs of both kingdoms, that
"the connection between them ſhould be eſtabliſhed by mu-
"tual conſent upon a ſolid and permanent footing, and that
"an humble addreſs ſhall be preſented to his Majeſty, that
"his Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to take ſuch mea-
"ſures as his Majeſty in his Royal wiſdom ſhall think moſt
"conducive to that important end."

Lord *Sydney* roſe again, and reminded the Houſe of the clamours, the diſcontents, and the riots that had taken place in Ireland, ſubſequent to the voting of this reſolution. He mentioned alſo the proceedings by attachment, and all the various circumſtances that manifeſted the jealouſy and uneaſineſs of that country, and made up the neceſſity that cauſed Miniſters to think it their duty to loſe no time in coming forward with ſome plan for cementing the two kingdoms on principles of union, harmony, and affection. With this view it was, he ſaid, that the eleven propoſitions voted by the Parliament of Ireland, had been originally propoſed, and the reſolutions that had been ſent up to their Lordſhips by the Houſe of Commons, notwithſtanding what had been ſaid to the contrary, he ſhould contend were not by any means a departure from the principle of thoſe propoſitions. His Lordſhip took notice, that in the courſe of the various curſory debates that had taken place, ſince the ſubject had been under conſideration in that Houſe, a word had been made

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uſe of that called for ſome animadverſion. It had been ſaid, that the original propoſitions had been negatived. This he muſt deny for the reaſon he had ſtated, viz. becauſe the reſolutions were built on preciſely the ſame principle, as was made the groundwork of the propoſitions that came from Ireland. He dilated on this, and declared it would have been wiſer to have negatived the propoſitions in a fair, an open and manly way, than thus, by inſinuation, to have attempted to convey to Ireland, that they had been negatived, when the fact was undeniably otherwiſe. Having reaſoned generally, and preliminarily, his Lordſhip proceeded to ſpeak to the ſeveral reſolutions, and the tendency of each. He ſtated, that the firſt of the eleven propoſitions had been, in the other Houſe, divided into two, for the purpoſe of voting that part of it, which ſtood as the firſt reſolution, unanimouſly. That, he obſerved, contained a principle in which all were agreed. It remained then for him to prove, that the remaining reſolutions grew neceſſarily out of the firſt, and were all of them perfectly correſpondent to the principle of it, and illuſtrative of its purport and meaning. This he thought he ſhould be able to do, to the ſatisfaction of their Lordſhips. He then animadverted on the ſeveral ſubſequent reſolutions, and contended, that they communicated to Ireland a participation of our trade and manufactures, checked and guarded only by ſuch exceptions as were obviouſly neceſſary for the ſecurity of our revenue. Speaking of the fourth reſolution, he took notice of the clamour that had been raiſed upon it, upon two different grounds, viz. that it was either an interference with the independence of the Iriſh legiſlature, in reſpect to the trade and navigation laws to be made hereafter, or that it was a reſumption and revocation of the right of legiſlating for herſelf, granted to Ireland ſome years ſince by the repeal of the act of the 6th of the preſent King, and that it originated in a deſire to undo and recall what was then done.—His Lordſhip ſaid, he leſs feared the former reaſoning than the latter. What had been conceded ought on no account to be reſumed. Ireland was to all intents and purpoſes an independent kingdom, and had an undoubted right to legiſlate for herſelf. He wiſhed therefore that ſuch miſchievous inſinuations might not be thrown out, the only aim of thoſe who dealt in them could be, to rouſe the jealouſy of Ireland, and provoke ill humour between the two countries. The reſolution did not legiſlate for Ireland, it did nothing more than what Ireland had conſented to already. It implied a condition, that for the good of the general intereſts of the empire, the laws reſpecting trade and navigation ſhould be the ſame in both kingdoms. When the reſolution was maturely conſidered, his Lordſhip ſaid, he had not a doubt

that

that there would not be found a conſiderate man in Ireland, who would not acknowledge that it was perfectly unobjectionable. After taking ſome pains to juſtify this reſolution, his Lordſhip proceeded to the conſideration of the reſt. He made ſlight obſervations on all of them, till he came to the twelfth, that which ſtates that a farther duty ſhall be charged on the importation of articles of manufacture adequate to countervail the internal duty chargeable on the manufacture. Upon this, his Lordſhip reaſoned for ſome time. He ſaid, he had heard noble Lords declare, that it was impoſſible to impoſe any duty on the importation of an article of manufacture that ſhould be adequate to countervail the internal duty. That was in his opinion mere aſſertion, and not argument. It was not abſolutely impoſſible; that it was extremely difficult he was ready to admit, but it was nevertheleſs feaſible. It muſt be done by a book of rates, to be made out for the purpoſe, and ſubmitted to the ſanction of the Parliaments of the two kingdoms. He ſaid, it was his intention, when the Committee, in their progreſs through the reſolutions, came to the eighteenth, to move for ſome ſlight alterations, in order the better to ſecure the rights of the patentees at preſent in poſſeſſion. He meant alſo to propoſe ſome amendments with regard to ſalt, and ſome other amendments of leſs magnitude. He dwelt for ſome time on the twentieth reſolution, that which related to the appropriation of the ſurplus of the hereditary revenue of Ireland, in ſupport of the naval force of the empire. He ſtated the average amount of the hereditary revenue for given periods for a number of years paſt, (from the year 1687 to the year 1784), ſhewing, that it had gradually riſen conſiderably. He hinted at the component parts of the hereditary revenue, and ſaid, it could not but grow in proportion to the growing wealth of the country. He mentioned the examination of the manufacturers that had been gone through at the bar, and ſpoke of their apprehenſions as, in a great meaſure, ill founded. He made a variety of looſe remarks as he proceeded, and apologized for the unmethodical manner of his opening the ſubject, declaring, that although he was an old Member of Parliament, a buſineſs of ſuch a large and complicated nature was new to him, and would, he doubted not, have been a difficult matter to a much abler man than he pretended to be. After a few other obſervations his Lordſhip concluded with moving, "That the Committee agree to the firſt reſolution."

Earl of Carliſle

The Earl of *Carliſle* obſerved, that as the noble Lord, high in office, had begun with aſſerting that theſe propoſitions were not only neceſſary, but would be very advantageous to this country, he had paid the greateſt attention to his ſpeech,

ſpeech, and waited with no little degree of anxiety for thoſe advantages to be pointed out; every noble Lord therefore muſt give him credit, when he aſſured them, that he felt an infinite degree of ſurpriſe at ſeeing the noble Lord ſit down without even hinting at a ſingle iota from which any benefit could poſſibly accrue. The noble Lord had likewiſe aſſerted, there was neceſſity for theſe propoſitions, but he had failed in his proof, for Ireland had never aſked for ſuch a thing; nay it was curious enough to hear how differently they were treated as it were by the ſame people. The Miniſter it might be ſaid, had come forward to the Iriſh with the utmoſt good nature, and told them,—"You are a very good kind of people, but you don't know what you want; now I am your friend, leave it to me, and I will take care of you you ſhall have the trade of England." Here a ſimilar kind of language is held to the manufacturers, "you are a good ſort of people too, but you cannot tell any thing about what is likely to be for your own intereſt; why the Iriſh will have no benefit at all." Such were the arguments made uſe of; but as one muſt certainly be falſe, Miniſters he apprehended would be credited by neither, and upon which account it was that both countries ſeemed to be anxious for time that they might have an opportunity of judging for themſelves, he would move that the Chairman do quit the chair for the purpoſe, on the Houſe being reſumed, that he might move that their Lordſhips' final conſideration of the propoſitions be at leaſt deferred till next ſeſſion.

The Earl of *Coventry* was determined to vote in favour of the propoſitions, becauſe they were produced by an honourable gentleman, who for his abilities was not only the admiration of his own country, but the wonder of the univerſe. The propoſition on the table, he ſaid, it was true he could not defend as a perfect meaſure, but he had ſo high an opinion of the honourable gentleman, that he had not the leaſt doubt but that at a future period their imperfections would be amended. The Earl of Coventry

Lord *Dudley* ſaw ſo many evils ariſing out of the propoſitions in their preſent ſhape, that he could not heſitate for a moment in agreeing with the noble Earl who had moved for the chairman's quitting the chair, that farther time might be taken to ſoften their pernicious tendency; ſo convinced was he of the injury they would be of to the manufacturers in this kingdom, that he ſhould be aſhamed to meet any perſon in his own neighbourhood, if he did not give them every oppoſition in his power; he perfectly agreed as to the effects they would have on the iron and glaſs trade; the latter of which, he obſerved, was particularly burdened in this kingdom, and as largely encouraged in every other, in France, Lord Dudley.

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for inſtance, the manufacturers of gilts were ranked as gentlemen, and permitted to wear a ſword; he did not know that ſuch a diſtinction would have any effect in this country, but he thought they ought to be protected from the ruin they were now threatened with. Here the duty was upon the raw material, and it very often happened ſome defect would appear in what they caſt, it was obliged to be thrown into the melting pot again; and as often as it went there, ſo often did it pay duty. He had heard it from a very reſpectable character, although it had not been given in evidence, that it frequently happened, an apprentice before he was perfect in his buſineſs coſt his maſter 300l. in the articles he ſpoilt, by their being ſo repeatedly ſubjected to the duty.

Lord Walſingham. Lord *Walſingham* declared it to be his opinion, that the preſent meaſure was the moſt adviſable that could be thought of, and that the principal objections he had heard made to it, were nugatory; it had been objected to as injurious to the colonial trade: how that could be maintained he was entirely at a loſs to comprehend, becauſe the Iriſh were at this moment at liberty to carry their goods wherever they pleaſed; and although much ſtreſs had been laid upon the advantages of the Iriſh ports, on account of their contiguity with the Weſt-India Iſlands, he thought that of very little conſequence, as he did not believe they would be able in Ireland, any more than in England, to make above one voyage in the year; the ſugars were ready for exportation about March, and the hurricanes ſet in as early as September, therefore it was unlikely, unleſs on a few inſtances that more than one cargo would be attempted in the ſeaſon; he contended there were no grounds for the ſuggeſtions that had been made, that there would be an opening for ſmuggling by their having permiſſion to bring foreign goods into England, after they had been landed in Ireland. He ſaid that for more than a century ſhe had laboured under particular hardſhips and reſtrictions, and that ſhe ought to be relieved from them; theſe regulations, in his opinion, would effect that end, and be productive of a cordial friendſhip between the two countries; founded in that opinion, it ſhould have his hearty ſupport.

The Earl of Derby. The Earl of *Derby* was ſorry the Houſe had ſtill to regret the want of information how theſe propoſitions were to be beneficial to England. The noble Secretary of State had aſſerted they would be ſo; and for his part, he had no objection to aſſert the contrary would be the caſe; now their Lordſhips could decide only, according as they thought he or the noble Secretary of State poſſeſſed the greateſt ſhare of veracity.

Lord

Lord Camden said, that no man could be more forcibly impreſſed with the importance of the object which then agitated their Lordſhips than himſelf. From the moment it had been preſented to the Houſe, he had devoted his mind to the contemplation of the ſubject, and had daily and hourly employed himſelf in weighing the ſeveral arguments for and againſt the propoſed intercourſe with the ſiſter kingdom. The reſult of his inquiry was, that taking a comprehenſive view of the matter, and looking to all the conſiderations eſſential to the true underſtanding of the ſyſtem, it was a meaſure ſalutary and political, and which would be productive of many valuable benefits to the empire. Lord Camden.

The objections to the ſyſtem naturally divided themſelves into two claſſes.—The firſt was, that there was no neceſſity for the ſyſtem;—and the ſecond comprehended the various arguments, evidence, and reaſoning to prove, that if there was neceſſity for a ſyſtem, this was defective, improper and dangerous. In regard to the firſt, he was aſtoniſhed to hear it aſſerted, that there was no neceſſity for any ſyſtem. Nothing but the ſtrongeſt neceſſity could, to his knowledge, have induced the preſent Adminiſtration to undertake a buſineſs ſo weighty as the preſent, and which, however conducted, it was certain muſt be productive of murmurs and diſcontent. Theſe, however, they had ventured to diſregard, when they conſidered that the well-founded complaints of Ireland had convulſed that iſland from north to ſouth. He would call to their Lordſhips' recollection the ſituation of the two countries prior to the year 1782. It was then admitted on all hands, that Ireland had been hitherto much oppreſſed, and that it was high time to lighten the burden under which ſhe had ſo patiently laboured and groaned. The ſhare he took in that meaſure, rendered it neceſſary for him to ſtate his opinion explicitly on this. Who did not know that the trade between the two countries was then, as it ſtill was, very unequal? This was ſo much the caſe, that the Iriſh had been, oftener than once, almoſt in a ſtate of open rebellion. Was not Ireland ſtill clamorous? It was the cry of ſtarving manufacturers on every ſide that they were underſold by the Engliſh importer; they complained that their woollens were excluded from the Engliſh market, whilſt a free ingreſs into theirs was allowed to the products of Britain; they urged that the admiſſion and excluſion ſhould on every principle of juſtice be reciprocal; and it muſt be confeſſed, their complaints were not without ſufficient foundation. They had called aloud to their own Parliament for duties to protect their infant manufactures; they had proceeded from complaints to menaces, and from menaces to riot. Even the prudent and moderate Chamber of Commerce

of Belfaſt had adopted this language, when they ſaid, "that "by protecting duties alone, England had raiſed her manu- "factures to their preſent height, and that by ſuch means "only Ireland could expect to riſe."

What was the Gracious Sovereign of both countries, his Lordſhip aſked, to do in a dilemma like this?—As King and Protector of the intereſts of England, could he ſuffer Ireland to exclude Engliſh manufactures?—As Father of his People, could he ſee ſo numerous a body of his Iriſh ſubjects in diſtreſs, without offering to ſtep forward to their relief? The Iriſh importuned their Parliament in vain for redreſs. The reſolutions before their Lordſhips were calculated to remedy this inconvenience. As that was their profeſſed object, it became their Lordſhips to deliberate on their tendency and aſpects with care, and regard every inſinuation againſt their neceſſity as, at leaſt, requiring proof. Were not His Majeſty's Miniſters to guard againſt a circumſtance which wore ſo threatening an aſpect to the tranquillity of the empire? Suppoſe the Iriſh had laid their grievances at the foot of the Throne, and importuned the Sovereign of both countries to take part with one againſt the intereſt, or at leaſt the prejudice of the other.—Here was the foundation of a civil war. And did it not become the providence of Government to guard againſt every ſuch danger, as, by an emergency of this kind, might have embroiled the peace of the whole? All the world knew how ſincerely this particular hardſhip was felt by the Iriſh. Their diſcontents were in proportion to their ſufferings. Ireland had been convulſed from one end to the other. And after this ſhould their Lordſhips be told, that the meaſure was unneceſſary? Whether it was mild quite to the end propoſed, was another point, which alſo demanded their Lordſhips' attention. That the reſolutions were of infinite conſequence, he truſted would not be diſputed by any of their Lordſhips; and ſo alſo were the grievances they were meant to redreſs. This was a circumſtance, he was ſure, of which they were all equally ſenſible.

This ſettlement being final, his Lordſhip admitted, was a good reaſon that it ſhould be reviewed with long deliberation, and with ſtrict attention; but it was not therefore to be inferred, that it ſhould be ſo long delayed as to leave a doubt of its future concluſion. It ſhould be conſidered that the intermediate time was an interval of jealouſy, of enmity, and of diſpence between the two Kingdoms, which could not too ſoon be terminated. For his part, however, he ſaw no neceſſity for a delay longer than the preſent, nor for more attention than had now been paid. Was it to be deferred *ad Græcas calendas*? or did thoſe who did not find themſelves

now

now ſufficiently informed on the ſubject, hope to remove that deficiency by endleſs procraſtination? It had now been before Parliament upwards of five months. They had heard every ſpecies of evidence on the ſubject, and they were ſurely as fully prepared to diſcuſs and decide on the ſyſtem now, as they could be ſix months hence. He could aſſure their Lordſhips, he had weighed the evidence which had been collected with all the candour and attention of which he was maſter. He owned it was of great and general importance; but after all he had heard, and all that had occurred to his mind, on a very cloſe and laboured examination of the infinite maſs of materials, he could ſee no ſubſtantial exception to the trading ſpirit and tendency of thoſe reſolutions. He waved every ſort of diſquiſition concerning a variety of collateral points, which ſome of their Lordſhips had brought up in the courſe of the debate. It was the obvious ſenſe and meaning of the ſyſtem in general which had more particularly attracted his obſervations; for he preſumed it was the common effect which all the parts of the ſyſtem united was calculated to produce, that more immediately challenged the opinion of their Lordſhips. But whatever their effect might be, he could aſſure them Lordſhips in the moſt ſolemn manner, that if in his apprehenſion theſe reſolutions, in any degree, infringed the rights, or tended to hurt the intereſt of the manufacturers of this country, he would cut off his right hand ſooner than he would countenance them.

The pervading principle, his Lordſhip remarked, of this ſyſtem, was, a fair equality between the articles of the produce and manufacture of both countries, equally free where no duties were laid at preſent, and equally unencumbered where it was found neceſſary to continue thoſe that now exiſted. That there were exceptions to this rule, he admitted; but theſe exceptions, he contended, afforded no ground for the arguments that had been maintained. The peculiar advantages alſo of each country, notwithſtanding all that had been ſaid, were perfectly equal. On the one ſide appeared the relative cheapneſs of labour: on the other were the circumſtances of large capital, ſuperior ſkill, and long eſtabliſhment in trade.

Now with reſpect to the argument of cheapneſs of labour, which had given ſuch terrors to the manufactures, he confeſſed he ſaw it without alarm. In a country deſtitute of money manufacturers, muſt for a time work at a low rate. This cheapneſs of labour however, muſt only continue during the rudeneſs of art, and while it continued, the rich and manufacturing country muſt enjoy the benefits of ſuperior ſkill. Greatneſs of capital had advantages beyond the reach of

poverty. It divided manufactures into ſo many branches, that though the price to each artiſt diſtinctly might be high, the facility and perfection which they attained by being confined to a ſingle branch, was productive of great benefits; and thoſe benefits this country now had, and would preſerve. That rude labour was cheap in Ireland, he would not take upon him to deny; but that the finer qualities of work bore prices equal to the ſame prices in this country, was equally certain, and had been proved at their Lordſhips' bar. Captain Brookes had found it impracticable to eſtabliſh the Mancheſter manufacture, without giving the Mancheſter prices.

The greateſt difficulty, his Lordſhip obſerved, that appeared to him, was, the laying a proper countervailing duty, now, undoubtedly, it was a difficult point, as the goods when manufactured conſiſted of ſuch a variety of different articles, and the evidence which had been adduced at the bar had declared that the fractions would be ſo numerous as to make it almoſt impoſſible, they had not ſaid quite, and he was ready to allow there would be compound fractions; but when the book of rates came to be ſettled, much might be done on that ſubject, and he truſted to the ſatisfaction and advantage of both countries. He had not been able to diſcover any medium line to be purſued between prohibitory or equalization duties; the one was likely to ſet the two kingdoms at variance, while the other, he truſted, might be ſo regulated as to be productive of the greateſt cordiality; for by the ſtaple commodities bearing an equal duty, the ten and a half per cent. together with freight, &c. would act as a countervailing duty, and prevent either from underſelling the other in its own market. As to the injuries that many of our manufactures would ſuffer, he by no means could view them in that dreadful light as had been ſtated; neither the iron, the glaſs, nor the cotton would be ſo materially affected; the difference of duty on iron in both countries, to be ſure, was great, but a capital was wanting, and it muſt be a great length of time before any danger was to be apprehended. Three moſt intelligent witneſſes (Walker, Peele and Smith) had been examined on the cotton trade, and notwithſtanding their threats or hints of removing their capitals, and emigrating with their workmen to Ireland, his Lordſhip could not perceive any cauſe to be alarmed; for thoſe who had already tried the cotton trade in that country, were convinced it was not eaſily to be accompliſhed; indeed Captain Brookes had made an experiment, and although he was ſupported by grants of Parliament, and every encouragement poſſible given to him, he could not make the buſineſs anſwer. The witneſſes had attributed one reaſon of his

failure

failure to the badneſs of his ſituation; in that he muſt differ with them, as it was on the edge of a canal, cloſe to a bog, which was neceſſary for fuel, and other articles uſed in the manufacture. A great ſtreſs had alſo been laid on the cheapneſs of labour. The people of Ireland, at preſent, enjoyed each a little hut, and a piece of ground to grow flax, it was not a likely matter that they would give up what was a certain livelihood, for the chance of getting a trifle more wages; nor was it likely that the Iriſh would ſuffer a cotton manufacture of great extent, as it would tend to decreaſe their linens, and hurt the ſtaple commodity of the country; but even if either Mr. Walker, Mr. Peele, or Mr. Smith, did put their threats in execution, to what part of Ireland would they chuſe to go? If they went near the capital, wages and proviſions would increaſe in price, as population increaſed; and if they went to the South of Ireland, they would have to mix with a feeble, miſerable, beggarly, bigoted ſet of Roman Catholics; or build a town for the purpoſe. Therefore the eſtabliſhment of a cotton manufactory in Ireland was not ſo eaſy a matter as imagined, trade, his Lordſhip remarked, depended on a variety of circumſtances, ſituation, induſtry, wealth, ingenuity, &c. Now Ireland undoubtedly had a number of parts well calculated for commerce; but then poverty, which was the parent of low wages, was an inherent in the iſland, and which nature ſeemed to intend ſhould belong to it; and it was not ſituation, or riches, that always ſucceeded. The genius of countries muſt be conſulted, and it was from their character that we muſt draw our concluſions. Two countries at this time preſented to our view an important leſſon. Spain was bleſt with the moſt happy geographical ſituation, with numbers of fine ports, with the richeſt ſoil, and with every requiſite for manufacture and commerce; but the people were indolent and luxurious. They had no principle of activity, or of induſtry in their motives; and they conſequently, with all their advantages, were ſunk in ſloth and poverty. While Holland, on the contrary, without lands capable of maintaining with proviſions its people; with ports ſo ſhallow, that they were found to build ſhips unlike thoſe of all other States; without the means of manufacture; with every diſadvantage of ſoil and ſituation; yet, by the natural energy and induſtry of their minds, by their ſober and perſevering ſpirits, they at one time poſſeſſed the carrying trade of all Europe, and were ſtill one of its moſt conſiderable maritime powers. So in regard of the two ſiſter kingdoms. Had England any thing in reality to dread from the competition of Ireland? The Engliſh were active, ſober, and induſtrious. The Iriſh, he was ſorry to

ſay,

ſay, were the contrary; and their tempers muſt change before they could be formidable to this country in manufacture or commerce.

The manufacturers, when ſpeaking on the ſubject, had known their own intereſts, and had argued wiſely. They had forgot, however, that this was a ſubject of political, not merely of commercial regulation; and that therefore no little circumſtances affecting the latter could be ſuffered to diſturb the arrangements of the former, but it was in ſuch circumſtances only that their intereſts could be overlooked could I think, added his Lordſhip, with great ſolemnity, that by the preſent ſyſtem in any material degree I injured the country that gave me birth, I would ſooner cut off this hand, than act with the remoteſt interference in its adjuſtment.

The manufacture of ſilk and iron had called, he ſaid, for regulations to ſuch an extent, that it was found impoſſible to comply with their demands. They had deſired that ſuch a duty ſhould be laid on theſe articles, as would exclude Ireland from a competition in the American market. This, his Lordſhip ſaid, was impoſſible, as well might Adminiſtration pretend to exclude them from the markets of Europe. This, with various requeſts of the like nature, ſhould be traced to their true ſource, the itch of monopoly, which in this buſineſs had ſhewn itſelf in various ſhapes, and ſhould in general meet with a diſappointment proportioned to its avidity. The glaſs manufacturers, he added, had only complained of the duties here ſubſiſting on their material, but had entertained no apprehenſions of any competition from the Iriſh in our own market, and in ſhort, all the arguments that he had heard againſt the reſolutions conſiſted totally in the difficulty of fixing the countervailing duties, and in the comparative cheapneſs of labour. Not one manufacturer had ſaid, that the liberality of this country to Ireland would be dangerous, if granted with proviſions to make both kingdoms perfectly equal.

Ireland, his Lordſhip ſaid, was ſo connected with this country in religion and laws, ſo much concerned in its proſperity, that he thought, as a ſtateſman, and one bound to protect the intereſts of both countries, it was his duty to grant ſuch regulations as might tend to lay the jealouſies of one, and act for the mutual benefit of both; and no way appeared ſo likely to anſwer the end, as by a well-regulated ſyſtem of commercial laws, and not by leaving it to protecting duties on one ſide the water; or laws on the other, which would create eternal diviſions, and tend to diſtract both kingdoms, and give France an opportunity of taking the advantage of the diſpute. His Lordſhip ſaid, he could wiſh to ſay a few words

before

before he ſat down on a ſubject which had been much talked of, and that was, the navigation laws. Some perſons had endeavoured to raiſe a jealouſy on that head, and, in his opinion, on ill grounds, for as regulations muſt be made, and depend upon circumſtances, they muſt originate in one kingdom, and it was natural for that kingdom which was the moſt wealthy to take the lead, and the other ſhould not take umbrage, becauſe of the preference, as ſhe ought to recollect that ſhe was indebted to this country for the navy which protected her trade, and, in caſe of a war, muſt bend her knee to England for that protection. The power of guarding our navy was what England never would intruſt in any other hands, and if Ireland would not accept of this ſyſtem with that reſerve, he muſt ſay he ſhould ſcruple in concluding the bargain. But as the intereſts of the two kingdoms were ſo united, he could wiſh to ſee the knot between them tied tight, he could wiſh it was a gordian knot; at all event it ſhould be his care to make it as fixed as poſſible

Lord Viſcount *Stormont* ſaid, he muſt declare himſelf to be an advocate for the motion of the noble Lord in the green ribband, an advocate for delay in a buſineſs where hurry might plunge them into ſo many and ſuch irreparable dangers. He was aſtoniſhed to find their Lordſhips enemies to deliberation, eſpecially after they had witneſſed the benefit that had flowed therefrom. Every moment of time which had been allowed, had thrown a new light upon the ſubject, which was at firſt involved in perfect obſcurity—and every new diſcuſſion had tended ſtill more and more to demonſtrate the abſurdity and extravagance of the ſyſtem. With this knowledge before their eyes, he confeſſed he was aſtoniſhed to ſee them ſtill advocates for unwiſe expedition—No poſitive neceſſity for ſpeed was even urged. The Iriſh nation did not call upon their Lordſhips for expedition.—All men acknowledged that by the amendments the ſyſtem had undergone, it had been moſt materially benefited—and yet they were ſtill to be hurried to the final deciſion at a time of the year when many of their Lordſhips were in the country, and when it would be impoſſible to procure a full attendance. Much had been ſaid of the idle fears and unfounded claims of the manufacturers.—But would it now be ſaid that their fears were vain, compare the *amended* with the original reſolutions. See what the face of truth and good ſenſe has compelled Miniſters to acknowledge and correct.—See what they have been taught by the manufacturers who at firſt they profeſſed to deſpiſe, and how much they have gathered from the ſeaſonable alarm which was ſpread over the country.

Lord Viſcount Stormont

After

After this experience, can men be ſo thoughtleſs as to ſet down the reſolutions even in their preſent ſtate as perfect? Was it this draught, bitter to both countries, which was to baniſh every difficulty, to quiet every diſcontent, and to conclude all queſtions between the two?—This ſyſtem, which affecting the conſtitution of Ireland and the commerce of England, was unpopular in both countries, and yet it was held up by Miniſters as the healing and friendly draught which was to reſtore both to their proper tone and vigour. It was, though it excited the clamour of all ranks of men in both countries, to be the bond of union and ſource of harmony. They talked of the generoſity on one ſide, and warmth of gratitude on the other, although it was grudgingly granted, and unwillingly received.—Thus while every quarter of the horizon indicated a ſtorm, the ſtate pilots contented themſelves with crowding ſail, fearleſs of fate, and regardleſs of every danger, and though the breakers daſhed from the oppoſite ſhores, they precipitated the veſſel upon the rocks, which others, not leſs bold, but more cautious, would willingly ſtrive to avoid. Every one knew the happy conſequences that had already flowed from the opportunities the other Houſe had given the manufacturers to ſtate how ruinous this monſter of a ſyſtem would have been to them, had it been adopted in its original ſtate, even ſince the propoſitions had been brought before their Lordſhips, it had been diſcovered that the proprietor of works, &c. ſecured by patents, would be ruined, if ſome ſecurity was not found for maintaining to them their excluſive rights. A noble Lord (Sydney) had intimated an intention of moving an amendment to that effect, he was glad to hear it, and the more ſo, as ſuch an amendment would ſave to the patentees of Great Britain a property worth conſiderably more than one million ſterling; which would have been loſt to them, had their Lordſhips been as precipitate in paſſing the propoſitions as ſome noble Lords wiſhed to have been. This was one happy effect of delay; and he made no doubt but if the ſame cauſe was ſuffered ſtill to operate, ſimilar ſalutary effects would flow from it. He intended at a proper time, and in a proper place, to move an amendment relative to iron, which he hoped would prevent the ruin with which the propoſitions in their preſent form threatened that great and extenſive manufacture.—He was happy to hear the noble and learned Lord who ſpoke laſt, acknowledge the fact, that by the fourth reſolution the navigation laws were continued in the cuſtody of Britain. It was his clear opinion that they ought to remain in the hands of this country, and as the noble and learned Lord had truly ſaid, as laws for the pro

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tection of our commerce and navigation ſyſtem muſt originate ſomewhere, it was wiſe and proper that they ſhould originate here; but ſurely when this was granted, it was idle and childiſh to contend that this was not in fact an aſſumption of the power of legiſlating for Ireland. Did it require argument to prove that where we ſent over an act which Ireland muſt implicitly follow—in the acceptance of which ſhe had no diſcretion—and which ſhe neither was to alter nor reject, that we did not in ſo far take from that kingdom the power of legiſlating for herſelf?—It was a fact which he would not inſult the good ſenſe of the kingdom of Ireland by an endeavour to palliate. It was a thing which he conſidered as eſſential to the well-being, ſtrength, and unity of the empire; and which, therefore, he would ſtipulate for without diſguiſe. In the conſideration of this ſcheme, it was for Ireland to conſider whether in good ſenſe and ſound policy ſhe might not concede to this proviſion, but it was ridiculous and abſurd to confound what was plain, and pretend that that was not done which was the evident letter, and the eſſential ſpirit of the propoſitions.

The noble and learned Lord had ſaid, as an argument for the preſent ſyſtem, that it would conciliate the minds of the two people, and draw them into a legiſlative union, which was the object ultimately to be deſired. It had been ſaid by ſome, that the peculiar merit of the ſyſtem of commerce then under conſideration, was, that it would finally and permanently ſettle the intercourſe between the two countries,—but what appeared to others an excellence in the plan, was preciſely what would defeat the object to which the wiſhes of noble Lords, and the ſyſtem itſelf, was directed, namely, to an union between Great Britain and Ireland: for if the ſettlement was to be final and permanent, there was of courſe an end of all hopes that the two kingdoms would ever be under one legiſlature: but though it ſhould not be final, ſtill he conceived it muſt neceſſarily prevent an union: becauſe every poſſible advantage being held out by England to the Iriſh by the preſent propoſitions, ſhe could have nothing reſerved by which ſhe might afterwards induce them to conſent to an union: after this ſhe could have burdens only to offer to Ireland; a very bad inducement to an union of legiſlatures. What was the true way of accompliſhing this object which the noble and learned Lord ſaid was ſo much coveted? Was it not evidently by a reſervation of the good things which we poſſeſſed until the time that Ireland ſhould be diſpoſed to ſhare our circumſtances? That a full legiſlative union would be ultimately as beneficial to Ireland as to this country was what he ſincerely believed; and he objected to this

ſcheme of intercourſe becauſe it would retard, and in all probability render impracticable that more happy conjunction.

By the preſent ſyſtem, his Lordſhip obſerved, we abandoned a ſyſtem which had been juſtified by effect. We gave up in our diſtreſs what was claimed in the moſt urgent manner by our neceſſities. In our riſing proſperity, in the reign of Charles II. it was thought neceſſary to reſtrain Ireland by the navigation laws, which, in our preſent delicate ſtate, we thought proper to reſign. Such a conduct, his Lordſhip obſerved, would be folly in any ſituation; in the preſent it was madneſs in the extreme.

A mutual monopoly had been formerly the baſis of our colonial ſyſtem; from this in the year 1780 we had thought proper, in ſome degree, to depart, by permitting Ireland to maintain a direct intercourſe with our colonies. The preſent adminiſtration had gone infinitely farther, by granting them the ſupply of our own markets, yet had prided themſelves on their ſuperior intelligence, and had ſaid that the grant of 1780 was the blow to this country, and that in giving them a double market was nothing, affording one inſtance, and he wiſhed to God it were the only inſtance of ignorance and preſumption going hand in hand. A double market was the great object for Ireland.—Without this, though the act of 1780 was a favour, it was a favour not injurious to Britain. What ſhe profited ſhe drew from her own conſumption. Ireland had made ample uſe of the privilege, by increaſing her imports from the colonies in a great degree, that of tobacco, for inſtance, had been augmented from one to four millions of pounds. More was not thought of, until this voluntary offer of the preſent Miniſtry permitting them to ſupply our markets with the produce of thoſe colonies, in the acquiſition of which we had expended ſo much blood and treaſure. The plea that had been held forth on this occaſion was, that Ireland would in fact gain nothing. Why then, he would aſk, would Miniſters ſpread a cauſeleſs alarm, when nothing was to be given? More truth, in his opinion, lay in the ſpeech of Mr. Orde, who had frankly avowed the conſequences of the ſyſtem, and in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons had prided himſelf in the diſcloſure; his avowal was plain and candid, whilſt the declarations of the Miniſters were like the maſks of antiquity, which preſented a face ſmiling on one ſide, and crying on the other.

That this indulgence would enrich Ireland, by encouraging ſpeculation when our markets would be open to her, was a falſe idea; ſhe had not capital for ſuch a purſuit. The advantages ſhe would derive were thoſe which would gradu-

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ally reſult from her ſituation. As Amſterdam had hitherto cruſhed the trade of Antwerp, England had hitherto, with a ſtrong arm, repreſſed the efforts of her ſiſter, which now, when freed from that reſtraint, would produce their natural effects. She would repay herſelf for the oppreſſion ſhe had ſuſtained, by her giving way to her local intereſts, and encouraging the progreſs of ſmuggling. She would contend with us in foreign markets, but that we might eaſily tolerate, as there ſhe only took what ſtrangers might otherwiſe receive. She would alſo enter into a competition in our own markets, which every principle of policy ſhould have enjoined us to keep ſecret.

The balance of trade with Ireland had amounted hitherto to half a million annually againſt us at the loweſt average. When our importations of colonial produce into that kingdom would diminiſh, as they unavoidably muſt by the preſent ſyſtem, the balance againſt us would be greatly augmented. With what infinite modeſty then was the demand urged of protecting duties, which the noble and learned Lord had juſt before mentioned, without any ſymptoms of condemnation! But the fear of protecting duties was held up as an argument againſt the preſent ſyſtem; how idly, he would leave thoſe who had conſidered the Iriſh market to determine. It was by no means to be dreaded that Ireland ſhould lay protecting duties on our manufactures at the hazard of excluding her linen manufacture from Britain. As he had ſtated the balance was greatly in their favour, and it was not to be imagined that the ſenſible and manufacturing part of Ireland would ſuffer a ſcheme to take place ſo injurious to the real intereſts of the country.

The immediate reſult of the new ſyſtem would be the emigration of our manufacturers—for independant of the local advantages of Ireland—its many fine and commodious ports—plenty and cheapneſs of proviſions—freedom from taxes—and other peculiar circumſtances—the reſolutions themſelves held forth temptations to the manufacturer. His Lordſhip entered into a particular diſcuſſion of the reſolutions as they affected the ſeveral branches of our manufacture, and ſtated various facts to ſhew the inaccuracy, the omiſſions, or the errors with which they ſtill abounded. The leather manufacture was ſubject to an exciſe of 15 per cent., the price of the article varying at the ſame time from 3d. to 5d. per lb. How, his Lordſhip inquired, was the countervailing duty to be laid, if at an average, which, *prima facie*, was the moſt equitable way, the Iriſh merchant would export only the prime part of the commodity, which would thus enter our markets at an inferior duty? Of glaſs, they

would export that of the loweſt value, to which a diſproportionate duty attached itſelf in this kingdom. In this countervailing duty were thoſe on the ſubordinate materials of manufacture, ſuch as ſoap, to be included; or would any allowance be made for the numerous taxes of every neceſſary of life which burdened the manufacturers of England, and from which thoſe of Ireland were totally exempt? The mention, he obſerved, of ſuperior ſkill giving a permanent advantage under ſuch circumſtances, was merely an appeal to national vanity, and bore not the appearance of rational argumentation. It would be futile for an enlightened nation, he ſaid, to rely on things ſo tranſient. The hiſtory of the progreſs of arts and ſciences would afford ſuch abundant inſtances of their mutability, as would tend to demonſtrate the frailty of ſuch expectation. Neither poverty nor the want of ſkill were fixed and permanent inconveniencies.—He deſired their Lordſhips to look to the ſtate of Paiſley. Thirty years ago there was not a loom in the place—now there were upwards of 6000 in that remote and obſcure corner—and what was ſtill more extraordinary, their productions now formed a very conſiderable part of the ornament, and contributed to the elegance of the court of France.

There exiſted, his Lordſhip ſaid, under the preſent ſettlement, many advantages on the ſide of Ireland reſpecting prohibitions in the articles of hides, tallow, and linen yarn. They were alſo to receive our coals under ſuch a trifling duty, as would enable them to export them again to advantage. If the preſent ſyſtem ſhould be adopted, then this country would be bound to admit Iriſh linens duty free for ever, and to keep up the duties on foreign linens. this might be found to be of ſerious conſequence in future negociations with foreign powers, who might inſiſt, when Britain might be negociating an advantageous alliance, that the duties on the linens of that power ſhould be taken off; or, perhaps, that power might be tempted to force us to ſuch a meaſure, by laying prohibitory duties on Britiſh manufactures imported into its dominions. Much had been ſaid of the return that was to be made by Ireland for the ſacrifice to her of Britiſh intereſts, but he was not ſanguine enough to hope that the ſurplus of the hereditary revenue would ever amount to any conſiderable ſum. for his part, he was of opinion that this country would never gain ſo much by it, as ſhe would loſe, if Mr. Peele was to carry over his trade and manufacture to Ireland, upon which he paid at preſent 20,000l. a year to the Crown, many of the branches of the hereditary revenue were very precarious; the revenue ariſing from ale licenſes, for inſtance, had produced laſt year 1000l. leſs than it pro-

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duced a century ago; and, on an average of 30 years, the whole of the hereditary revenue exceeded 656,000 only in ſix years. It was a precarious return for a ſubſtantial good. But it was calculated to promote deluſion by its obſcurity, and he had no doubt but coffee-houſe politicians had already ſeen in idea imaginary fleets ariſe to fight our battles from this ſurplus of the hereditary revenue of Ireland. But if the money ariſing from it was to be ſettled, that the Parliament of Ireland was to have the right of pointing out the preciſe ſervice in which it was to be employed, and in what preciſe manner it was to be laid out, he had rather renounce the ſum, if it was to be twenty times as great as ſome ſanguine people flattered themſelves it would be, than accept it under ſuch a condition. The diſpoſable ſurplus of the hereditary revenue would, he feared, be a ſervice of jealouſy and diſcontent; and poſſibly it might happen in conſequence of it, that the Iriſh Parliament would diſband the 3000 men annually paid by Ireland, and given to England for the defence of our colonies; this indeed would be a loſs to us far greater than any benefit that could ariſe from the ſurplus of the hereditary revenue.—But this was not all he had to ſay on the ſubject of this ſurplus. It had been a queſtion many years ago, and never decided till theſe propoſitions were brought in, that whenever there was a ſurplus of the hereditary revenue, it belonged of right to the crown. The Parliament and Miniſter had often diſputed on that point, theſe propoſitions however had determined it in favour of the Parliament, but as he himſelf was of opinion that it ought to be conſidered as the property of the crown, he would not make himſelf a party to any reſolution that ſhould diveſt the Crown of its right. Much dread was to be entertained from the declaration, that a preference was to be given in all times to Ireland. It would ſoon be felt by the effect it muſt have on the commercial intereſts of every country in Europe, who, no doubt would take umbrage at this predilection. Nay, he was certain, that if the reſolutions paſſed into a law, Miniſters would next year find themſelves in ſome difficulty reſpecting a commercial law with a foreign country, which then expired; and which, undoubtedly, would not, if theſe Iriſh reſolutions paſſed into a law, be renewed on the ſame advantageous terms to England. There was one matter which it was very neceſſary to conſider upon the whole of the propoſitions. They were the reſult of a private cabinet ſyſtem, neither ſought for by the Parliament of Ireland, nor preſſed forward by the Parliament of England. They were the unwiſe reſult of a ſuppoſed idea that Ireland would inſiſt upon protecting duties. But what were theſe protecting duties? They were, as he had ſaid, a ſpeculation;

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for Ireland well knew that her very exiſtence, as a commercial country, depended upon the protection that the navy of England gave to her ſhipping in time of war, and without which ſhe could carry on no commerce at all. Much ſtreſs was laid upon the ſyſtem of countervailing duties, but how were theſe countervailing duties to be laid on? How was it poſſible to form the line, and by what plan of regulation were they to operate. He wiſhed any Lord who honoured him with a reply would only ſtate any ſingle poſſible caſe in which by a countervailing duty, he could make out the ſyſtem of reciprocal taxation. The witneſſes at the bar had been aſked the queſtion, they had admitted it was barely poſſible, that it did not amount to an actual impoſſibility; but they uniformly declared that they did not know how it could be managed and truly aſcertained. Hence it was evident that one principal baſis of the propoſitions was on a foundation of air, and not of ſubſtance ſufficient to ſupport it. As to emigrations, there could be little doubt but they would increaſe every day, and verify the words of the reſpectable manufacturers who were heard at the bar. They were ſpeculatiſts for happineſs on a plan of permanent duration, and noble Lords ſhould not meaſure the ſentiments of thoſe men by what their Lordſhips felt. The ideas of the Peer and the manufacturer were totally different. The latter had no fallacious enjoyments to fill his mind, no viſionary pleaſures to gratify his fancy—no idle chimeras to employ his brain. He was not locally attached, only as buſineſs and his family endeared him to the ſpot where he lived, and when he removed them to a country governed by the ſame laws, and practiſing the ſame religion, the place where he fixed would be as dear to him as the place which he had left, for all his pleaſures were his family and his manufacture. The advantages ariſing from the low price of labour, the cheapneſs of proviſions in that country, and the circumſtance of having two markets to reſort to afterwards, the Engliſh and the Iriſh, would be found to be ſo great, that thoſe who could reſiſt them, muſt have a much greater regard for the country of their nativity than generally fell to the lot of man, who was naturally inclined to make his own intereſt the primary object of his purſuit. He ſtated alſo the danger that would ariſe to the revenue, from the circumſtance, that the perſons whoſe duty it would be to execute in Ireland the laws that ſhould be made for preventing the importation of foreign colonial produce into that kingdom, and thence into England, would not be under the control of the Britiſh legiſlature. Hence it might naturally be expected that a door would be opened to a fraudulent and an illicit trade.—This, in the beſt regulated government, was

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an evil to be apprehended; when the intereſt of the government as well as the duty led them to vigilance and activity—the laws againſt ſmuggling were not carried into effect with the leaſt ſucceſs; but if the intereſt of a ſtate led them to wink at contraband trade, he was afraid there was little reaſon to believe that the mere ſtatute would incline them either to ſolicitude or activity. Now, there was no evident intereſt that could induce Ireland to give a preference to the produce of the Britiſh ſugar colonies. This intereſt would certainly lead them the other way, becauſe the ſame capital employed in the one trade and the other, would increaſe the amount of the imports, and conſequently of the duties, if the adventurer brought foreign ſugars inſtead of Britiſh. What, then, muſt be the fate of our colonies!—and what the fate of the many thouſands whoſe property was involved in theirs? The noble Lord concluded with ſaying, that on a view of all the circumſtances and proviſions, he muſt declare it as his opinion, that if theſe reſolutions were called for by Ireland, we ought not to concede them, and to grant them unſolicited, and even againſt the wiſhes of the people of Ireland, was the height of indiſcretion and abſurdity.

The Marquis of *Lanſdown* ſaid, he could not poſſibly agree with the noble Lord who preceded, and thoſe who had formerly ſpoken, in their objections to the meaſure. If even one tenth of the allegations they had made, were founded in truth, Britain ſhould not only ſhrink from the arrangement, but even Ireland ſhould tremble at the acceptance. Yet were the benefits received, he could admit that the conſequences they had ſtated would follow, as it had appeared by the experience of late years, even to a mathematical certainty, that whatever benefits Ireland received from this country, ſo deep was ſhe drawn into the vortex of our good or evil, that the ſhare ſhe took in our ſubſequent misfortunes, was more than ſufficient to counterbalance the precedent advantages. This, his Lordſhip ſaid, was evident from the circumſtances of the late war, with every profit of the proviſion trade, &c. ſhe has not yet recovered from the ſhare which, by a connection ſo intimate, ſhe took in our calamities. Marquis of Lanſdown.

With reſpect to the preſent arrangement, his Lordſhip ſaid he ſhould not enter into any diſcuſſion of the intereſts of Ireland, as that care more properly belonged to her own Parliament. He would give every indulgence to Miniſters, who, if they were not infatuated, would give that attention which a buſineſs of ſo much importance demanded. He had the utmoſt reliance on the induſtry and abilities of the noble Duke who was at the head of affairs in Ireland, and his ſecretary. Their property was one ground of confidence:

dence; and he was certain, that at leaſt they would not diſgrace themſelves in a tranſaction, to which, in every reſpect, they were perfectly equal. With regard to our own Miniſters, as he had ſaid, they muſt be loſt in the moſt criminal infatuation, if they had not prepared this great ſyſtem, with due and proper conſideration; if they had not made themſelves thorough maſters of all its bearings and tendencies, and conſulted with every individual capable of giving them light and aſſiſtance.

It had been ſtated that this ſyſtem was a deviation from every thing that had preceded.—To this doctrine he could not ſubſcribe: the deviation from the old ſyſtem had its criſis in 1778; and ſince that time, various ſteps had been taken, and this could only be conſidered as a continuance of the ſame courſe. In the year 1778, and ſtill more ſo in the year 1780, he confeſſed he had his ideas on the ſubject of the relative ſituation of this country and Ireland: at the latter period, in particular, he thought an advantageous and honourable ſettlement might have been made to anſwer a double purpoſe—to conclude all political and commercial queſtions between this kingdom and Ireland; but by the liberal conduct of Britain in that treaty, to have held out to America, an example worthy her imitation, and by which that continent might have eaſier ſecured her happineſs and proſperity, than by the means which ſhe purſued. In the year 1782, when the ſtill farther ſtep was taken, and in which he had the honour to have had a ſhare, he aſſured their Lordſhips that he was actuated by the ſame feelings;—he wiſhed to ſee the connection between Ireland and this country eſtabliſhed on principles of equality and reciprocity; and it was now his earneſt ſolicitude that a ſyſtem ſhould be formed, the fundamental principles of which ſhould be permanent for ever. He always underſtood that what was done in 1782 was to be followed by a final adjuſtment of all differences, and that their commerce was to be relieved from its reſtraints, as well as their legiſlature.

Much had been ſaid, and many references drawn from the evidence of the manufacturers No man reſpected the manufacturers more than he did, they were ſenſible, enlightened, clear headed, and provident. No men were better informed on all the ſubjects with which their trade was connected, than that body; and Miniſters muſt always find it their intereſt to conſult with them, and to take their advice. They were liberal in their characters, and ſtedfaſt and diſtinct in their views. He ſaid that he had always been in habits of intercourſe and friendſhip with them; he boaſted of the connection, and if at any time he had been able to advance any thing in that Houſe on ſubjects of trade, which had recommended

mended itſelf to the attention of their Lordſhips, he was indebted to it for the information he had gained from the manufacturers and merchants of Great Britain. But when he ſpoke in theſe terms, he and their Lordſhips muſt always remember that the manufacturers were men, men like himſelf fallible, with prejudices, and ſubject to err, particularly where they were blinded by perſonal intereſt. Able as they were, he would not flatter them ſo far as to ſay that they were politicians, ſtateſmen and financiers there was always the perſonal bias to be guarded againſt, in converſing or in treating with manufacturers. He had obſerved that there were two things to which the manufacturer directed all his ideas of policy; the firſt was, the monopoly of the purchaſe of raw materials; and the ſecond, the monopoly of the ſale of his manufacture in the home market theſe two branches of monopoly the manufacturer conſidered as indiſpenſably due to him, and in all negociations with Government, in every advice which they gave, theſe were always the firſt objects in their view. So ſuch a length did they puſh this, that if you were to aſk a manufacturer of Halifax, for inſtance, and he mentioned Halifax only becauſe it was at a diſtance, wiſhing to live in a good neighbourhood he did not chuſe to take a place nearer home, though there were places in his neighbourhood equally applicable, but a manufacturer of Halifax, what was the greateſt crime upon earth, was it felony, was it murder, was it parricide? he would anſwer, no, none of theſe; it was the exporting of wool: under theſe ideas we had proceeded rather too far under the notion of giving to the manufacturer of the raw material, and of the home market, all taxes had been laid upon luxuries, as things were ridiculouſly called, (although he knew not how the diſtinction was to be made between luxuries and neceſſaries), and the people of this country, the landholder and married man were taxed beyond their bearing, and in the moſt diſguiſed way, they were taxed by being obliged to ſell their raw material at whatever price thoſe who were intereſted in its being ſold, ſhould agree to fix on it; and they were taxed by being obliged to buy manufactured goods at whatever price the ſame men might chuſe to diſpoſe of them. The people had no alternative, they could not ſend their raw material to another market, nor go to another market for what they might want. He warned the manufacturers how they ſtretched this doctrine, it might be carried to a length that would open the eyes of men, they might deſire to ſee the advantages on both ſides, and to know for what good reaſon it was that they were thus to be ſubjected to bear the burden of the manufacturers; to toil for them; and why it was that they muſt be driven by the multipli-

city of taxes, direct and circuitous, to foreign countries, while their manufactures were cherished and relieved in every possible way

The Chamber of Manufacturers he considered as an institution which might be productive of much good, and give a partial assistance to Ministers though he confessed he was an enemy to people assembling, and giving to themselves what names they pleased, publishing manifestoes, edicts, and he knew not what to call their papers. He had no doubt but the Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain was very respectable, but he knew not with what pretensions they assumed that name, had all the manufacturing communities in Britain sent deputies to the Chamber? he had not heard of any having come to it from his part of the country. It was, however, an institution nearly like what he had long wished to see established in the city of London How far it was, in its present shape, politic and legal, it was not for him to inquire; the first came within the province of Ministers, and the second of the lawyers. He hoped, however, they would keep themselves to their simple object, and not harbour the idea of setting themselves up as a body, to over-awe Parliament, or to interfere with the political measures of the country.

Noble Lords seemed very much to apprehend, that Ireland having an unlimited trade, would soon be able to beat England out of the foreign markets, but he was convinced the apprehensions were groundless; for a country without a capital could not be a rival, in order to supplant England she must be able to carry on two very distinct kinds of trade, the carrying trade, and the *depôt* trade, for the former, ships were necessary; now the value of money requisite for fitting them out was higher in Ireland than elsewhere in Holland, the interest of 1000l. (for which he would suppose a ship of a certain rate to be built) at two and an half per cent. was 25l. per annum, in England, at five per cent. 50l, and in Ireland, at six per cent. 60l —here was at the outset, a difference of 35l. between the value of the 1000l. in Holland and in Ireland: and of 10l between the latter and England: in the carrying trade, therefore, Ireland could not possibly be a rival. The nature of the depot trade he explained this way a merchant speculating upon a probable scarcity, at a future period in a market, lays up, *en depôt*, a certain quantity of goods until that period arrives, but in order to be able to do this, he must be able to lie out of his principal for a long time: and besides this, houses were to be built; the necessary engines, utensils, and materials to be provided, a stock to be laid in, all this, Ireland could not do by any means, for she had no capital; it was well known that no-

ney was ſcarce there, that notwithſtanding the fertility of the ſoil, and numberleſs other advantages, "money was not "to be had there for love or money." It would therefore take many centuries before ſhe could arrive at the ſtage of opulence and perfection in which England was at this moment, and many more before ſhe could ſurpaſs her, unleſs it was ſuppoſed, what ought not to be ſuppoſed, that England would in the mean time neglect all her own advantages, and ſtand ſtill to wait for Ireland. The noble Viſcount had ſaid, that a ſtipulation to receive Iriſh linens duty free for ever, and continue the duties on foreign linens, might be attended with bad conſequences in a future negotiation with ſome foreign power, but he would never believe that any foreign power would act ſo improperly, or ſo indecently, as to take offence at privileges beſtowed upon fellow-ſubjects of one common Sovereign He was ſure no Prince would load Britiſh manufactures with prohibitory duties for ſuch a reaſon. He had heard it ſaid by the manufacturers and by noble Lords, that in caſe theſe reſolutions were to paſs, the Empreſs of Ruſſia would be offended. There was no man breathing could entertain a higher veneration for that Sovereign than himſelf, he held her in a kind of worſhip, and conſidered her as one of the greateſt characters that hiſtory could produce: but if the Empreſs ſhould think proper to take offence at this country for what ſhe did with reſpect to her own dominions, if ſhe ſhould meditate any thing, in the moſt diſtant degree, unfriendly to this country, he dared to ſay it was not neceſſary for him to recommend to the noble Marquis who had the care of the foreign department, the courſe he ought to purſue. He knew how well the noble Marquis was able to judge for himſelf, and how high his character was at the courts abroad: but ſurely the noble Marquis would, in ſuch caſe, remind the Empreſs of the obligations ſhe was under to this country, that without us ſhe never would have been able to ſend a ſhip into the Mediterranean; to have raiſed herſelf to power, or in truth to have been any thing. He had no doubt but the noble Marquis would always know how to ſpeak, and when to ſpeak, on ſuch occaſions. Other powers in Europe had been nibbling at this country, powers who were, as he thought, ſufficiently employed, and who ought not, eſpecially in ſuch a moment as the preſent, to provoke the power of this country. He laughed to ſcorn all ſuch impotent manaces; there was not a power in Europe whom a look from this country would not deter, or ſuddenly bring back from any reſolution that they might haſtily give into from pique. This was the material diſtinction between this country and the powers on the Continent, that there was not one of them who muſt not ſacrifice their commercial to their political in-

terests, whereas such were the peculiar circumstances, and such the good fortune of England, that she could at all times make her political yield to her commercial interests. —This was the advantage which she at all times had, and which, in the management of a Minister of address and spirit, a man who knew when to time his remonstrance, and how to maintain it, must always protect us against the little, miserable policy which should induce a rival state, on account of our partialities to a sister kingdom, to lay duties of 40 per cent &c on our manufactures He did not mean that we were to enter the lists with them by a war of prohibitions; such had been too often tried —but statesmen would know what he meant Six months would not pass without presenting an opportunity for this country to talk to the proudest power of Europe, and to talk to the purpose.

When the manufacturers expressed their apprehensions, therefore, that by giving a preference to Ireland, the foreign markets might be lost, they spoke without knowledge of the faculties of Britain —he saw no terrors in this preference; and upon this account the manufacturers had no occasion for alarm They had indeed a true subject for complaint in the taxes that were laid upon the premature state, and on the stages of manufacture —That which cramped their ingenuity, which disturbed their efforts, which exposed their secrets, which took from their industry its freedom, and from their art its security, all these were, inconvenient and it was also impolitic to lay taxes upon such manufactures as were yet in their infancy, or were in a progress of competition with foreign states What, for instance, could be more impolitic and shameful than to draw the sum of 80,000 by an excise, from the raw material of that beautiful manufacture glass, which we had brought to such perfection? By this injudicious duty in the first instance, the manufacturer was prevented from making experiments, the only road to improvement. He was convinced that if the glass manufacturers had the means of making experiments, we should carry that beautiful article to a height beyond the imitation of Europe; and should consequently enjoy the whole of the market he mentioned this particular article, but the principle was more or less applicable to all the branches of our manufacture

The objections to the resolutions naturally divided themselves into different classes. In the first were those which were totally without foundation, and these were not the fewest in number. In the second class were those which could be remedied in future, in which were all matters of mere regulation. In the third were those which could not be remedied, and which, in our consideration of the whole subject,

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we muſt weigh, to know whether, for the ſake of the advantages, we ought not to ſubmit to them. Among the firſt he reckoned the objection that was made to the ſyſtem on account of its finalty.—That it was final, was with him its praiſe the fundamental principles he hoped would be eſtabliſhed on the moſt permanent footing, but theſe did not comprehend the detail of the ſyſtem. Let the two nations underſtand one another, in the firſt place, let them fairly meet on fundamental principles, and having acquired mutual confidence in each other by the faithful ſettlement of the foundation, all the ſubſequent conſiderations might be eaſily and gradually diſcuſſed and determined: then theſe countervailing duties, which all ſides acknowledged to be of difficult adjuſtment, but which nobody would aſſert to be impracticable, might be regularly ſettled at the diſcretion of the two Parliaments, and they might always be adjuſted to the circumſtances of the times, and be changed as occaſions and neceſſities might require. He had ideas on the ſubject; he could not give them the name of a plan, but he thought it would not be impoſſible to ſuggeſt a method, by which, after ſettling the fundamental principles, all the body of the ſyſtem might be arranged

When noble Lords objected to the ſyſtem's being final becauſe it might prevent an union between the two kingdoms, did they for a moment conſider the practicability of an union? There were ſeveral circumſtances that diſtinguiſhed the caſes of union with Ireland, from that of Scotland. He had always admired the wiſdom of thoſe great men who had regulated that momentous buſineſs with Scotland In Scotland the two crowns were not at the time united, but in Ireland the two crowns were already ſo. Another thing which was of the utmoſt importance, an union of laws, had not exiſted in Scotland, where to this moment both the judicatures and principles of law were diſtinct from ours, but in Ireland the laws were already the ſame, and more depended upon this circumſtance than could eaſily be named. In Ireland the neceſſity of Parliament ſeemed evinced from the conſequences attending the want of it throughout this iſland, for in the rebellion in 1745 he had been, he believed, moſt truly informed, that the extent of that evil was not known to the repreſentatives of that part of the country then ſituated at a diſtance; and that the ſame thing was lately inſtanced reſpecting the Roman Catholics of Scotland, when the repreſentatives of that country were found equally ill informed of the true ſituation of things, and knew not that a law tolerating the practice of their religion, would have given offence, until they heard of the outrages that were committed in Edinburgh and Glaſgow. The connection of this

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laſt obſervation might eaſily be ſeen with reſpect to the Roman Catholicks in Ireland, in caſe of the Iriſh legiſlature being withdrawn from that country. And that a ſtill farther objection ſeemed to remain from there being ſcarcely confidence in either country in its reſpective Parliament. And though the cauſe of ſuch want of confidence in the two Parliaments was eaſily known, it was not ſo eaſy to apply a remedy to the difficulty. Theſe were a few, and but a few, of the obſtacles which lay in the way of an union. Before an union was talked of, Miniſters muſt know the temper of the people of Ireland—High minded and jealous of their liberties, Miniſters muſt firſt learn whether the Iriſh nation would conſent to give up their diſtinct empire, their parliament, and all the honours which belonged to their own royalty and ſtate.

The noble Viſcount ſeemed to think the hereditary revenue would not produce a great ſurplus, becauſe the ale licenſes had produced leſs of late than they did a hundred years ago, but he did not think this was a convincing argument, many taxes in England had produced leſs of late years than a century ago. In Ireland, the falling off in the ale-licenſe duty aroſe from this, that the people there, as well as here, had of late given into the pernicious habit of drinking ſpirits: the other duties, however, could not decreaſe, and moſt of them would certainly increaſe. But the noble Viſcount might turn his thoughts with pleaſure to this circumſtance, that the Iriſh Parliament, with a generous reſolution to relieve the hereditary revenue, had actually laid on new taxes to the amount of 140,000l a year; and by a wiſe and a liberal regulation, had increaſed the hereditary revenue full 30,000l. per annum. The noble Viſcount was apprehenſive that the three thouſand men that Ireland lent annually to England, and paid out of her own Exchequer, might be recalled and diſbanded; he ſhould rather reflect with ſatisfaction, that inſtead of three thouſand, Ireland might now, whenever the exigencies of England might require it, ſend fifteen thouſand men to the aid of England, that was to ſay, her whole military eſtabliſhment, being herſelf ſecure from hoſtile invaſion, through the numbers, diſcipline, and ſpirit of her volunteer army—Ireland was in little danger of becoming an object of a deſcent in any future war; for ſhe had convinced all Europe that ſhe was able, with her volunteer forces only, to repel the attack of the moſt powerful nation in Europe.

And here he joined iſſue with the noble Viſcount, who had objected, that the plan included a ſurrender of a balance of the hereditary revenue of Ireland, which balance appertained in right perhaps to the Crown; but ſo far from this being an

objection,

objection, e thoug ht ſuch a diſplay of generoſity on the part of the crown political, and merited full acknowledgement and attention With reſpect to the equivalent in time of war, the propoſitions were ſilent, and properly left every thing in ſuch caſe to the generoſity of the Iriſh nation. When noble Lords had been talking of three thouſand men lent by Ireland to the ſervice of England, there was a far more ample field for return, namely, the hearts of two millions and a half of people to have at command: Queen Elizabeth, who well underſtood theſe ſubjects, uſed to ſay, that ſhe never was richer than when ſhe left the money in her huſband's pockets, namely, her people, only to be called for when rendered neceſſary by the emergency of the times. No people in the world had a more animated generoſity, or effuſion of heart than Ireland, this had ever been their national character and their pride; nothing would be loſt by truſting to it, and if Ireland had ever done wrong, it had been for the want of a good leading, and by the miſleading of England. Here alone had been the grievance, and not with the generous Iriſh. When the ſubject of the return of Ireland was talked of, it was forgot what might be the negative advantages of the plan before the Houſe, a ſmall country only had it in its power to avoid a war, ſuch a country might lie ſnug in the general contention, but a large country like England, muſt at all times be more or leſs liable to mix in a ſtruggle. In the preſent ſtate of Europe, no one could anſwer with certainty for a peace continuing at any time in it for ſix months, or for the part which it might be neceſſary for us to take in a war we had had too much warning from the caſe of America of what might happen in that moment from Ireland: but he did not ſay that France would be the power preciſely that was to interfere, but that there would always be found a France, ſooner or later, to aid the confuſion. He could not take upon himſelf to ſay what was the preſent temper and diſpoſition of Ireland with reſpect to theſe reſolutions: he was juſt from the woods; he had no correſpondences, and he had not thought it proper, from the path which he had preſcribed to himſelf in this buſineſs, to be very inquiſitive, but from the common information of a private man, he could take upon himſelf to ſay, that delay would be moſt dangerous, that if the preſent ſeſſion was to paſs without this or ſomething deciſive being done, who could anſwer for the conſequences? If this was not the proper meaſure, what was to be ſubſtituted? how were the jarring opinions of their Lordſhips to be reconciled? He had lately read in the Leyden paper, of a riot having happened in the theatre at the Hague, on account of a young actreſs, from the embarraſſment of a bad reception, having refuſed to con-

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tinue her part. The audience divided themſelves, as uſual, into parties; and the conteſt raged without ceaſing, until the manager, to quell the riot, intreated the audience to ſay what other piece he ſhould ſubſtitute in the room of that which they could not purſue.—Here a freſh conteſt began; one called for one play, another for another; one called for Figaro; a ſecond for Mithridate, a third perhaps for Thorée, and as men can make long ſpeeches on very ſlight ſubjects, a number of long ſpeeches were made on the occaſion, until it was diſcovered at laſt, that if they meant to have any play, they muſt ſupport the manager. In the preſent inſtance it was the ſame, they might find fault with the ſyſtem, ſay it was badly planned, and not likely to have the deſired effect; they might ſay the author was too young, and ignorant of what ſhould conſtitute a Miniſter, and if they were in they could do better, or if another had ſtood in a little longer every thing would have been ſettled, or others again would ſay, How in the name of God did he twiſt himſelf in to be a Miniſter! but though this might be ſaid—but of what avail! they ſhould conſider he was manager; and the queſtion now was, not how he came to be manager, but to ſupport him, or there would be no play; and it was a matter of more importance than the play in Holland—We were not acting a comedy, one of the moſt ſerious intereſts of the country was at ſtake, and bloodſhed might attend the poſtponement of the piece.

To let things remain as they were would, of all other expedients, be the moſt dangerous. We had raiſed the hopes of the Iriſh nation; they were on the rack of expectation, and they had minds too ſanguine to remain long on the ſtretch, and relax ungratified into patience and ſubmiſſion. Something muſt be done reſpecting the general queſtion of an adjuſtment, and the corner ſtone of connection be laid in the preſent moment. That in the interval of a ſummer vacation many events and ſtorms might happen to waſh it away, if it was not ſolidly and deeply laid; and that if there was not now a beginning, it might be doubtful when we might ever again have a chance to ſee the beginning take place. While peace liſted we ſhould avail ourſelves of the opportunity, and form a plan while in a ſtate of quiet, which might grow habitual before we came again into a ſtate of trouble and diſtreſs.

Lord *Loughborough* took up the argument of the noble Marquis. He had ſaid that the fundamental principles of the ſyſtem were to be permanent and unalterable, and yet the duties on any articles might be altered or modified by the Parliaments of the two kingdoms at their diſcretion. He wiſhed the noble Marquis, in ſaying this, had had the goodneſs to

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point out what were the fundamental principles of the ſyſtem. As he conceived the fundamental principles were that the duties on articles in both kingdoms ſhould be equal, and that the reciprocity of the intercourſe ſhould depend on the very circumſtance of this perfect and compleat equality. How then could the duties be altered at the diſcretion of the Parliaments in the two kingdoms, and the fundamental principles of the ſyſtem at the ſame time remain fixed and unalterable? That the equalization of duties was the fundamental principle and corner ſtone of the reſolutions, he referred to the original copy as introduced by Mr. Secretary Orde to the Iriſh Parliament. He read the two reſolutions, which ſtate that the duties ſhould be the ſame in both kingdoms, and that where any article was burthened with an internal duty in either kingdom, a countervailing duty ſhould be laid on the ſame article in the other—and he accompanied the reading of theſe reſolutions with the commentary which Mr. Orde had made on the occaſion, as ſtated in the Iriſh newſpaper, and which he underſtood conveyed faithfully the ſubſtance of what Mr. Orde ſaid in the Houſe. His expreſſions were, that thus an end was put to all conteſt, for by this equalization of duties, Great Britain had it no longer in her power to cruſh the manufactures of Ireland. This certainly was conſidered by Mr. Orde, as the principle and foundation of the compact; and he had too good an opinion of him to believe, that he did not deliver himſelf to the full amount of his inſtructions, and that he did not ſay what he conſidered to be the intention of Miniſters, and the ſcope of their ſcheme. What then muſt be the feeling and ſentiment of the Iriſh Parliament, when they are told that that which they were given to underſtand was the corner ſtone of the building was to be removable at pleaſure, that the duties were to be alterable at the diſcretion of the two countries, as circumſtances might ariſe; would they not juſtly complain of deception?

It was not in this inſtance only that they had been deceived. The reſolutions, as ſtated to them originally by Mr. Orde, were moſt eſſentially different from thoſe which their Lordſhips had now before them. They had been committed on premiſes which did not now exiſt; and in the original method and plan of the whole buſineſs, both countries were equally deceived; for by the reſolutions as they now ſtood, the intercourſe was now to take place on any one given article, where a duty could not be deviſed and ſettled to countervail the internal duties which might lie on it in the other. If no countervailing duty could be found, the intercourſe, ſo far forth as that article, was not to take place, and the noble Marquis agreed with the evidence at the bar, that there were articles where countervailing duties were hardly practicable,

if at all ſo. If they ſhould be found impracticable, what then muſt be the caſe? Why that the intercourſe was impracticable—and yet this was the ſyſtem which both countries had received with good humour, and which was for ever to ſettle all differences between them. He deſired to know if the ſettlement and management of thoſe countervailing duties ought not to have been attempted previous to the expoſure of the reſolutions? Were there no arithmeticians in the two kingdoms—no Board of Cuſtoms—no Commiſſioners—no Revenue officers who might have ſat down and inquired whether, on any given article, countervailing duties were practicable or not?

The noble Marquis had gone pretty much into the queſtion of monopoly, and had manifeſted his ſincere deſire that all monopoly ſhould be deſtroyed, the monopoly of raw materials in the infant ſtate of the manufacture, and the monopoly of the home market to its conſumption. The arguments of the noble Lord in defence of theſe modern doctrines, or rather old and exploded doctrines revived, were addreſſed to the landed and monied intereſt of the kingdom with extreme art, but he truſted, that in the preſent day of light and intelligence, that his doctrines would never be embraced. He ſaid, there was a time in the reign of Charles II. when theſe monopolies were aboliſhed, and when the raw materials were in the firſt inſtance freely tranſferred to France, and her manufactures as freely received again. What was the conſequence? France manufactured for England, and ſupplied us with every thing but heavy broad cloth. Did the farmers and land-owners find this to their advantage? Did they find that the foreign market for the raw materials of England was ſuperior to the home market? No. Light broke through the prejudices of the Court. They ſaw that it was valuable to give to the manufacturer the raw material and the home conſumption, as by that means he opened foreign channels of trade, and drew the money of all nations into the pockets of his countrymen. If therefore there were at this moment any idle and ſilly conceits engendering in the minds of men of opening a trade with France, and of taking her manufactures for our materials, he had no doubt but the good ſenſe and enlightened policy of the nation would overturn any ſuch ſpeculative chimera. By the language of the noble Marquis, he did not ſeem to wiſh that any effectual preference ſhould be given either to our own manufactures or the manufactures of England; but that his ſyſtem of commercial freedom, like that of the Dean of Glouceſter's, ſhould throw open all the ports of Britain to the manufactures of all the world.

Of the writings of the Rev. Dean, he muſt ſay, that he never read them without information on this particular ſubject;

ject; he had ſaid, that the original ten reſolutions would be advantageous to this country; firſt, becauſe they would deſtroy the abominable monopoly of the Weſt-India Colonies—ſecondly, becauſe they would deſtroy the more abominable monopoly of the Eaſt-India trade—and thirdly, becauſe they would aboliſh the moſt abominable of all monopolies, the monopoly of our navigation laws. Now theſe advantages, which the Dean had taken the pains to ſtate to the world in a pamphlet, were all done away as the reſolutions now ſtood—for the Weſt-India monopoly was to be from henceforth bound round the necks of England and Ireland, from which it was never to be looſened:—The Eaſt-India monopoly was provided for by a ſpecial reſolution added for the purpoſe, and acknowledged to have been intended, though not publiſhed, at the beginning, and with reſpect to the monopoly of our navigation laws, ſo juſtly jealous were we of it, that no fewer than ſeven new reſolutions were introduced to ſecure it.

The noble Lord went into a diſtinct hiſtorical detail of the proceedings with regard to the emancipation of Ireland. He dated the year 1778 as the birth of the æra of her deliverance from ſlaviſh reſtrictions; and he praiſed the broad and enlightened policy of Lord North in the ſyſtem which he purſued, and which completely ſettled the commercial claims of Ireland to the preſent day; for the acts of 1782 were merely the deliverance of that kingdom from political reſtrictions. The noble Lord adverted to what the noble Marquis had ſaid of the manufacturers. Thoſe gentlemen had proved themſelves, in his mind, moſt deſerving of the confidence of Parliament, from the liberality of their minds as well as from their intelligence. They had all along ſaid that they did not wiſh to deprive Ireland of the peculiar and local advantages of her ſituation and ſoil. They only wiſhed to ſtart fair on the ground, and they at the ſame time ſtated, that they did not believe that the conſequences of theſe reſolutions would be inſtantaneouſly felt by this country. They had fairly ſtated that they had perſonal reaſons for not transferring their property and arts to Ireland; but they ſaid at the ſame time, that the advantages for manufacturers and merchants ſettling in Ireland, would invite them to do ſo in preference to ſettling here. They knew little of the genius or qualities of men, who heſitated in ſaying, that where intereſt was the end, men would not make their election of place where intereſt pointed out.

The noble Lord went into a ſeries of objections to ſeveral of the reſolutions. In regard to the fourth, he muſt freely declare his mind, that thereby there was a manifeſt and clear reaſſumption of the ſuperintending legiſlative power. What could be more explicit than this? That we ſent over certain

and incident to Ireland, thefe acts we think neceſſary to the good of the empire, and we call upon you implicitly to adopt them. The noble Lord went at conſiderable length into the detail of the reſolutions, as he might not have an opportunity of delivering himſelf on them when they came to be ſeverally diſcuſſed. He concluded with declaring, that the motion for leaving the chair, in order to give them an opportunity to diſcuſs the matter more deliberately, to weigh all its parts, and to ſee whether an union might not be formed on terms of true and perfect reciprocity, was both a wiſe and a prudent meaſure, and that for which he ſhould give his voice.

The Marquis of Lanſdowne.

The Marquis of *Lanſdown*, in reply to Lord Loughborough, ſaid, that the noble and learned Lord ſeemed not aware, that a particular advantage aroſe, with reſpect to the alteration of the leſs eſſential parts of the treaty, from there being two Parliaments, as alterations could then be made without breach of compact by mutual conſent, negotiated through the Miniſtry and Sovereign of both countries, and each Parliament might in turn paſs an act to have force upon any given ſubject, when the other paſſed a ſimilar act. He had alſo totally miſconceived him as to the deſcription of the Iriſh propoſitions, the baſis of which he thought reſpected an alteration of commerce abſtracted from the conſideration of duties. With regard to foreign articles he had particularly ſtated, that each country was to preſerve a preference to the articles of the other, as it would be ſingular indeed for England, to be prevented from conſuming the linens of Ireland, in preference to thoſe of any other country. Where he ſpoke of the ill policy of prohibitions, he did not mean to exclude the idea of burdening the conſumption of foreign articles with prudent duties; on which ſubject, he took occaſion to introduce the mention of the late report of the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms, which he ſaid was a board that were a perfect model for their induſtry, integrity, ability, and execution of their duty, and had ſignaliſed themſelves on particular occaſions, in a way that ſhewed they were not only equal to the buſineſs of a Board of Cuſtoms, but of a Board of Treaſury. The paſſage his Lordſhip alluded to being curious, we give as follows:

"Prohibitions ſeldom anſwer any purpoſe but that of monopoly; no receipt can ariſe from them, unleſs by their violation or the forfeiture of the ſeized goods; and their principal effect is, to hinder the revenue from profiting by the importation of the prohibited articles without giving much improvement or ſecurity to the native productions: among many other inſtances, cambricks formerly produced a duty of about 20,000l. per annum, which is now loſt to the public treaſury.

treaſury; yet it is feared, that the conſumption of this foreign manufacture is not diminiſhed here: and we have good reaſon to believe, that large quantities of ſilk ſtockings, leather gloves, and poplins, are clandeſtinely introduced here from Ireland. Nor is the injury confined only to the giving up the receipt on the import of the prohibited commodities, but the evil conſequences extend themſelves farther, by driving perſons (not otherwiſe ill diſpoſed) into obtaining the prohibited good by ſuch ſiniſter means, as, when once invented with ſucceſs, are too often carried into practice for the introduction of other ſpecies, that ſtill continue ſubject to cuſtoms.

"It is alſo uſually thought neceſſary to inforce prohibitions by ſevere penalties; which cannot fail to deter many perſons of wealth and probity from engaging in trade, incumbered with laws, that expoſe them to the riſque of ruin upon the ſlighteſt miſtake in point of form or practice.

"The inſpection of the before-mentioned voluminous liſt of prohibited goods, enforced by enormous penalties, cannot but cauſe matter of much ſurprize and ſerious reflection, to mark how few articles are left as fair objects of revenue and commerce, in a country that boaſts of the title of a trading nation.

"All high duties, which make it ſcarce poſſible to trade fairly in the goods upon which they are impoſed, are equally hurtful to the revenue, and equally favourable to ſmuggling, as abſolute prohibitions are.

"Therefore, according as the reſolutions contribute to aboliſh prohibitions, or to eſtabliſh equitably moderate duties, they will improve the revenue."

The *Lord Chancellor* ſpoke of the indecency of the motion for the Chairman's leaving the chair, with a view to get rid of a buſineſs which had occupied ſo much of their Lordſhips' time, and after they had ſpent upwards of three weeks in the hearing of evidence. He then touched on the object of the reſolutions, the general policy of which went to unite more cloſely the intereſt of the two countries, and to eſtabliſh on a firm baſis their commercial intercourſe. He then recapitulated the various reſolutions and acts which had paſſed for accompliſhing that purpoſe from the year 1778, when the relaxation of our authority over Ireland began, to the preſent time. From the reſolution of 1782, he ſaid, it was clear that government intended to perfect that commercial ſyſtem which was then begun. In countries ſo cloſely connected, ſeparate intereſts ought not to exiſt; he was therefore ſorry to obſerve with how much induſtry the ill-founded clamour of the manufacturers had been excited. He ſaid our domeſtic and foreign enemies had taken no ſmall pains to promote jealouſies; but

The Lord Chancellor.

but notwithſtanding all this clamour, he was not willing to allow that the meaſure was unpopular, even though 120,000 names had appeared on a huge maſs of parchment, declaring their diſſent to the propoſition. It was well known that theſe names were procured with much induſtry; even ſchool-boys were admitted to ſign their names. Nor could he allow all the weight to Mr. Wedgwood that had been aſcribed to him He conſidered him as a reſpectable manufacturer, but though he was a good potter, he was but an indifferent politician.

With regard to the infringement of the legiſlative authority of Ireland, which had been ſo long dwelt upon by ſome noble Lords, and by the ingenious and learned Counſel at the bar; he denied that ſuch would be the conſequence of the reſolutions. If the Parliament of Ireland did not make laws for the protection of her trade, then it was at an end. Was not the colonial trade granted to them on that condition? Such laws did then exiſt in Ireland, but they were annual, and they were not obliged to renew them. The very meaning of the word participation implies, that it may be of mutual advantage to both countries, and without that, the baſis of the treaty is broken, and it muſt fall to the ground. He would beg leave to aſk if it was of any conſequence in a treaty of that kind, which was founded on reciprocity, on which ſide it originated? As to countervailing duties, he had no difficulty in declaring it to be his opinion, that they would be fully adequate to the end propoſed. Upon the whole, he hoped he had ſaid enough to impreſs their Lordſhips of the neceſſity there was of coming to a concluſion with the arrangement propoſed, and conſequently that the motion ought to be oppoſed.

The Committee then divided on the queſtion, that the Chairman do leave the chair;

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The original motion was then put and carried, and the Houſe roſe at four o clock.

Monday, July 11.

The Houſe being reſolved into a Committee, Lord Hawke in the chair, the clerk proceeded to read the ſecond propoſition, when,

Lord Loughborough.

Lord *Loughborough* roſe and objected to it in its preſent preſent form, upon a variety of grounds, he contended that it contained a poſition in direct contradiction to the evidence which

which had been given at the bar of that Houſe, and which every man in the kingdom, he believed, would condemn as falſe, to avoid therefore an imputation of that kind being caſt on any of their Lordſhips' proceedings, he would trouble them with a motion for leaving out the words "it is for the eſſential benefit of the manufacturers." That the paſſing theſe propoſitions, and admitting the Iriſh to "a full participation of their trade," (another part of the ſame reſolution, on which he would ſay a few words hereafter), would be advantageous to the manufacturers here, was too abſurd, it did not come within the line of probability, and conſequently ought to be rejected from their reſolutions. He was the more ready to propoſe this alteration, becauſe it was not part of the propoſitions which had been ſent over from Ireland, the firſt of them, out of which the firſt and ſecond of the preſent had been formed, but ſo different from the original, that there was ſcarce a ſingle feature to know them by, had not a ſentence of the kind, nor indeed was he able to conceive how any perſon could ever have thought of ſolemnly aſſerting, that giving away part of the manufacturer's profits would be of peculiar advantage to him, he thought beſides, it would alſo be of as much credit to that Houſe if, before they agree to this reſolution, they made it grammar, a circumſtance which he ſuppoſed the framer of it had conſidered as unneceſſary. His Lordſhip then concluded by repeating his motion

Lord *Sydney* ſaid he would have liked the reſolution as well if it had not contained the part objected to by the noble and learned Lord; but as it was inſerted, he was againſt leaving it out He ſuppoſed every noble Lord, who did not think theſe reſolutions would be for the advantage of both countries, would vote for the amendment, but, for his part, he was firmly of opinion, when he conſidered their relative ſituation, that they would experience reciprocal advantages by them, and therefore he could not find any difficulty in aſſenting to the aſſertion. Lord Sydney

Lord *Stormont* went largely into the abſurdity of the poſition, and condemned it in general terms: a poſition which the noble Lord himſelf would have been as well pleaſed it had been without, he gave him credit for the aſſertion, and doubted not but ſuch would be found the general opinion: it put him in mind, he ſaid, of a circumſtance recorded by Lord Clarendon, reſpecting the deciſion of the judges on the queſtion of ſhip money, for they declared that to be the law which every man in the kingdom knew was not. This open violation of truth ſunk deep into the hearts of the whole kingdom, and was not afterwards to be eradicated; he therefore cautioned their Lordſhips againſt coming to a deciſion, the Lord Stormont.

the veracity of which would be ſo generally diſputed, and could be ſo flatly contradicted. He obſerved, that notwithſtanding much had been ſaid to prove that no manufacture could thrive in a poor kingdom, or hold a competition with a rich one, he was very far from acquieſcing in that opinion, knowing one or two inſtances that went directly to the contrary; the manufacture of gauze in Scotland, for inſtance, in a very few years, had got conſiderably forward, and it was a well-known fact, that poor as Ireland was conjectured to be, and rich as England was held out, that the latter could not by any means enter into a competition with the former in the article of linens, therefore, it was plain that it was not ſo much to riches as to the attention paid to a manufacture which rendered it flouriſhing. The amendment propoſed by his learned friend, he thought a very judicious one, and doubted whether any noble Lord could lay his hand upon his heart and ſay, he did not conſider the reſolution as it now ſtood, as containing a direct falſehood, he was ſatisfied in his own mind it was ſo, and conſequently ſhould ſupport the motion for the omiſſion.

The Lord Chancellor

The *Lord Chancellor* (Lord Thurlow) ſaid it was no matter to him what was the hiſtory of the reſolutions, or how they had come into the preſent ſhape, he knew nothing of them originally, it was ſufficient for him to conſider them as they now appeared, and in that form he thought they merited ſupport. The caſe that the noble Viſcount had alluded to, in his opinion, bore not the leaſt analogy to them, becauſe they were founded on reciprocal advantages, and would be of benefit to both countries; each manufacturer was to have the privilege of ſending his goods into the markets of either kingdom, under ſimilar reſtrictions, and ſuppoſing there to be an equal exportation from the two countries, would it be contended that the manufacturers of both would not be benefited by the opening there would be made for the conſumption of their trade. Their Lordſhips had already voted that the commerce between Great Britain and Ireland, ſhould be regulated on equitable principles, and yet is was now propoſed to deny that the principles meant to be adopted were for the mutual advantage of both; it was true, as far as he knew, of the hiſtory of theſe propoſitions, from the minutes of the Houſe of Commons, that what now conſtituted the firſt and ſecond had originally been in one, and that on being divided in that Houſe, the firſt paſſed unanimouſly and the ſecond had been carried by a very conſiderable majority;—but he could not ſee the leaſt reaſon for making the propoſed alteration, becauſe he was ſatisfied that a full participation of commercial advantages would be ultimately for the benefit of both kingdoms.

The

The queſtion was then put for leaving out the words "it is for the eſſential benefit of the manufacturers," which was negatived without a diviſion.

A converſation then took place, in which Lord Thurlow obſerved, that "full participation" meant only "fair participation," and that as there was no material difference in the words, to make an alteration might occaſion jealouſies in the ſiſter kingdom, while it was contended on the other hand, that by continuing the word 'full" it would be giving them an opportunity on the other ſide of the water for cavilling. Lords Loughborough, Thurlow, Stormont, and Fitzwilliam, were up ſeveral times, when at length the queſtion was put and rejected

Tueſday, July 12.

Lord Hawke having taken the chair, an amendment was propoſed on the third propoſition for appointing a limited time for allowing the drawbacks on foreign articles exported from this kingdom to Ireland this drew on a converſation, reſpecting the half ſubſidy and the increaſe of the hereditary revenue.

The queſtion was put on the amendment, and carried without a diviſion, and the third propoſition then paſſed.—The fourth was next read by the clerk of the Houſe, and paſſed without a ſingle word being ſaid on it.

Lord *Loughborough* on the ſixth reſolution, thought it neceſſary to obſerve to their Lordſhips, that an amendment was, in his opinion, actually requiſite in order to ſecure to this country the point of juſtice in reſpect to colonial produce, which the whole of the reſolutions meant, and which, though evidently forgot in this one, yet, no doubt, was meant by the ſpirit, though not included in the letter. The objection which his Lordſhip had was to the interdiction of foreign rums into Ireland, whilſt an opening was left for the importation of foreign brandies, which were a ſpirit equally pernicious to the colonial trade, and equally deſtructive to the market in this country. He ſhould, therefore, with their Lordſhips' permiſſion, propoſe an amendment for the purpoſe of including all foreign ſtrong water, in which of courſe brandy would be included Ld Loughborough.

Lord *Camden* was well aware that the introduction of foreign ſpirits into England, as well as into Ireland, was pernicious, but as the brandy came not within the deſcription of the propoſition now before the Houſe, he ſhould wiſh the learned Lord to defer that ſubject to another opportunity, to withdraw his amendment, and to bring in a bill for the purpoſe, not on the confined and ſingle article of brandy, but on foreign ſpirits in general. Lord Camden.

Ld. Loughborough. Lord *Loughborough* ſaid he ſhould be moſt willing to withdraw his amendment, if he did not think that the interdiction of foreign brandy into Ireland was a matter actually requiſite to the ſpirit of the preſent reſolutions, nor could he perceive why, or on what account, the noble Lord ſhould object to the propoſition Why were foreign rums interdicted? Was it not for the purpoſe of giving a preference to the colonial produce in the home market? and if Ireland was to become a participator in the colonial produce, Ireland ſhould equally interdict French brandies.

Lord Camden. Lord *Camden* ſaid the learned Lord did not ſeem to know that the duties on French ſpirits in Ireland already amounted to a prohibition, and that of courſe the Britiſh Colonial produce could not ſuffer by their introduction into that kingdom.

Lord Chancellor. The *Lord Chancellor* obſerved that he conſidered the ſubject in quite a different point of view the reſolution declared that they were aggregately for a mutual participation of commercial advantages, and that ſuch being their true intent and meaning, it became the duty of Ireland, and Ireland was virtually bound to continue thoſe high duties on the importation of foreign brandies, which at preſent exiſted in that country. There was no doubt but they would It was a part of their promiſe in the reſolution, that the duties on the importation of foreign goods were to be ſo equalized, that the advantages of the colonial produce were to be reciprocal. Now it was an evident fact, if the Iriſh Parliament took off the duties on French brandies, and thereby injured the home conſumption of Britiſh-Iſland ſpirits, then they broke the compact into which they had entered Beſides if the noble Lord looked to the conſequences of admitting his amendment, he would find that his argument on brandy held good in reſpect to every other foreign produce; and that there would be a neceſſity, if the exception of brandy was admitted, to agree to an amendment enumerating all the different articles imported from the foreign market, diſtinguiſhing each. It was better, therefore, to take the propoſition as it ſtood, and to abide by it in the general terms of the agreement, than to enter ſpecifically into what ſhould be the duties on each article of foreign import For theſe reaſons he ſhould give the amendment his negative

Earl Fitzwilliam. Earl *Fitzwilliam* perceived the moſt extenſive field would be opened for every ſpecies of ſmuggling. And he preſumed, the ruin of the Britiſh colonies would not be much regarded by Ireland, or even in Great Britain, while the French brandies and wines could be ſo eaſily obtained.

Lord Sydney. Lord *Sydney* was of opinion, that the regulations now exiſting, as well as thoſe which, it might well be ſuppoſed, the wiſdom

wiſdom of both nations would afterwards, and from time to time, adopt, would operate in ſuch a manner, as to prevent all clandeſtine practices of that kind

Earl Fitzwilliam adhered to what he had ſtated, as moſt likely to happen.

Duke of Richmond. The Duke of *Richmond* entered into the policy and expediency of the meaſure, and alledged that the amendment propoſed by the noble and learned Lord was precluded by the ſpirit of the whole ſettlement

Lord Stormont. Lord *Stormont* adverted to what had fallen from the noble and learned Lord. His reaſoning, in his opinion, went to what was more eſpecially the ſubſtance and tendency of the fourth propoſition

The queſtion was put on Lord Loughborough's amendment, when their appeared,

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The reſolution of courſe paſſed in its original form

The ſixth reſolution was next read, and alſo paſſed without any amendment.

Ld Loughborough. On the ſeventh reſolution, Lord *Loughborough* objected to the phraſe,—*a time to be limited*, which occaſioned a converſation on the nature of import and export trade, which reſted entirely with Lord Loughborough and Lord Thurlow. The amendment, however, propoſed by the former, was at laſt, after much explanation, agreed to by the latter; and the reſolution, thus amended, paſſed the Committee.

Ld Stormont. The eighth reſolution being read, Lord *Stormont* roſe, and pointed out the neceſſity of making an amendment, with a view to an equalization of duties between the two countries, in regard to goods exported. He ſaid, as the reſolution ſtood at preſent, Ireland had a peculiar and material advantage over England, in reſpect to the export of ſeveral of her manufactures, but more particularly in regard to one of the moſt important manufactures we had, the manufacture of iron. He reminded the Committee, that the duty on foreign iron imported into England was 2 l. 16 s. the ton, whereas the duty on foreign iron imported into Ireland was only 9 s. 7 d. per ton. Add to this, the extreme low price of labour in Ireland, and the cheapneſs of the price of proviſions compared with their price in this country, theſe together gave Ireland an advantage to the amount of twenty per cent. over us in the manufacture of iron. A great deal, his Lordſhip ſaid, had been urged in a former debate, in reſpect to the low price of labour in Ireland, as if that had been the whole of the ground of the argument adduced in proof, that in point of manufacture, Ireland had a great and a ſenſible ſuperiority over this country. In truth, the low price of labour had only

been urged as one among others of the various circumſtances in favour of Ireland, and againſt this country. If their Lordſhips would take the trouble to refer to the evidence of Mr. Gibbons and Mr. Raby, two as reſpectable, as ſenſible, and as intelligent witneſſes as ever were examined at any bar, they would ſee, that their teſtimony contained many obſervations that were entitled to great attention on the part of their Lordſhips, and that were of a nature that could not but have made a deep impreſſion on the minds of all who heard them. His Lordſhip read from a manuſcript ſeveral extracts from the evidence of Mr. Gibbons, which were extremely forcible and pointed, in proof that the manufacturers of iron felt great alarm, that they ſaw their danger, and that their fears were well founded. He enumerated the price of iron per ton in Sweden, the amount of the duty payable on importation, the value of it per ton when made into hoops, and the value of it when made into nails. He compared theſe with the prices of each in Ireland; and in order to ſhew, that the argument of thoſe who contended that much depended on the ingenuity of the workman, and that the want of ſkill out-balanced the advantages deducible from the low price of labour in Ireland, was ill founded, he ſtated from the notes of the evidence, that one of the manufacturers had declared that he could teach the moſt uninformed Iriſhman that ever was found taking his reſt under a hedge, the art of making a hoop in a week, provided that his foreman and overſeer was a ſkilful, active, and aſſiduous man. He dilated a good deal on the different branches of the iron manufacture, and particularly on the manufacture of hoops. He alſo ſtated, that in point of revenue, the manufacture of iron was a very important conſideration to the country, as no leſs than 150,000 l. a year was derived from it. Having dwelt for ſome time on its magnitude, he reminded the Committee, that in 1778, when the firſt conceſſions were made to Ireland, all North America was left open to her as a market to which ſhe might export her manufactures. In the year 1780, thoſe conceſſions were made general. He contended therefore, that Ireland ought to be put on a footing with England in regard to the incumbrances of duties under which ſhe ſhould export her manufactures to the States of North America. He reaſoned upon the fairneſs of ſuch a regulation, and upon its neceſſity as a protection for the Engliſh iron manufacture. He cited the evidence of Mr. Gibbons, to ſhew that he had ſuggeſted three modes of putting the two countries on a footing in regard to the iron manufacture. He ſtated theſe three modes, and reaſoned upon each. The one was by moderate duties being equally impoſed on the importation of the raw materials into both countries; another by obliging Ireland to pay an equal

duty

duty on importing foreign iron; and the third was by granting bounties in favour of the British manufacture of iron on its exportation. He declared, he thought the first impracticable, as it would materially affect the revenue; and the last he did not approve, as Ireland might counteract its effect by granting similar bounties on the export of its own iron manufacture. The middle proposition was that he most approved, and therefore the amendment he should propose would be to insert after the words, "or in America," the words, "or "the States of America." This amendment, he said, would not only prove an essential protection to the British iron manufacture, but would also operate beneficially to another very important manufacture of this country, the manufacture of leather, in which in the article of shoes it had been proved that Ireland could greatly undersell us. His Lordship referred to the evidence of Mr Croftridge in regard to the state of the leather manufacture, and drew from it various arguments to prove how much it stood in need of protection. Having said enough to shew that the leather manufacture was entitled to the care of the Committee, his Lordship reverted to the further consideration of the state of the iron manufactory, and after enlarging upon it very elaborately, and repeatedly urging that as this country had in her concessions of 1778 granted Ireland the right of exporting to America; in point of fairness, Ireland ought now to be subject to the same incumbrances on her export trade as England was liable to, in order that she might not undersell us in the American market, he concluded with moving that the words "or the "States of America" be inserted after the words "or in "America."

Lord *Walsingham* rose to controvert Lord Stormont's argument relative to the two manufactures of iron and leather. His Lordship first entered into a detail of particulars respecting the iron manufacture, and took notice of what had been said by the noble Viscount relative to hoops. They were, he said, a very trifling article of export to America, as it appeared from the Custom-house entries, that not above forty or fifty pounds worth were ever annually exported to America. The hoops that came round the hogsheads, that contained the rum of our West-India islands, not only fully supplying America, but at times there had been such a glut, that great quantities of the hoops were sent over here as old iron. Having stated this and various other particulars, his Lordship adverted to the leather manufactory, and said, it was not from any one branch of the leather manufactory that a judgement was to be formed of the effect of the whole. Ireland might possibly make shoes cheaper than we could, but even in that article he was well informed, they

Lord Walsingham.

had not been ſucceſsful. He reminded the Houſe that upon America's obtaining her independency, there had been a race run by the different powers which ſhould firſt poſſeſs itſelf of the American market; hence it had been greatly overſtocked, and thoſe powers, who had at firſt encouraged the ardour of their merchants, now found it their intereſt to check it. Ireland had ſent out a great quantity of ſhoes, but, on their arrival, it was found that the market was pre-occupied. The conſequence was, the Iriſh merchant, not being in a capacity to wait for the return of his capital, was obliged to write out to his agent in America to ſell the ſhoes at all events, and they were diſpoſed of 25 per cent. under the prime coſt. His Lordſhip reaſoned on this fact, and went into a compariſon of the number of hides produced in Ireland and in England, ſhewing that there were not above 70,000 head of cattle killed in Ireland, whereas there was a much greater number killed here. He urged this in order to ſhew that the tanners' trade was carried on to a greater extent in England than in Ireland. He ſaid his aim in riſing had been to reſcue the reſolution from the point of view in which it had been placed by his noble friend. With regard to the amendment, he would give no opinion on it, one way or the other, but was ready to vote either for receiving or rejecting it, juſt as thoſe with whom he had the honour to act ſhould be of opinion it ought to be dealt with.

Lord Stormont

Lord *Stormont* roſe again, and re-ſtated his former argument, appealing to the good ſenſe of the Houſe, whether they thought it poſſible for this country to cope with Ireland in the American market, when Ireland could go to that or any other market with her articles full 20 per cent. cheaper than we could? His Lordſhip in reply to what had been ſaid relative to the leather manufacture, ſtated a fact that had come within his own knowledge, of a gentleman who had at one time had a conſiderable fall of timber, and the whole freight of his bark to Ireland had amounted only to *ſeventeen ſhillings*.

Lord Dudley.

Lord *Dudley* ſaid, if nothing better was propoſed, he ſhould be for voting the amendment; for ſomething ought to be done for the better protection of the iron trade. His Lordſhip obſerved upon the decent and reſpectable conduct of the petitioners, declaring that they were his neighbours, and had not come to that houſe for the purpoſes of faction, but peaceably to ſtate the real grievances that they felt. He adverted to ſomething that had been ſaid in a former debate, declaring, that he held it to be his indiſputable right to conſider the debate as the continuation of a debate that had been adjourned.

The

The *Lord Chancellor* went into argument upon the propoſed amendment, and declared he ſaw no reaſon for Great Britain to claim or expect from Ireland a particular line of conduct with regard to a country over which ſhe had no claim, farther than over any other independent ſtate. With regard to the conceſſions of 1778, he reminded the noble Viſcount, that there had been a clauſe put into the Bill, forbidding Ireland to trade with America during the exiſtence of the war. The Lord Chancellor.

When the queſtion was put, and the Houſe divided,

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Wedneſday, July 13.

The Houſe went into a Committee on the ninth reſolution.

The Earl of *Derby* roſe, and ſtated the danger that this country might ſuſtain in her manufacture of ſail-cloth, as well as the other inconveniences ſhe might ſuffer, if an exception were not inſerted in the propoſition reſtraining the Eaſt-India Company's ſhips from taking ſail-cloth on board in Ireland. His Lordſhip ſaid, the Company's ſhips conſumed large quantities of ſail-cloth in their own ſails, and they always took out additional ſets of ſails to provide againſt a caſe of neceſſity's ariſing in the courſe of ſo long a voyage, as a voyage to and from the Eaſt Indies. Add to this, they carried with them a quantity of ſails by way of merchandize to India, it became therefore highly neceſſary to guard againſt their making Ireland their market for ſail-cloth. His Lordſhip therefore moved to inſert, as an exception in the reſolution, after the words, "manufacture of that "kingdom." the words "except the article of ſail-cloth." The Earl of Derby.

The Earl of *Hopetoun* ſaid, he believed he could throw ſome light upon the ſubject; having brought in the petition of the ſail-cloth manufacturers of Warrington, he had inquired a good deal into the matter, in order to make himſelf maſter of the ſubject. He found the ſail-cloth manufactory in Ireland was not at all to be dreaded. Though they exported ſail-cloth under bounties and drawbacks, neither bounties nor drawbacks were payable on exporting ſail-cloth from Ireland, with a view to import it into England, and the fact was, not a ſingle yard had been imported for many years. His Lordſhip remarked, that the Eaſt-India ſhips ſailed from the port of London always; it was not then to be expected that they would ſail down the Channel with bare poles. They muſt have ſails, and they would ſcarcely have old canvas The Earl of Hopetoun.

canvas ſpread. He ſaw therefore no reaſon to fear their buying of any but the Britiſh ſail-cloth manufacturers.

At length the queſtion was put and the amendment negatived.

Lord Stormont

Lord *Stormont* then moved by way of amendment, to annex certain words (copied verbatim from the fifth reſolution,) to the end of the ninth, by way of providing for the poſſible caſe of the Eaſt-India company's charter expiring.

The Lord Chancellor

The *Lord Chancellor* (Lord Thurlow) thought it unneceſſary as the two caſes, viz. the carrying on the commerce to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the Straits of Magellan, by an excluſive company, and the manner of carrying it on, when our excluſive company ſhould no longer exiſt was already provided for. His Lordſhip ſaid, if the noble Viſcount's amendment were neceſſary, more muſt be ſuperadded upon that amendment, in order to provide for the exception of China, and places not belonging in any ſenſe to Great Britain, but he thought the whole unneceſſary as the poſſible caſe the amendment aimed at was not likely to happen.

Lord Stormont

Lord *Stormont* replied, that in adjuſting a final and irrevocable plan, like that to be eſtabliſhed by the reſolutions, every poſſibility ought to be provided for. But he was at a loſs under what deſcription the countries in queſtion fell. Could the Province of Oude be called a Britiſh Province [the Lord Chancellor ſaid from his ſeat, moſt certainly not.] His Lordſhip then went on to argue the point, which he did for ſome time.

The Lord Chancellor

The *Lord Chancellor* explained in what manner the end of the reſolution already provided for the poſſible caſe in view. His Lordſhip ſaid, the Province of *Oude* was that of all others in Hindoſtan which the noble Viſcount muſt know could not come within the deſcription of a Britiſh Province, but there were diſtricts near it which were certainly a part of the Britiſh poſſeſſions.

Some converſation enſued on this, till there came to be a ſort of ambiguity in the argument, and a ſeeming contradiction between the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Preſident, as to the true conſtruction of the end of the ninth reſolution, and as to the degree of application that the fourth reſolution bore to it in aid of the conſtruction.

Lord Stormont.

Lord *Stormont* complained of the utter and impenetrable darkneſs in which he and the noble Lords who acted with him were placed, while the noble Lords in Adminiſtration were ſeated in the land of Goſhen, cloſe to the fountain head of light. He earneſtly implored, that the noble Lord, therefore, who was at the head of His Majeſty councils, would con-

condeſcend to compaſſionate their blindneſs, and to favour them with a ſingle illuminating ray.

Lord Viſcount *Weymouth* roſe upon this, and entreated the noble Lord appealed to, to perſevere in his ſilence. He obſerved, that the fourth reſolution had paſſed the preceding day without one ſyllable having been ſaid upon it. If the noble Lords, who were now ſo urgent to demand an explanation as to the import of the fourth reſolution, had thought proper to diſcuſs it, and to put any queſtions, or moved any explanatory amendments in relation to it, they might have done it the preceding day. Having ſuffered it to paſs *ſub ſilentio*, the plain and obvious inference was, they perfectly underſtood and perfectly approved it; or, not underſtanding it, they did not chooſe to meddle with it. Lord Viſcount Weymouth.

The queſtion was put, and the amendment negatived.

The tenth reſolution was then read. Lord *Stormont* ſtated the neceſſity of adding ſome regulation relative to ſalt; after going through a variety of calculations as to the probable annual conſumption of each individual, (which he ſtated at 25 pounds each, and gave the number of individuals at 6,000,000, which ought to produce a revenue of 630,000l.) he ſaid, the revenue, according to the accounts made up from Michaelmas 1783, to Michaelmas 1784, received 310,000l. ſhort of that ſum; it was therefore plain that the loſs was created by frauds upon the revenue, a great part of which he had no doubt aroſe from ſmuggling ſalt, and clearly came from Ireland. As one means of affording a check and a preventive in future, his Lordſhip moved to annex an amendment to prohibit the importation of ſalt from Ireland except under certain regulations. Lord Stormont.

Lord *Sydney* ſaid, he had an amendment to move in the twelfth reſolution, which he thought would fully anſwer. Lord Sydney.

Lord Stormont's amendment was therefore negatived.

The Earl of *Carliſle*, in this part of the debate, begged to put a queſtion to Miniſters; the noble Earl ſaid, he wiſhed to know whether, in caſe a duty was laid in one country on the importation of an article the growth, produce, and manufacture of the other, and no duty ſhould be laid in the other country on the importation of the ſame article, the duty was to be levied on each, or taken off from each? Earl of Carliſle.

The *Lord Preſident* ſaid, undoubtedly the duty was to be levied equally upon both. Lord Preſident.

Lord *Carliſle* roſe again, and remarked, that the noble Earl's anſwer was directly the reverſe of that of the Miniſter, given in the other Houſe of Parliament; for there it had been declared, from the higheſt authority, that the duty was, in ſuch caſe, to be taken off, and abandoned altogether. Lord Carliſle.

Lord Sydney. The eleventh reſolution was then read. Lord *Sydney* moved ſeveral verbal amendments in this reſolution, which were agreed to. His Lordſhip alſo moved an amendment, to guard againſt the frauds practiſed by the Iriſh exporting coals from England to Ireland, and then without landing, taking them to a foreign port, thereby evading the duty payable on coals exported to foreign ports, and underſelling us with our own commodity. This amendment was alſo agreed to, and heartily commended by Lord Stormont.

Earl of Carliſle. The Earl of *Carliſle* begged to know, whether the ten and a half per centum was to be paid according to the rates or the real value of the articles imported into either country?

The Lord Chancellor. The *Lord Chancellor* in reply, ſaid, in ſome caſes according to the rates, in others upon the real value.

Earl of Carliſle. The Earl of *Carliſle* then ſaid, he had a moſt ſerious matter to urge to their attention, and that was no other, than the manufacturers had been under a miſtake all along. If they were to be charged with a duty of ten and a half per centum on the rates, all their alarms and all their apprehenſions would remain in as full force as ever.

The Lord Chancellor. The *Lord Chancellor* ſaid, it was impoſſible that a ſingle manufacturer could have imagined otherwiſe from what had paſſed at every examination, and from the Reports of the Commiſſioners of Exciſe and Cuſtoms.

Earl of Derby. The Earl of *Derby* ſaid, he was authoriſed to ſay from ſeveral moſt reſpectable manufacturers, that they never had it in their idea, that the ten and one-half *per centum* was to be charged but *ad valorem*. His Lordſhip ſaid, he had that inſtant had it from one of them, who was ready to come to the bar and make oath of the circumſtance.

Earl of Carliſle. The Earl of *Carliſle* aſked, what in common ſenſe was a ten and a half per centum, in the ordinary acceptation of the words, but ten and a half per centum *ad valorem*.

Lord Stormont. Lord *Stormont* ſaid the ſame, and added, that the Committee of Privy Council clearly underſtood it in that light.

At length the twelfth reſolution was read. Lord *Sydney* moved various amendments, which were agreed to, after a few arguments about the mixture of Smyrna with Engliſh cotton from Lord Derby, and ſome ſimilar obſervations from Lord Stormont.

Thurſday, July 14.

Lord Hawke. Lord *Hawke* having taken the chair of the Committee, they proceeded on the fourteenth propoſition, to which Lord Stormont propoſed an amendment, to prevent the free exportation of oak bark, as it would conſiderably aſſiſt the manufacturers of leather in Ireland, to the detriment of our

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own; he thought this would not be conſtrued into any thing more than an equalization, as they already had an export duty on raw hides and calve ſkins; he alſo thought the ſame reſtrictions ought to be made on rock ſalt.

Lord *Thurlow* oppoſed the amendment, and after ſome converſation it was negatived. Lord Thurlow.

The Earl of *Carliſle* propoſed an omiſſion in the fifteenth; as likely to produce a more general prohibition to bounties on the exportation of articles than by retaining the names of particular places. This occaſioned a converſation between his Lordſhip and Lords Thurlow and Stormont. The amendment was rejected. The Earl of Carliſle

Lord *Stormont* then ſaid, he would trouble their Lordſhips with a motion to introduce in this place a new reſolution, which was, "that as long as England continued to pay a bounty on the importation of Iriſh linens, Ireland ſhould pay a ſimilar bounty on the importation of Engliſh linens." Lord Stormont.

The *Lord Chancellor* (Lord Thurlow) objected to the admiſſion of the reſolution, becauſe it was putting it entirely into the power of Great Britain to put a ſtop to it when ſhe pleaſed. Lord Chancellor

On the ſixteenth being read, Lord *Fitzwilliam* wiſhed to know how this reſolution was to "effectually favour," a variety of articles, but particularly inſtanced bar iron which he obſerved was not only the growth and manufacture of this kingdom, but in that ſtate might be conſidered as a raw material; now Swediſh bar iron could be imported much cheaper into Ireland than Britiſh, and therefore it was that he roſe to ſolicit information how the regulation was to be made to "effectually favour" that ſent from this country. Lord Fitzwilliam.

The Duke of *Richmond* ſaw no difficulty in the world in the matter, as the reſolution particularly provided for it by the exception on articles now imported duty free; beſides he thought that would come, with a number of other trifling articles, for future regulation. Duke of Richmond.

The ſeventeenth was then read and paſſed.

Lord *Sydney* moved to reject the eighteenth, and ſubſtitute another in its place; to include the property of *engravers* with that of copy right; this was agreed to. Lord Sydney.

Lord *Sydney* then propoſed an amendment in the nineteenth, which was alſo agreed to.

On the twentieth reſolution, the Earl of *Carliſle* ſaid, it would be worth their Lordſhips while to inquire of what the ſo much boaſted of compenſation conſiſted. The hereditary revenue by no means produced the ſum of 656000 l. The noble Earl ſtated that it had progreſſively fallen; and that, within the part of five years, when Ireland was certainly in a more flouriſhing condition than formerly, as in that period ſhe had received many commercial advantagas, it had been Earl Carliſle.

gradually falling off. The hereditary revenues of Ireland were, he ſaid, inherent in the Crown; by what authority therefore were they thus coarſely and unhandſomely wreſting away its rights, and putting them up to bargain and ſale? The manner of the proceeding had been extremely diſreſpectful to the firſt Magiſtrate in the kingdom. His Lordſhip gave it as his opinion, that ſo far from Ireland's feeling it to be either her intereſt, or a point of honour, to make the hard bargain of the Miniſter profitable, ſhe would act adverſely. She might, if ſhe choſe it, refuſe to vote an army. She might ſuffer her Cuſtom-houſe officers to wink at frauds in the revenue, and there were means within her reach of rendering the ſurplus of the hereditary revenue of little worth.

Lord Sydney

Lord *Sydney* ſaid, the ſurplus of the hereditary revenue had been talked of differently, as it ſuited the different argument of the times. At one time, it was magnified beyond all meaſure; at another, it was treated with contempt, and deemed a matter of no conſideration. It had been called a fallacy by ſome, and a compenſation and an equivalent by others. He ſaid, he called it not a compenſation for the ſacrifices of our navigation, our commerce, our manufactures, our revenue, and of all that was dear to an Engliſhman, that had been ſo loudly and ſo often complained of in the courſe of the ſeveral debates that had taken place upon the ſubject of the reſolutions. He was ſorry from motives of reſpect to the noble Earl, who had ſpoken laſt, to differ with him in opinion; and yet, if he had not thought very diſtinctly from him on the preſent ſubject, he ſhould have felt himſelf to be a moſt unhappy man. He ſaw the whole of the plan in a diſtinct and very oppoſite point of view. Inſtead of conſidering it as a ſurrender of the eſſential rights and advantages of England, in point of navigation, trade, and revenue, he regarded it as an admiſſion of Ireland to a participation of our commerce, the reſult of which would, he had no doubt, prove advantageous in the higheſt degree, to the trade and revenue of the two countries, to their happineſs, and their proſperity. With regard to the noble Earl's argument, in relation to the attempt of Ireland to keep back the ſurplus, or to render the boon uſeleſs; he had lived all his life among the Iriſh, and he had many dear connections in that country, but he could not think of paying Ireland ſo ſtrange a compliment as to ſay to her, "You'll cheat us of the portion of the hereditary revenue that is our due, and you'll encourage your revenue officers to break the laws, and to connive at ſmuggling, and all the various frauds practicable on the revenue." He entertained no ſuch opinion of Ireland. He knew her to be actuated by more humanity, more generoſity. With regard to not voting an army, if Ireland thought proper ſo

to act, ſhe was not compelled to vote one; and as to what the noble Earl had ſaid of the improbability of the ſurplus of the hereditary revenue's ever increaſing, there again he thought very differently. He was of opinion that it would increaſe; becauſe he knew that exports and imports multiplied in proportion to the extenſion of commerce, and he was ſatisfied hearth money would increaſe with the increaſe of population.

At length the queſtion was put on the twentieth reſolution, and carried.

Friday, July 15.

Lord Hawke reported from the Committee the twenty Iriſh reſolutions, with the amendments; and, upon motion, they were ordered to be printed.

Monday, July 18.

The order of the day for going into the report of the Committee on the Iriſh reſolutions, was read upon which the clerk proceeded to read the firſt reſolution, when

Earl Fitzwilliam.

Earl *Fitzwilliam* roſe, and ſaid, that he had heard it argued, that the adjuſtment now going forward was neceſſary on the authority of a reſolution that had paſſed that Houſe in the year 1782, which laid it down that a permanent ground of connection ought to be eſtabliſhed between Great Britain and Ireland. This reſolution, he ſaid, did not extend to, or comprehend any idea whatſoever of a commercial nature, but was ſolely confined to political objects: and this opinion he would by no means relinquiſh, unleſs the Miniſter, who had brought it forward, was ready to ſtand up and declare, that his object in propoſing it, was one that related to commerce, and ſhould alſo bring with him ſuch proofs as were in his power, of the truth of his declaration. This neceſſity had alſo been attempted to be proved from the riots and diſcontents among the manufacturers of Dublin; but that he by no means admitted as a ſufficient reaſon for the conceſſions granted by the preſent arrangement, looking upon it, as he did, to proceed from that licentiouſneſs with which Captain Brooke had deſcribed thoſe perſons to be infected. The demands which that mob had made were for protecting duties, which their Parliament had very wiſely, and he was ſorry to ſay, with more fortitude than had been ſhewn by the Miniſter of England, refuſed to gratify them with, knowing that ſuch a meaſure was by no means neceſſary. Since then theſe clamours of a mob had been received as dictates by a Britiſh Miniſter, why did he exceed them in his acquieſcence, and why did he, in compliance with a de-

mand of protecting duties, introduce a ſyſtem that overturned the whole policy of the navigation and trade of Great Britain; for he would again repeat what he had ſaid before, that the univerſality of the plan now propoſed was a proof of the indiſcriminating weakneſs of thoſe from whom it originated; who in diſpair of diſcovering the proper objects which the arrangement ought to embrace, had wildly and wantonly extended it to all. But another reaſon beſides the want of protecting duties might be aſſigned for the prevalent diſcontents in Ireland, reaſons by no means connected with commerce, but wholly relating to conſtitutional conſiderations. Thoſe were the violent and oppreſſive meaſures purſued in that country, the proceeding by the arbitrary mode of attachment to reſtrain public meetings of the people for the purpoſe of deliberating on great national queſtions, a thing which they were indiſputably intitled to do, and which no other judicial proceſs could prevent but one which precluded trial by jury, and the right of appeal, two advantages from which the people were effectually barred by the doctrine and practice of attachment. If any thing could add to the injuſtice and inconſiſtency of ſuch proceedings, it was that at that very time a circular letter was ſent about the kingdom, under the ſanction of the Miniſter, and ſigned by a gentleman of ſome conſideration (the Rev. Mr. Wyvill) inviting the people to conventions and aſſociations of a ſimilar nature, and for the ſame purpoſes as thoſe which were the objects of ſuch intemperate perſecution in Ireland. He begged not to be underſtood as intending to expreſs any ſentiments in favour of that meaſure, which was to be the object of thoſe meetings, namely, a reform in the repreſentation of the people; for though, on the firſt ſuggeſtion, it had appeared to him plauſible and ſpecious, yet upon conſidering it farther, and particularly on examining the different plans that had been produced by the friends of the general idea, and ſeeing the impracticability of each, and alſo that, though a ſpecific, and, as it was ſaid, a well-digeſted and regular plan had been brought forward, of which, however, ſcarcely two perſons could be found to approve, he had given up all farther thoughts upon the ſubject, and rejected it as viſionary and impracticable. After this digreſſion, his Lordſhip returned to the ſubject, declaring, that if he did not conſider a commercial arrangement with England as a thing demanded by Ireland, much leſs did he conſider that ſpecific plan now before them in that light; for, in the firſt place, even the original propoſitions he had never looked upon as propoſitions from the Parliament of Ireland to that of England, but as a propoſal of the Miniſter of England to the Iriſh Parliament. Thoſe propoſitions had been moreover ſo altered, ſo mutilated,

lated, and ſo amplified, that let the original ſyſtem have been never ſo proper, the preſent muſt have been in an equal degree improper, becauſe they both differed in the moſt eſſential manner that was poſſible; what had appeared to Miniſters ſubſequent to the drawing up the original propoſitions for Ireland, to point out to Miniſters the neceſſity of making ſuch material alterations in them, was a circumſtance of which the Houſe yet remained to be informed, and which it was to be expected Adminiſtration would ſufficiently explain. It happened that in this arrangement each party to the bargain would have an equal right to complain, for it was calculated to injure both Great Britain and Ireland. It had been argued in oppoſition to the fact of labour being cheaper in Ireland than in England, a fact on which much argument had been raiſed againſt the ſyſtem, that that cheapneſs was nothing but a conſequence of the poverty of the country, and therefore could not operate as an inducement to emigration from Great Britain. This argument he contended was by no means well founded, becauſe it was not the poverty alone of Ireland that made the wages low, but the exemption that country enjoyed from taxes; while, on the contrary, the heavy burdens of Great Britain were the cauſes of that high price of labour which ſome perſons pretended to attribute to her wealth. This exemption from taxes would therefore promote the emigration of manufacturers to Ireland, if not in a few years, at leaſt in proceſs of time, for it was pretty certain that every manufacturer (that is, every father of the family, becauſe in ſome branches, as in the cotton, the women and children are manufacturers) paid in taxes on his conſumption and otherwiſe, fifty ſhillings annually. He complained, beſides, he ſaid, as an Engliſhman, of the reſolutions, as ſharing with another country that which every nation had a right, and ought, in common ſenſe and common policy, to retain to herſelf, not only the trade with our colonies, but even our home market; nay, as making that country an emporium for our own trade with thoſe very colonies, by allowing a circuitous intercourſe between them and us, through Ireland. He alſo proteſted againſt them in another character, (as an Iriſhman) looking upon them, as he did, in a light highly unfavourable to that country, as well as to this; Ireland was to be laid under new, and heavy, and unneceſſary burdens, which he was ſure ſhe never would ſubmit to. He inſtanced the article of ſalt, which, if uſed in Ireland for the purpoſe of curing proviſions, would not be entitled to a drawback on exportation to our Weſt-India Iſlands. This he ſaid was highly impolitic, as it diſcouraged a trade which Ireland from every reaſon muſt always enjoy, and in which this country would never think of interfering.

terfering. The article of rum alſo was to be ſubjected to an additional duty in Ireland, by which every perſon who choſe to quaff a glaſs of that liquor was to pay double what he now paid, for the duty hitherto was but 2s. 6d. per gallon, whereas it was henceforward to be 5s. which he ſaid would bring in the ſum of 150,000l. annually, which by the bye was not to go to the hereditary revenue, and therefore would be no advantage to this country, excluſive of its being a burden to which Ireland would not be ready to ſubmit. There was another objection which he ſhould make on the part of Ireland, that ſhe being to be bound at all times to lay ſuch duties on her exports to our colonies as we ſhould think proper to do, we might, if any fabric hereafter be made of the productions of this iſland, that would anſwer the purpoſes of Weſt India conſumption as conveniently as linen, (and that ſuch a diſcovery might be made or introduced among us was evident from the diſcoveries of every navigator that had viſited foreign and diſtant parts of the world) we ſhould then have nothing more to do in order to ſecure the whole trade of clothing in the Weſt Indies, but to lay a heavy duty on the export of our linen to the colonies, in which the Iriſh being obliged to follow us, their linens would be effectually excluded. Beſides theſe objections which, both as an Engliſhman and an Iriſhman, he had to the ſyſtem, there was another in the more comprehenſive character of a ſubject of the Britiſh Empire, whoſe general intereſts he conſidered as highly endangered by the arrangement, as it gave up many of the proviſions of the navigation act, and as tending to impede an intercourſe with foreign ſtates.

Lord Sackville. Lord *Sackville* began with ſaying, that the ſalutary effects which were to be the reſult of finally eſtabliſhing the reſolutions into a law, were what all their Lordſhips, and every individual who panted for the welfare of their country, undoubtedly wiſhed. Who would not be happy in that which was to bring about ſo many and deſirable advantages? How anxiouſly had he attended, to ſee whether the data on which theſe flattering concluſions were formed, correſponded with thoſe views of the ſubject which had more eſpecially preſſed upon his mind. He was not deficient in his aſſiduities to underſtand the ſyſtem, and to comprehend thoſe great and leading principles on which its principal operations would depend. But, he would honeſtly confeſs, the whole had ſtruck him in a light very different from that entertained of it by the noble Duke. The mode of its introduction to the contemplation of the public, and of the legiſlature of both countries, did not promiſe thoſe material advantages which its advocates have all along profeſſed to be its predominating object. It originated in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons. Even there

there it was nominated as a complete, irrevocable meaſure. This obtained the ſanction of the Iriſh Parliament, and was offered to the Britiſh under an idea that it was to be final. When it came over, objections were brought forward; the manufacturers, a large, opulent, uſeful, and intelligent body of men, united in the general intereſt of the country. The motives on which their operations began, and were continued, appeared to him peculiarly honourable. They were ſtartled at what was going forward—they heſitated—Every part of the ſyſtem in proportion, as they comprehended it, apart or connected, ſeemed to them pregnant with miſchief.—What then did they do?—They were alarmed; but they attended to the very great ſtake they had at hazard—There were two remarks which they made at firſt, and which the more the plan had been known, were the more confirmed. One was, that in thoſe reſolutions there was no trace of that mutual benefit, or that reciprocity, which was ſaid to conſtitute the baſis of the whole. He wiſhed this aſſertion had been ſatisfactorily contradicted by the ſubſequent evolutions of the ſyſtem. The other was, that inconveniencies not to be ſurmounted would attend and mark every ſtep of ſuch a final adjuſtment. Whatever had been ſaid of theſe worthy, well-informed individuals, their general reaſoning, even on the complection of the whole ſyſtem, involved and complicated as it was, had appeared hitherto unanſwerable Notwithſtanding the perfection of theſe reſolutions in their original form and ſhape, when firſt they were brought into the Houſe of Commons, that which had been mentioned elſewhere with triumph as a final treaty, was, in fact, no more than a few ſcattered ideas on which one might be formed There the matter was diſcuſſed with much ability, and a multiplicity of new articles admitted, which ſo changed the complection of the whole, that it was no longer to be known for what it was He was ready to confeſs, that in his opinion, all the alterations it then underwent, were for the better. The defects which were ſupplied by theſe, muſt in the opinion, he would venture to ſay, of every thinking perſon, have been followed with the moſt rapid and general ruin. The reſolutions, in this improved ſtate, were now before their Lordſhips. Were their Lordſhips ready to pronounce them perfect? Were both nations then ſo blind to their own intereſt, as in flat oppoſition to that opinion, in a great meaſure, to think differently? Would their Lordſhips adopt a meaſure which ſhould be binding on both countries, to which both countries were obviouſly averſe? Was it adviſable policy to unite a great majority in the two nations, againſt the diſcuſſion which their Lordſhips were now to give He had heard much about the full participation of commercial advantages. But he had not obſerved any of their Lordſhips very forward to point out theſe advantages.

He thought it required no great foreſight to predict the conſequences which they muſt produce. The matter was trivial to him, in compariſon with many of their Lordſhips He could only be intereſted for poſterity. His own perſonal concern in the iſſue could not be great, however it might turn out. He was come to that time of life, when it did not become him to be very deeply affected by any opinion their Lordſhips could give. But he ſaw many noble Lords whoſe age entitled them to look forward to futurity with more ſanguine expectations. To them the ſyſtem he conceived to be ſingularly important. And ſhould this ſyſtem be finally adopted, many of their Lordſhips, he made no doubt, would live to curſe the day that gave it birth. He ſaw in its aſpect, incurable jealouſies and endleſs diſcord. Theſe might ariſe from the imperfection of his intellects; but he could not help lamenting the only conſequences which preſſed on his mind, as originating in the reſolutions under the conſideration of their Lordſhips. And ſhould a rupture happen between the two nations, though he eaſily could foreſee which would prevail, the end would prove fatal to both. All theſe, and a variety of conſiderations which he ſhould not now ſpecify, ought to operate in what their Lordſhips were now doing The meaſure, he doubted not, would, in more inſtances than one, be found a very deciſive one. He implored their Lordſhips to act with caution; to pauſe before it was too late, to think ſeriouſly before they came to ſuch a vote as could not be recalled. He had a word or two to ſay to the compenſatory reſolution. He never had entertained a doubt that Ireland would exert herſelf to the utmoſt, in ſuppor of our naval eſtabliſhment in the event of a war. And what would we have more? But here it was affected to bind her, as if a ſuſpicion of her exertion had already taken place. He owned he had not conceived ſo highly of the revenue which was to be obtained from that country. He thought it connected with many awkward circumſtances. And he did very much ſuſpect we ſhould never ſee that ſhip of war riding among our navy which ſhould be the immediate and legitimate effect of this proviſion. If their Lordſhips would take his advice, it would be that every thing of the kind ſhould be erazed from the ſettlement. He urged them to truſt to the generoſity of Ireland. It was the nobleſt, beſt, and moſt permanent hold which could be taken of a brave and liberal people It was a principle which would long and forcibly operate, when the principles of commerce were feeble, and forgotten This country would then appear deſerving of confidence, and a reciprocal truſt would prove more laſting and efficient to all the objects, mutual intereſts and harmony, than any formal treaty whatever. It was by indulging ideas of this kind, that any thing like an union could ever cement the two countries

into

into one. It had been aſked [redacted] ſuch a meaſure could be effected. He wiſhed he had [redacted] comprehenſion or ſagacity enough to anſwer that query. Was an equal repreſentation in the Houſe of Commons the only obſtacle which Ireland would have to an union with Great Britain? He truſted few of their Lordſhips were of that opinion It was obvious, from what had happened, that what would affect to be called a ſyſtem of reform, (for he would not dignify it with the name) had not the concurrence of any very large body of men in either country. Though the Miniſter was profeſſedly for the meaſure, but a very moderate number in the Houſe of Commons of both countries, had concurred with him on that queſtion This objection he therefore deemed the leaſt formidable, which a meaſure of ſuch a magnitude and temperance, as the union of the two nations could have to encounter. Indeed he ſaw nothing extremely impracticable in the propoſition Was it not for the intereſt of both to draw the line of connection as cloſe as poſſible? Was not Ireland ſenſible of the benefits ſhe derived from the patronage and aſſiſtance of Great Britain? Had ſhe not improved to a very extraordinary height of proſperity under her foſtering care? Would France or Spain do for her what we had done? Could ſhe expect independence, a free trade, civil liberty, or religious toleration from them? But all theſe ſhe enjoyed from us We protected her in the enjoyment of them. She knew it, and was not averſe to acknowledge it. Nor would ſhe readily throw herſelf into the arms of the Roman Catholics. The Proteſtant intereſts were powerful, and would ſoon abſorb thoſe of the Popiſh. Theſe were circumſtances which, in his opinion, might be improved into the happieſt and compleateſt union How much, he ſaid, were it to be wiſhed that baneful reſolutions were ſuperſeded for ſomething of this deſcription. It had been ſaid, that theſe would reduce both countries to the ſame amity which prevailed between England and Scotland That, in his opinion, was impoſſible, In the inſtance mentioned, the legiſlature of the inferior, was melted down into that of the ſuperior kingdom But where two nations were one, only on commercial principles, he knew not by what means they could agree or harmonize in any other. But where all their dependence was placed in one and the ſame legiſlature, every ſource of jealouſy, ſuſpicion, or diſtruſt, was for ever at an end He looked forward to this great, intereſting, and deſperate event with anxiety, and ſhould be happy to ſee Commiſſioners appointed by His Majeſty to negociate, and adjuſt this important object, to the ſatisfaction, and for the infinite good of all parties concerned. It was not probable it would take place in his time, but hoped the time when it would, was not very far diſtant. And happen when it might, it would enſure to the one country and

the other the moſt ineſtimable and permanent advantages. One word more, and he h[illegible]ne. He implored their Lordſhips not to provoke or alarm the Iriſh. They were a ſenſible and a thinking people, and would not either be provoked or alarmed, unleſs theſe reſolutions appeared to them of an inſidious nature. Whatever was for the general good of both nations, they would not oppoſe But they were too ſharp-ſighted, and whatever they might do from generoſity, they were too wiſe to be impoſed upon He, therefore, hoped the preſent buſineſs might yet be ſuſpended. It would be attended with this one good effect, that their Lordſhips might then turn their minds to that union which was the great object of deſire to the wiſe in both countries. And were there no other noble Lord in the Houſe who would undertake the buſineſs, if theſe reſolutions could now be withdrawn, old as he was, he would himſelf move for an addreſs to His Majeſty, that ſteps might be taken for accompliſhing that union, on which the proſperity, both of England and Ireland, and the whole empire, ſo much depended.

Lord Viſcount Townſhend

Lord Viſcount *Townſhend* ſaid, their Lordſhips might be aſſured that after a ſubject had been ſo long before both Houſes of Parliament, and under ſo much inveſtigation, he did not riſe with the vain hopes that any thing he could offer would make much impreſſion on their Lordſhips His motive was to perform the duty he owed to his country, upon a ſubject of ſuch infinite importance, and indeed to regiſter to his poſterity the part he ſhould take in a queſtion ſo replete, according to its event, with either the moſt ſalutary conſequences to this ſhattered empire, or otherwiſe, he much feared, concluſive to its future exiſtence. If ever there was a ſubject which ſhould ſuperſede every party connection or predilection of perſons, he conceived it to be the preſent, which had already, he feared, from its duration and conflict of intereſts, involved that degree of jealouſy and fermentation, which might make it to be wiſhed it had never been agitated, and he was confident, that nothing but temper, moderation, and the moſt liberal conduct, could produce that iſſue ſo ſalutary and honourable for both kingdoms. A noble Lord on a former day, in his opinion, very properly told them this meaſure was grounded upon two queſtions, one of policy, the other of commerce, but thoſe two appeared to him now ſo interwoven, ſo ingrafted in each other by ſubſequent events, that one could not paſs, nay, exiſt, without the other. Without entering into the various calculations and detail of commerce, duties, and finance, which, he believed, had, in many points, been exaggerated by our fears and jealouſies, it appeared to him, that the only foundation for our eſtabliſhing a more cordial and concluſive correſpondence and union with our ſiſter kingdom, was by a participation of that trade ſhe had

been hitherto precluded from by our partial reſtrictions and prohibitions; long had Ireland ſeen herſelf ſubſervient, in every point of view, to the purpoſes of this country; her imports confined, her exports devoted to our ſervice, her ſeamen and ſoldiers to our cauſe; and even the product of her ſoil ſubſervient to our commerce and grandeur She had no opinion in our wars or treaties, the gain was ours, her loſs was certain, nay inſomuch that during the laſt war, when we had nearly exhauſted her force as well as our own, by our ill-conducted war with America, and the hereditary enemies of this empire menaced our ſafety, eternal injuſtice and diſgrace, then, (though not the firſt inſtance) the defenceleſs ſtate of Ireland was deemed the ſecurity of this Ireland ſaw it, felt it, and provided for her own protection The inhabitants armed at their own expence Unnatural armament forſooth, for ſo natural an object! This country was alarmed, and conceſſions were made, the Weſt-India trade was opened, the armament continued after the peace, protecting duties followed We were more alarmed, and granted more, in independent legiſlation They could not call them boons, they were conceſſions, or rather confeſſions of that want of juſtice and reciprocity, which muſt prevail where harmony and co-operation was expected When he returned from His Majeſty's government in that kingdom in 1772, he had the honour to tell their Lordſhips in that Houſe, that if they did not bring that unfortunate conteſt with America to a ſhort iſſue, there was another part of the empire which had long laboured under our burdens and wars, which would expect from our juſtice at leaſt as much indulgence, as others might acquire by their revolt. He remembered he was deemed what was called a croaker, nay worſe, a croaker of treaſon, but the views, intereſts and paſſions of mankind were generally the ſame; and when neither ſenators nor miniſters would make them a part of their calculations, but endeavour to quadrate what they wanted by what they wiſhed, they would ever find themſelves the dupes of their own calculations That this has been one ſource of our misfortunes, and the rapid degradations of this empire, he was confident he ſpoke not from conjecture, but with the general voice of mankind Let Let us beware, then, of ſimilar errors, the fruit of our preſumption. It had been ſaid, that Ireland had twice expreſſed its fulleſt ſatisfaction at the boons ſhe had received from this country, and yet we would now try experiments with her which might lead to future broils, and the deſtruction of our own manufactures Alas! he wiſhed that many of their Lordſhips, inſtead of ſporting in the muſical regions of Italy, or the high-poliſhed circles of France, had deigned to have viſited the remote provinces of our ſiſter kingdom, there they

they would have ſeen a hardy, innocent, oppreſſed race of men in a rich ſoil, ſurrounded by numberleſs flocks and herds, yet uncloathed, unfed, and moſtly unhouſed, owing to our reſtrictions upon their imports and exports, yet contributing their perſons and their labour to the ſupport of the empire would their Lordſhips wiſh to continue ſo large a part of their fellow-ſubjects in this ſtate of ſubordination and miſery? He truſted they would not, and at an æra when the moſt abſolute monarchs gloried in the moſt liberal and impartial diſpenſation of their commerce and juſtice, to the moſt diſtant part of their dominions, the proſcription was too repugnant to the principles of ſound policy, and to the order of nature, to ſucceed; to attempt then to fix it upon a nation equally enlightened, manly, and enterpriſing with ourſelves, would be as impracticable as unjuſt The fact was, that our manufacturers had informed Ireland of more than ſhe knew before; that if we did not grant them a fair participation of our commerce, they would have it without it; for, what withholds her now to trade to the ports we have excepted? what prevents her from laying what duties ſhe pleaſes on our imports, or from receiving foreign manufactures? It was ſurely wiſe in us then to offer them ſuch a proportion of our trade as might reduce them to conſent to the future regulations we propoſed. If any one was wild enough to think we could coerce them, he neither knew the geometrical ſituation of Ireland, nor the character of its inhabitants.—His Lordſhip wiſhed to ſay no more on this ſubject than that an opulent and luxurious country, like an individual of the ſame character, might loſe much by ſuch a conflict, a poor country, like a poor individual, eſpecially if robuſt and deſperate, would ſuffer leſs, perhaps could ſcarcely be worſe than they were It had been urged by many, What neceſſity was there for this meaſure at this time? The Parliament of Ireland ſaid, they had expreſſed twice the warmeſt ſatisfaction and perfect contentment at His Majeſty's gracious indulgences to that kingdom, that the Volunteers were dwindling, and that the force of Government was never ſtronger there, or had ever been more exerted to the ſuppreſſion of rebels and tumults than at this period. He muſt, he declared, ever honour the national ſpirit of the Volunteers of that kingdom, in ſpite of all the diſcountenance, diſcouragements, and expedients with which government attempted to depreſs them. They gave an illuſtrious example of what a brave and animated people could effect in their own defence. Yet he did not carry his admiration ſo far as to approve their aſſembling under the noſe of Parliament, to preſcribe, reform, and dictate to their repreſentatives; and yet he might plead the

ſame

ſame quotation in behalf of Ireland as the illuſtrious father of the preſent Miniſter did upon another ſerious occaſion.

Be to her faults a little blind,
And to her virtues very kind.

Might he not plead the ſame for our impaſſioned neighbours, eſpecially when they recollected, what a quantity of political combuſtibles were exported into that kingdom from this, and even the moſt chimerical propoſitions recommended, however unfitting her peculiar ſituation; on the contrary, had the ſame conſtitutional regulations been imparted to her at that period which we had adopted and enjoyed in this kingdom, thoſe formidable volunteers had perhaps never exiſted; but it ſeemed we were as jealous of our conſtitutional ſuperiority as our commercial, and conſequently had ſurrendered with reluctance what we might have granted with cordiality. That we might not now revive what we had been ſo earneſt to allay, was his ſincere wiſh He would not ſay that any immediate object called for the ſettlement propoſed at the inſtant, it was certain that many of the firſt men of property, abilities, and character, left that force which alarmed us from the moment they extended their views from the defence of their country to the ſuperſedure of their own legiſlature, and publicly condemned it, and the acknowledgements of the Parliament to the Crown were moſt ample and expreſſive. Yet the ſevere reſtrictions on their commerce, he was perſuaded, always ſat heavy on the ſenſe of the nation, the want of capital to undertake any thing, owing to the immenſe drain of ſpecie by abſentees, ſufficiently explained the unprofitableneſs of their ſoil and climate. To conciliate therefore, and to attach our ſiſter kingdom by a fair, fair, and effectual participation of our extenſive commerce, and thereby to improve the union and ſtrength of both countries, was, he had no doubt, the object of the preſent Miniſter; that he began it in the moſt proper mode he would not pretend to ſay, perhaps it might have been better to have adopted the plan of negotiation at a former celebrated and happy period for this country, inſtead of holding forth propoſitions to one parliament before the other was conſulted; perhaps the very able and correct information he received from the other ſide might be ſuperior to that he might have been flattered with on this, and hence a field of political argumentation and jealouſy might have ariſen, which might have obſcured the very object they all profeſſed to ſteer to. The alterations which had been made in the firſt propoſitions to Ireland, were certainly very conſiderable, and plainly proved the defects of the original plan, imperfect and perilous it certainly was, and had it paſſed, might have

have produced greater evils than, he was perſuaded, it was calculated to prevent. Much reproach, however, had been laid at the Miniſter's door for the alterations he had made or admitted; but in this, his Lordſhip could not concur either in opinion, nor ought he in candor; he rather thought him commendable in reforming his own errors, or of thoſe who might have miſled him, and for adopting better materials from his adverſaries. What would not have been urged, and with juſtice, had he acted otherwiſe?—Had he perſiſted in errors, and perſevered in meaſures repugnant to his profeſſed views and the intereſt of both countries, becauſe they were his own—Had he maintained his own infallibility in ſpite of his conviction, and ſacrificed the peace and welfare of both kingdoms to his own perſonal importance—On the contrary, his Lordſhip would pronounce, for one, his conceſſions, or his inconſiſtencies, as they were called, laudable; if they were ſacrifices on his part, and were made to the public, it was a tribute due to the public, of which he was the ſervant, and with whoſe welfare no Miniſter ought ever to ſuffer his own conſequence to ſtand in competition, when his opinion did not ſupport him.—The Miniſter, his Lordſhip obſerved, had altered his taxes upon better being propoſed, and when no better had been ſuggeſted, he had maintained them. He had held the ſame conduct with reſpect to the commercial treaty with our ſiſter kingdom; having done this, and made it as ſalutary and palatable as he could, he had done his duty. It remained with their Lordſhips and the public, to weigh well and diſpaſſionately this great ſubject, to adopt or reject it; to concur in ſome ſolid bond of reciprocality and amity with Ireland, or to remain the objects of mutual jealouſy, and the ſport of the natural enemies of both. Great terrors had been expreſſed of the fatal conſequences which would attend our manufactures and commerce, if theſe regulations took place. His Lordſhip declared, he muſt ſay, that after all the objections he had heard in that vaſt abyſs of evidence laid before both Houſes, he did not conceive that any conſiderable emigration, either of manufacturers or artificers was likely to take place for many years; much had, he believed, been miſtated to prevent any participation whatever; whilſt, on the other hand, the advantages of ſuperior capital, ſuperior ſkill, eſtabliſhed credit and correſpondence, had not been included in the calculation, which muſt, in a great degree, counterpoiſe the cheapneſs of the raw materials, and inferior price of labour and proviſions; the latter, he alſo obſerved, had been exaggerated to impoſe an idea of immediate deſolation, ſo that the object ſeemed

to

to have been to prove, that if Ireland obtained any thing, England muſt loſe every thing; how far this doctrine would recommend the propoſitions to our ſiſter kingdom, he left to every diſpaſſionate mind. Ireland was to reſign what many deemed the independence of her legiſlation,—for what?—for nothing—becauſe, if ſhe participated of our commerce by the removal of her preſent reſtrictions, we were undone; if then this treaty broke off, and her independent legiſlature rejected it, and having no debt, ſhe ſhould give every encouragement to her own manufactures and commerce, then unfettered, would ſhe not have all we denied her, without our concurrence? That as we had loſt, by an illiberal jealouſy, and an adherence to monopoly, what we could not maintain, we ſhould alſo loſe her affection and ſupport; the loſs of which, he deemed a calamity to both kingdoms. He ſaid, he ſcarcely knew how to avoid mentioning, nor how to deſcribe to its full extent, her ſituation for trade, the advantages of her ſouthern ports, her command of St. George's Channel, the ſupplies of her ſailors and proviſions in time of war, her conſumption of our manufactures and imports in time of peace, the manhood, intrepidity, and perſeverance of her inhabitants, aids which a voluptuous empire always required, and could not exiſt without. Let them recollect, for a moment, what Rome was when ſhe loſt her provinces and hardy allies. There were thoſe, he knew, who counted much upon her proximity and her diviſions. She was too near, not to be moſt dear to us, and their Lordſhips might believe, not ſo mutable upon national points as ourſelves. He ſpoke not to intimidate, but to inform. He repeated what he had ſaid many years ago, when he returned from Ireland, when we were trifling with our armies in America, that if we did not act deciſively, we ſhould not only loſe that country, but that there was another impoveriſhed and oppreſſed by our reſtrictions, whoſe attachment had a better claim to our indulgence. After having detained their Lordſhips ſo long upon the principle of the preſent propoſitions, and the neceſſity of ſome juſt and permanent commercial ſettlement, after the expectations held forth, he would not enter into them *ſeriatim*. They were too complicated, and had been ſo cobbled by various hands, that he much feared they would perplex the reſpective Boards and Revenue Officers to execute them. He owned he ſhould ſtart at a family ſettlement or leaſe ſo drawn; he ſhould, therefore, confine his obſervations to the fourth and twentieth propoſitions.—As to the fourth, it depended, ſurely, on this Parliament to weigh well whether we would purchaſe the concurrence of Ireland to ſuch regu-

lations as we ſhould propoſe, by a fair and generous participation of our commerce, and might bind her in one common intereſt. With Ireland it would remain to weigh ſuch advantage with a point of precedency. The regulation of commercial duties muſt originate ſomewhere. He did not conceive that ten and a half per cent. was too high, and it was ſurely the intereſt of both kingdoms to obſerve in future the ſame proportion. With regard to the twentieth propoſition, he owned, he wiſhed it had been made more explicit. All the ſurplus above 650,000l. of the hereditary revenue our ſiſter kingdom agreed to conſign to the naval force of the empire, to the common cauſe, and our mutual protection. Upon expectation that ſuch benefits ſhould ariſe as ſhould produce the means, he could not but think it had been better drawn at the diſpoſition of the Crown for this purpoſe. The hereditary revenue was always in the diſpoſition of the Crown, and the application of this ſurplus, whether by moieties or by groſs ſum, ſhould, in his opinion, be under the direction of the Sovereign of both countries as the exigency ſhould require. He was only ſuggeſting his opinion, not attempting to embarraſs a ſyſtem, of the failure of which he owned he dreaded the conſequences. Was it poſſible that our manufacturers could grudge ſuch a participation of commerce as would ſecure our own, and recover the Britiſh empire; or that Ireland ſhould refuſe ſuch a participation from a point of precedency, which muſt originate ſomewhere. All that he hoped, and moſt ardently, was, that we might give enough to engage the affections and cordiality of our ſiſter kingdom; not to attempt a bargain parſimonious and equivocal. He knew the generous and manly ſentiments of that country were ſuch as would engage them to make a common cauſe, and admit of no future diſtinctions. If he had expreſſed any degree of preference for Ireland he begged their Lordſhips would impute it to the veneration he bore it, and the obligation he owed for their partiality to his failings; he was naturally, he hoped, the advocate of the oppreſt and meritorious; he knew the Iriſh to be generous and untemporiſing friends, and who diſdained to be behindhand in reciprocality. He could not ſay more to induce their Lordſhips not to loſe the preſent occaſion, or at leaſt juſtify his own opinion.

Lord Sackville.

Lord *Sackville* roſe again, and finding it to be agreeable to many Lords that he ſhould make a motion relative to the idea that had been thrown out in his former ſpeech, he moved, "that the farther conſideration of the report be "put off till that day four months;" afterwards meaning to move, in caſe he carried it, that an humble addreſs be preſented

ſented to His Majeſty, beſeeching him to appoint commiſſioners to adjuſt the grounds of a commercial treaty with Ireland, or to ſettle the terms of an union between that country and Great Britain.

The Earl of *Scarborough* ſaid, he roſe with pleaſure to ſecond the motion of the noble Viſcount. Earl Scarborough

The *Lord Chancellor* ſaid, he ſhould not enter into the minutiæ or detail of all that had been advanced, but confine himſelf merely to the queſtion, whether it was proper, after the many long and tedious inveſtigations of the ſubject, to poſtpone it by a motion for four months. His Lordſhip ſaid, he was convinced that the people of Ireland, (if they were not blind to their intereſts) would accept of the propoſitions; for, as they were a nation that muſt depend for protection on ſome other kingdom, he could wiſh to aſk their Lordſhips what nation under the canopy of Heaven, they could look to where the proteſtant intereſt was ſo cloſely connected or likely to be ſupported, as in this, but endeavours had not been wanting to ſet the Iriſh againſt them, by aſking the witneſſes at the bar ſeveral queſtions relative to the propoſitions, with a view to create jealouſies, and ſow diſcontents, and it had likewiſe been ſtated, that the manufacturers of this country were ignorant at the time they gave their evidence before the Privy Council, of what was the intention of this country, or they never would have ſtated that ten and a half per cent. was a ſufficient duty to protect every manufacture in this kingdom; at leaſt they did not know at the time, whether it was ten and a half per cent to be *ad valorem*, or ten and a half per cent. on the ſuppoſed value by the book of rates, now if their Lordſhips would take the trouble of reading the evidence on their table, they would obſerve that the glaſs manufacturers particularly ſpecified the articles of cut glaſs, &c. The people of Mancheſter likewiſe knew it, and ſurely Mr. Wedgwood could not be ignorant of ſuch a ſubject. The Lord Chancellor.

The queſtion was put on Lord Sackville's motion, "That "the Propoſitions be taken into conſideration on that day "four months," and the Houſe divided:

Non-contents	- -	49
Proxies	- - -	35
		—84
Contents	- -	20
Proxies	- - -	10
		—30
Majority againſt the motion	-	54

The report was then received, and the reſolutions ſeparately read and agreed to.

Tuesday, July 19.

The following proteſt was entered on the Journals.

The order of the day being read in the Houſe of Peers, for taking into conſideration the report of the amendments made to the reſolutions, communicated by the Commons at a conference, on the 31ſt day of May laſt, relative to the adjuſtment of the commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland;

The firſt reſolution being read by the Clerk,

The queſtion was put to agree with the Committee in this reſolution,

Which being objected to,

It was moved to poſtpone the farther conſideration of the ſaid reſolutions, for four months,

And after a long debate, the queſtion was put thereupon,

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" Diſſentient,"

" Becauſe we conceive the plan contained in the report, " as well from the manner in which it has been introduced " and conducted, as from the matter which it contains, to " be likely to create and promote jealouſy and diſſatisfaction " through the kingdom."

DERBY,
WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM,
PLYMOUTH,
NORTHINGTON,
SCARBOROUGH,
KEPPEL."

A conference was held in the Painted Chamber between the two Houſes, when the Duke of Chandos, as manager for the Lords, acquainted the Commons that the Lords had fully conſidered the reſolutions, and had made ſeveral alterations, to which they deſired the concurrence of the Commons.

Wedneſday, July 20.

It was moved, that the bill impoſing a duty on hawkers and pedlars be read a ſecond time; which after a ſhort debate was carried.

Thurſday, July 21.

The Earl of Derby moved, " That the bill for the relief " of inſolvent debtors be read a ſecond time."

The Lord Chancellor oppoſed it, and moved, " That the " bill be rejected," which was agreed to.

Friday

Friday, July 22.

The Houſe went into a committee on the bill for laying a tax on hawkers and pedlars.

Lord Stormont moved to put off the bill for three months. The Lord Chancellor oppoſed it, and the Houſe divided upon the motion,

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Monday, July 25.

A conference was held, when the Lords ſent back the commercial reſolutions to the Commons.

Tueſday, July 26.

A conference was held, when the Commons delivered to the Lord, the copy of an humble addreſs to the King, on the ſubject of the Iriſh reſolutions, and deſired their Lordſhips' concurrence.

Wedneſday, July 27.

Lord Sydney moved for the addreſs to the King, which was agreed to *nemine diſſentiente*.—For the addreſs, vide Commons Debates.

The order of the day being read for the Houſe to be put into a committee on the bill to prevent bribery, and for the better ſecuring the rights of electors, the ſame was read accordingly; which after a ſhort debate, was put off for three months.

Friday, July 29.

The Earl of Hopetoun moved, "That the hawkers and "pedlars bill ſhould not take effect ſo ſoon as the firſt of Auguſt.

The Committee divided on the queſtion, that the words "the firſt of Auguſt," ſtand part of the bill;

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The bill paſſed without any amendments.

The Lords, accompanied by the Commons, went up with their joint Addreſs to the Throne, and the ſame being preſented, His Majeſty was pleaſed to make the following moſt gracious anſwer.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I receive with the greateſt ſatisfaction, theſe reſolutions, "which, after ſo long and diligent an inveſtigation, you "conſider

" conſider as affording the baſis of an advantageous and per-
" manent commercial ſettlement between my kingdoms of
" Great Britain and Ireland. Nothing can more clearly ma-
" niſeſt your regard for the intereſts of both my kingdoms,
" and your zeal for the general proſperity of my dominions,
" than the attention you have given to this important ob-
" ject. A full and equal participation of commercial ad-
" vantages, and a ſimilarity of laws in thoſe points which
" are neceſſary for their preſervation and ſecurity, muſt be
" the ſureſt bond of union between the two kingdoms, and
" the ſource of reciprocal and increaſing benefits to both.
" The ſame ſpirit in which this great work has begun and
" proceeded, will, I doubt not, appear throughout the whole
" of its progreſs, and I concur with you in thinking that
" the final completion of it is of eſſential importance to the
" future happineſs of both countries, and to the ſafety, glo-
" ry, and proſperity of the Empire."

Tueſday, Auguſt 2.

Adjourned to the 27th of October.—Before which time, a proclamation was iſſued, proroguing the Parliament to the 24th of January 1786.

END of the EIGHTEENTH VOLUME.

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